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THE TRVE DIFFERENCE BETWEENE CHRISTIAN SVBIECTION AND VNCHRISTIAN REBELLION:

WHEREIN THE PRINCES LAWful power to command for truth, and indepriueable right to beare the sword, are defended against the Popes censures and the Iesuits sophismes, vttered in their APOLOGIE and DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKES:

With a demonstration that the things reformed in the Church of England by the lawes of this Realme are truly Catholike, notwithstanding the vaine shew made to the contrarie in their late Rhemish Testament: *by* THOMAS BILSON *Warden of Winchester.*

Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.

Matth. 22.

Yeeld to Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and to God the things which are Gods.

August. contra epist. Parmen. Lib. 1. cap. 7.

These men inobedient and impious in either, neither yeeld Christian loue to God, nor humane feare to Princes.

Imprinted at London, by Iohn Iackson and Edmund Bollifant.

Anno 1586.

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TO THE MOST EXCELLENT, VERTVOVS AND NOBLE PRINCESSE, ELIZABETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD QVEENE of England, France and Ireland, Defendor of the faith, &c.

MOST RENOWMED and vertuous Princesse: I am in hope, it shall seeme no presumption, to offer these my rude labours to the sight and view of your Maiestie: The cause is Christs, as being the defence of his will and ordinance, who hath mercifully placed and mightily preserued your Highnes in your fathers throne: and expecteth, as it were in recompence, that the power which he hath giuen you, & honor which he hath heaped on you, should be imployed to protect his truth, and safegard his Church within your Realme. Which your religious and gracious disposition so wisely considereth and so carefully putteth in execution, that not onely with good liking you beare the title to be DEFENDOR of the Christian faith, but with many dangers and some enuie, you stoupe to the very burden of harboring the afflicted, and helping the distressed by all conuenient and godly meanes: not refusing with Princely courage and

constancie to endure the displeasures, and abide the disfauors of such as seeke to restore or vphold the decaied and accursed kingdom of Antichrist. A thing rare in so high a state, but a great blessing from God our Sauiour, to be both protector of his persecuted seruants, and partaker of his sonnes reproches: which perhaps worldly minds do warilie shun: but your Christian wisedome well perceiueth to be the assured signe of Gods fauour, and to haue his vndoubted promise of an immortall and far more glorious Crowne, than this, which he hath alreadie possessed you with.

This good and long experience of your Maiesties most willing inclination and affection to plant pietie, and relieue innocencie, might embolden me, if there were no farther cause, to preasse to your Highnesse for the Patronage of so good a purpose: but as the case now standeth, besides this generall inducement, I haue a speciall enforcement to lead me to this onset. The whole discourse doth so directly and namelie treat of your Maiesties Scepter, Sword, and Crowne, that neither I might aske protection of any other but of your royall person, nor such demurs be published without your Highnesse leaue.

So is it, most gracious Soueraigne, that certaine your subiects borne, forsaking your happie gouernment and their natiue Countrie, vpon doubt of Religion as they pretend, haue seated themselues in two Societies or Colledges, which they call Seminaries, founded and furnished

shed at the Popes charges beyond the Seas, the one at Rome, the other at Rhemes: with purpose *thither to draw the best wits out of England*, as well *from both Vniuersities* as from other *Grammar schooles*, there to traine them to their fansies, and faction, and thence to direct them backe into this Realme, for the reconciling of poore soules, as they say, to the catholike Church: or in truer terms, for the peruerting of simple and ignorant persons from the dutie which they owe to God and your Highnesse. Apol. cap. 3.

This attempt being throughlie looked into by the Lords and others of your Maiesties most wise and woorthie Councell, was thought, as in deed it is, very dangerous & pernicious to your Realme, that the capitall enuier of your state, disturber of your peace, and pursuer of your person, should allure and abuse so great a number of your subiects with a shew of liberalitie: and haue them in such bondage, by the Rules of their Societie, that they must obey the will of their SVPERIOR (the Popes Agent among them) none otherwise than they would *the voice of Christ from heauen:* (for so themselues professe:) & therupon by your Highnesse authoritie, proclamation was giuen out, that none should depart the Realme without licence: & a time prefixed for those that were abroad, to returne home, vpon some pains there specified, and farther threats if your Highnesse were therunto prouoked. Campian in his 2. article.

The Guiders of these vngodly Societies in steed of obeying your Highnesse edict, fell to defend their owne act in departing this Land and

reſorting to Rome: as alſo the Popes intent in erecting thoſe Seminaries, and appointing a number of them to be ſent into England to reduce the Realme to the Romiſh obedience, which they call the faith of their fathers. And becauſe they were to lay the fault of their vnlawfull departure & long abſence, either on themſelues, which they would not, or on the ſtate from which they were eſtranged, they (declaring their founder by their fruits) ſpared not in a ſlanderous pamphlet of theirs intituled, *An Apologie and true declaration of the inſtitution and indeuours of the two Engliſh Colledges*, to charge your Chriſtian, milde, and aduiſed regiment with no leſſe crimes than hereſie, tyrannie and blaſphemie: as the onely cauſes why they departed and abſented themſelues ſo long from their naturall countrie: agniſing none of your Eccleſiaſticall Lawes to be orderly or duly made (but calling them *ſtrange and vnnaturall dealings, violent diſorders, which to all poſteritie muſt needs breed ſhame and rebuke, repugnant to the lawes of God, the Church and nature*) and moſt of all ſpurning at the act and oth which aboliſhed the Popes vſurped power out of this Realme, and declared your Highneſſe to be the SVPREME bearer of the ſword, and eſtabliſher of publike Lawes within your Dominions (a power confirmed to Princes by God, and therefore not to be infringed or claimed by Prieſts or Popes.) And to make their matter more ſaleable in the eares of the ſimple, they vſed all their Rhemiſh art and eloquence, to deface and traduce that right of your authoritie and band of

fol. 37.
* fol. 38.

our

our obedience with cauilling Sophismes and florishing termes: as if that SOVERAIGNTIE vsed by your Highnesse were *a thing improbable, vnreasonable, vnnaturall, impossible:* and the OTH yeelded by vs * *intollerable, repugnant to God, the Church, your Maiesties honor, and all mens consciences.* Of such wastefull words, and mightie brags that booke is full, hauing otherwise for matter and proofe nothing in it, that is woorth the reading, much lesse the answering: as being rather a Rhetoricall declamation of an vngracious wit, than a substantiall confirmation of their acts and attempts against God and the Magistrate. fol. 10. *fol. 12.

But, as it seemed, they trusted rather to their practises, which haue been of late very rife with the Church of Rome: than to their proofes, of which they be vtterly destitute: and therefore they dispatched into your Highnesse Realme vnder the conduction of one more presumptuous than learned, (as his writing and disputing, whiles he liued, declared) a whole swarme of Boie-priests disguised and prouided at all assaies with secret instructions how to deale with all sorts of men and matters, and with commission from Rome to confesse and absolue such as they should win with any pretence or pollicie to mislike the state and affect noueltie, and to take assurance of them by vow, oth, or other means, that they should be euer after adherent and obedient to the Church of Rome and to the faith thereof: which they made the ruder and vnwiser sort beleeue was Christian and Catholike.

Religion onely founded in their mouthes,

and

In the third part of this booke.

thought it not amisse, to oppose the Soueraigne salue of Gods eternall will and commandement, and to let it appeere to your Maiesties people, that Princes are placed by God, and so not to be displaced by men: and subiects threatned damnation by Gods owne mouth if they resist, from which no Popes dispensation shall saue them: and therefore the Iesuits Doctrine in that point to be as wicked, as their proofes be weake: hauing neither Scripture, Councell, nor Father, for a thousand yeeres that euer allowed, mentioned, or imagined any power in Popes to depose Princes.

In the second part.

I haue thereto added a confirmation of the right which the Lawes of this Land do attribute vnto your Highnesse, and an explication of that oth, which the Iesuits so much stumble at: laieng my foundation in the sacred testimonies of the holy Ghost, and pursuing the same in the continuall practise of Christs Church for eight hundrethyeeres and vpward, (so long as there was either godlines in Bishops to regard their duties, or courage in Princes to call for their owne) and iustifieng euery part thereof seuerally and sufficiently by diuine and humane both authorities and examples.

The Iesuits absurdities and allegations pretended against your Maiesties interest to beare the sword ouer all persons and in all causes, without dependence or reference to any earthly tribunall or superior, I haue likewise particularly reelled, and prooued them both impertinent to thir purpose, and nothing obstant to that Supreme

preme power of the ſword which is claimed and vſed by your Maieſtie: but their obiections to be meere cauils and miſtakings of a matter which they do not or will not vnderſtand: as alſo their flieng this Realme, and running to Rome I haue examined, and not onely found them repugnant to the ancient lawes of the Conqueror, & other your noble progenitors, but alſo ſhewed great difference betweene the catholike Fathers writing and ſomtimes going to the biſhop of Rome, as to their fellow ſeruant and a dutifull ſubiect to the ſame ſtate that they were: and our Engliſh Italians giuing him an Antichriſtian power to turne and wind the whole Church at his wil, and diſpoſe kingdoms and diſplace Princes, if they be not obedient and ſuppliant to his cenſures. In the first part.

Laſtly, becauſe the temper and colour of all their wicked ſayings and doings is the catholike faith, and the catholike ſeruice, I haue entred a ſpeciall diſcourſe, that the reformation of the Church in this Realme made by your Maieſties power and lawes, is wholy and truly Catholike: ſuch as the Scriptures doe preciſely command, and the ancient fathers expreſly witnes, was the faith and vſe of Chriſts Church for many hundreths. In the fourth part.

Theſe things moſt (religious and woorthie Princeſſe) I haue done ſincerely, that the doctrine and precepts of our Sauiour might take place before the deuiſes and pleaſures of men: familiarlie, that the meaner ſort of your ſubiects which are moſt obnoxious to this infection, might perceiue the way to recouer their former health:

health : and temperatly, that the enemie ſhould not thinke himſelfe rather illuded then anſwered. Which if it pleaſe your moſt excellent Maieſtie to like and allow that it may paſſe to the hands of your people, I truſt in Chriſt that ſuch as haue any feare of God before their eyes, and care of life to come, will hold themſelues ſatisfied, and the reſt be better aduiſed before they run headlong into that extreme perdition of body and ſoule, and horrible downfall of diſobedience, and infidelitie to God, and their Prince.

The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, bleſſe and preſerue your Maieſtie, and as he hath begun a good and glorious worke in you, and in this Realme by you : ſo continue the ſame by lightening you with his holy Spirit, and defending you with his mightie arme as he hath done from the day that he choſe you to be the Leader and Guider of his people : that you may long keepe them in truth and peace by the aſſiſtance of his grace, to the praiſe of his glory, increaſe of the Godly, and griefe of his and your enemies.

Euen ſo Lord Ieſus.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and dutifull ſubiect,

THOMAS BILSON.

THE GENERALL CONTENTS of euerie part.

THE FIRST PART

Examineth all the proofes and places of the Iesuits Apologie, their forsaking the Realme, and running to Rome, what aid the Fathers sought at Rome: and how the Bishop thereof in all ages hath beene resisted: the intent of his Seminaries: and vertues of his Clergie.

THE SECOND PART

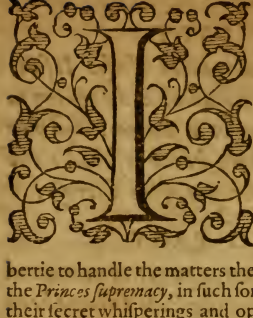
Prooueth the Princes supreme *power to command for truth within her Realme: and the Pope to haue been a dutifull subiect to the Roman Emperors Ecclesiasticall Lawes for eight hundred yeeres and vpward: answereth the Iesuits authorities and absurdities heaped against the princes regiment: searcheth the safest way for the Princes direction in matters of religion, and concludeth the Pope in doubts of doctrine to be no sufficient nor* superior *iudge.*

THE THIRD PART

Refelleth the Iesuits reasons and authorities for the Popes depriuing of Princes, and the bearing of armes by subiects against their soueraignes vpon his censures: declareth the tyrannies and iniuries of Antichrist seeking to exalt himselfe aboue kings and Princes: and conuinceth that no deposition was offered by the Pope for a thousand yeeres after Christ, and none agnised by any Christian Prince vntill this present day.

THE FOVRTH PART

Sheweth the reformation of this Realme to be warranted by the word of God & the ancient faith of Christs Church, and the Iesuits for all their crakes to be nothing lesse than Catholikes.



IT is some time since, good Christian Reader, that lighting on the Iesuits Apologie, I receiued the same with purpose to refute it, if the matter so imported. Perusing it ouer, I found it curiously penned with picked termes, and beautified with plausible and popular persuasions and reasons: but as for substance of learning, or weight of proofe, I saw nothing in it that should occupie meane scholer the space of two daies. Laying that booke therefore aside, I determined at mine owne choice and liberty to handle the matters there most impugned, I meane *the oth*, and the *Princes supremacy*, in such sort as men of meane capacitie, abused by their secret whisperings and open railings might plainly perceiue, both the Princes power to *command* for truth to be lawfull and good, and the Iesuits cauils impugning the same to be vaine and childish.

As I was in this resolution, and saw no cause, for that I should refute no direct aduersary, to make more haste than both health, which was no great: and businesse, which I cannot want, would suffer me: there happened an iniurie to be offered to the inheritance of the Colledge where I am by a false title deriued from before the foundation of the house, and so strengthened on euery side with ancient deeds and euidence, that the forgerie was hard to be discerned, and harder to be conuinced, but by infinite searching in the muniments of many Churches and Bishoprick as well as in our owne, and reexamining sundrie large and laborious commissions which they had taken out before my time, to testifie the keeping and iustifie the deliuering of those suspected deeds and ligiers. To the detecting and impugning of this, no person was or would be vsed (I speake for the paines and not for the skill) but my selfe, the cause was so huge, the comparing of the circumstances and contrarieties both of deedes and witnesses so tedious: the proofe so perplexed and intricate, and the danger so neerely touched the whole state of the house: I was forced for two yeares to lay all studies aside, and addict my selfe wholy first to the deprehending, and then to the pursuing of this falsehood.

No sooner had I breathed from this vnwonted trauell, and betaken my selfe to my former purpose, but my hap was to light on the Iesuits *Defence of English Catholikes*, not hauing the Authors name, but in order of writing, and phrase of speech resembling right *D. Allen* the maker of their Apologie: Looking earnestly into the contents thereof, I perceiued the pen-man to haue such confidence in his toong, that he doubted not but to ouerrule the world with words, and his pretensed policies. So far he wadeth in other mens causes and common wealths: So boldly he pronounceth what himselfe pleaseth of Popes and Princes, and of their titles, Councels, Lawes and actions, neither alloweth he any man to be religious or catholike, but such as him-selfe liketh: and euerie-where he sheweth a speciall care to smooth and stroke his holy Fathers indeuors and censures, acts and iudgements, wars and wickednesse with

with termes of the greatest deuotion & reuerence: subiecting all things vnder his feete, inuesting him with both swords, and suffering no man, king nor Cæsar to haue assurance of honor or life longer than he kneeleth downe and adoreth *the image of the beast*. In this maiesticall course and surrely conceit he goeth on, thinking he can captiuate kingdomes with the volubilitie and intemperancie of his toong; which is so swift to furnish a lie, that he disdaineth the basenesse and plainesse of truth.

The saucinesse and egernesse of that *Defence*, I was then, and am yet persuaded to ouerskip: as hauing learned that princes affaires and actions are aboue my vocation, and wholy without my profession: neither do I thinke it lawfull for priuate men rashly to speake, or possible for them vprightly to iudge of Princes doings, vnlesse they be fully acquainted with the secrets and circumstances of the things, which Princes vse not to commit to many, nor to any but those that are of their Councell. I therefore then did and now do determine to leaue this peremptorie prater, whosoeuer he be, to his owne vaine: knowing that besides open rightes and titles, secret preuentions are often vsed betweene Realmes, and somtimes reuenges, which Magistrates by lawfull meanes may procure. *Onely the Popes power to depriue Princes*, which with all his skill, learning and eloquence he seeketh to proue and perswade to the people of this Realme, (as the chiefest bulwarke of their *Defence*, that were condemned, he saith for religion, we say for treason, and in deed the verie ground of all their actions) I thought need full to examine; and to let the simple see, on what a sandy slime they haue built as well their consciences as their Colledges, and in how wretched and vnrighteous a quarell they haue hazarded their liues in this world, and their soules in the next, to inlarge the power and make vp the purse of their Rhemish founder.

Taking that therefore in hand I haue word by word refelled the fifth chapter of their *Defence*, which purposely treateth of this matter: and inserted so much of the fourth as tended to this end, the rest being a voluntarie pang of their vnbridled eloquence: as also I haue ripped vp the shamefull attempts and tumults of Popes these last fiue hundred yeares, (for before that time Antichrist neither was, nor durst be so bold) presuming to displace and depose their Lord and Maister, the Romane Emperor, and incountering him and other Princes with treasons, poisons, battailes, bloodsheds, periuries, and treacheries, such as Christendome neuer before tasted of, and euer since rued. Where, I haue not only opened the facts, and noted the meeknes of their martiall spirits, but haue vnfolded the causes and quarels for which those Princes were thus pursued with such excommunications and depriuations from *Rome*; shewing as I go, the Italian stories in fauour of their countrieman and foreman the Pope, to be exceeding partiall.

The like order I would haue followed in their *Apologie*, but that, as I first protested, I found nothing in it worthy to be refuted, vnlesse I should haue banded their idle and emptie termes backe againe to them with others of the same making, and so brought the cause of Christ and truth of Religion to a warfare of words: which I neither ought, nor would. If any man thinke me no indifferent iudge of their paines, it may please him to cast his eie on the second sheete, and he shall find all the proofes and places of their *Apologie* answered in three leaues: and of those few

and weake quotations to haue made a conquest in open writing had beene incke and paper ill imploied. I would therefore not take that course, which seemed to me neither needfull nor profitable: but to benefite the poore deceiued subiects of this Realme and bring the Iesuits cause to the touch-stone in deed, I haue chosen the principall intents of their *Apologie*, on which their whole foundation standeth; and after mine owne course debated them more exactly and largely, than the confutation of their *Apologie* would haue suffered me.

The chiefest matters of the Apologie.

Cap.1.

Cap.4.

Cap.2.

For where they pretend they departed for lacke of the *Catholike Sacrifice, Sacraments and Seruice*, which want in this Realme; and because they were *forced* by oth to confesse an *vnnaturall and impossible* power in the Prince to be supreme Gouernour of all persons and causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall: and in their absence they resort for relieue to none but to him that is *the head of their catholike communion, the chiefe pastor and Bishop of their soules in earth, and the vicar generall of Christ, to whose predecessors all the famous Fathers called for aide, comfort and counsell in their like distresses*: and traine vp such as come vnto them in obedience to the *Churches lawes, Apostolike traditions both written and vnwritten, and to the precepts of Ancients and Superiours, who haue the promised spirit of truth*: and are sent backe againe into this land to *execute spirituall offices*, and to *absolue in foro conscientiæ the penitent people from their sinnes, of what sort soeuer, schisme and heresie not excepted*: who seeth not that these assertions being the seuerall branches of their *Apologie*, depend either on religion, that is in strife betwixt vs: or on the Princes power, which they impugne: or on the Popes claime to be head of the Church, which we deny? And therefore the proofe or disproofe of their particular actions, must be set and deriued from those chiefe and capitall springs.

Cap.5.

Cap.6.

The consideration whereof first induced me to neglect the rouing discourses, and vaunting florishes of their *Apologie*, no lesse void of truth than of proofe, and to betake my selfe to a stricter and directer kind of

1 examining the most materiall points on which the rest did hang: as first their running to *Rome*, and siding themselues with the Pope as Christes Vicar generall against their Prince, for which they haue no president in

2 the primatiue Church. The next is the Princes power to command for truth, and right to beare the sword within her owne realme ouer all persons for things and causes as well Ecclesiasticall as temporall, without any subiection or relation to the Popes tribunall, which I prooue is agreeable to the lawes of God and practise of Christes Church: and therefore

3 the oth importing the same to be good & godly. Thirdly the Popes censuring and depriuing Princes of their crownes, I shew to be nothing else but a wicked and vnchristian pride and contumelie not long since deuised by Antichrist to frustrate the word and ordinance of Almighty God, and to make himselfe great: and so of force the subiects, which be partakers with him in that hainous conspiracie, by persuading, assisting, executing, or defending the same in word or deede against their princes, to be traitors and not martyrs, if they die for that quarell. Lastly, the publike

4 reformation of diuine Sacraments and Seruice made by her Maiestie, I declare to be Christian and Catholike: and the parts of poperie repealed and abolished by the lawes of this realme, to be repugnant, (I speake for the substance of them, and not for certaine indifferent ceremonies in them)

them) to the sacred scriptures and ancient fathers.

Other incident and adiacent matters I haue handled, and those not a few, as the generall and speciall contents before and after will better insinuate: but these foure be the points that beare the burden both of their first *Apologie* for their Seminaries, and last *Defence of English Catholikes*. By these shal we soone discerne the truth or falshood of their pretences and clamors against the Princes lawes, and such as are authorized by her Highnesse: and therfore from the sober and sad discussing hereof, if they get them, as they haue done to outragious and tragicall exclamations, we must leaue them as men wilfully diuerting from the right way, & crying as loud as they can for life, to drowne the voices of such as would recall them.

If they looke that all the parts of their *Defence* should haue bin answered in like sort as the fifth chapter is, that labor I say for a man of my calling would haue bin as fruitles, as it is needlesse: the proofs that are not heere discussed, may safely be despised, the rest of their rolling Rhetorike, a diuine neither need regard, nor should repeate. As much as is inforcing, and to their purpose, is here compriſed: their politike obseruations, as they be for the most part false and passing slanderous: so to their defence are they idle and altogether superfluous; and argue rather minds loaden with malice, and toongs fraighted with poison against the present state euen for very temporall and ciuill affaires: than any religious or dutifull respect of authoritie and submission to the Magistrate. But such is the doctrine and education of their Romish Seminaries: they fell first to flattering, and because that tooke no place, in a rage they be now run to lewd and open slandering. An example whereof, to him that hath the booke, and may read it, appeereth, as through the whole, so in few lines pag. 177. more spitefull words than which the rankest caterpiller in Rome could not haue vttered against the state and kingdome where we liue: not touching the persecution which they suffer, but obiecting in plaine words to the whole body of her Maiesties most honorable and most Christian Counsell, *ignominious practises, and plaguie iniustice:* yea euen *piracies, proditions, spieries, and soule arts to afflict and coosen the world round about vs*, with many such disloyall, vnnaturall, vntrue and vnhonest, both surmises and reproches, whereof that fardle is full. *The 8. Chapter of their Defence, page 177.*

This is one of the reasons why I neither might nor would at large refel their Iesuiticall *Defence of English Catholikes*, as they terme it: in deede an artificiall inuectiue defacing and slandering the publike gouernment of this Realme to the vttermost of their powers. The other is for that the summe and effect of those chapters which I haue omitted, and might not without offence to the state be published, are wholy reduced to those principall questions which I haue handled.

In their first, second, and fourth chapters their chiefe scopes are these, that [a] *Many Priests and Catholiks in England haue bene condemned and executed for meere matter of religion*: that [b] *Campian and the rest of the Priests condemned and executed vpon pretence of treason, were neuer yet guiltie of any such crimes*: but [c] *behaued themselues very discreetely, and nothing seditiously in their answers to the questions of the Bull of Pius Quintus*. In these the wise Reader soone perceiueth the whole contention toucheth the Popes iurisdiction and claime denied him by the lawes of this Realme, and his power to

The summe of the Defence.
[a] 1. Cap.
[b] 2. Cap.
[c] 4. Cap.

depriue the Prince of her crowne and scepter, which was the sole respect the Bull of Pius Quintus had. The iustifieng then of these two foundations with cleare and pregnant proofs had bene requisit for the Iesuits, if they had purposed to manifest the innocencie of their brethren: where now by their rhetoricall vagaries inueighing at the parts and circumstances of their inditements, conuictions, and executions, they storme at the course, which the Iudges obserued, but say nothing to the crime wherewith the guiltie were burdened.

The Popes power to depriue Princes, they will say, they haue fully prooued: and so their brethren in truth and equitie to be cleared. If that were so, they said somewhat: but as I haue shewed, they profer it often, they neuer prooue it. And therefore on the contrary part, as I need not strengthen the publike iudgements of this Realme with the particular reports, behauiors, hopes and enterprises of the Iesuits hauing their triall in Courts of Record, and places of vsuall and open Iustice: neither is that incident to my calling or requisit in these cases: so for the maine and generall ground of the crime there fastned on them, and after punished in them; which was, that to aid, assist, persuade or defend the Popes Bull depriuing the Prince of her crowne and throne, to incourage her Subiects or enimies on that pretence to rebellion or inuasion, was high and hainous treason, the truth, I say of this illation, is euident by the third part of this my booke, where that point of their *Defence is refuted*.

So for the rest, which would needes venter their liues in the like quarrell: I meane for inuesting the Pope with the Princes sword: the Iesuits should haue brought sound and sufficient proofe that the Pope by Gods law hath a *Souerayne and supreme* power ouer this realme, to make lawes, to appoint penalties, to dispose the goods, lands, and bodies of Clerks and others, for such causes and crimes as they count spirituall. For this is the power which the Pope lately vsurped in this Realme, and from which he is now rightly and orderly repelled by the lawes of the same. It is no treason with vs to make him chiefe Pastor of your soules, nor to giue him an Episcopall or Appostolicall authoritie ouer the whole Church, though that also be a wicked and frantike heresie: but to giue him an externall dominion, and coerciue iurisdiction ouer this Realme aboue and against the Prince, which the Apostles of Christ neither had, nor could haue, without apparent iniurie to the Magistrate: this is it the *Execution of Iustice* doth duely respect, and this is farre from any matter of faith or religion. Right to command, and power to compell, belong properly to the sword by the law of God: which they can not attribute to the Pope, but they must make him a superior magistrate to the Prince, in guiding and prescribing the vse of the sword, and consequently the Prince to hold her sword and scepter at his pleasure: and if she refuse, to be streightway displaced.

This wily conueiance to tie Princes swords fast to the Popes side, and to spoile them of their crownes, if they do not execute his rage, is the chiefest plot that Iesuits haue at this instant to resettle the kingdome of Antichrist, for which they haue not so much as the paring of any Scripture or Councell, or Father in the church of Christ for a thousand yeeres; and yet in our daies it must be a *meere matter of religion*: and the forefront of their brethrens defence. But no maruell if they, which make open rebellion

bellion a point of their faith, so soone consent to haue the Popes presumption holden, as the sureſt key of their religion.

To their third chapter, that *they haue great cauſe to complaine of iniuſt perſecution, intollerable ſeueritie and crueltie towards Catholikes in England: & we no reaſon to doe the like for the iuſtice (as they call it) done on vs in Queene Maries, and other Princes daies,* I need not reply. To this conceit of the Ieſuits, that they may conſume whom they will with fire and fagot, and no man muſt ſtop them of their paſſage, or hinder their paſtimes without iniuſtice and crueltie: what ſhould I ſay, but that I thinke the Scribe was ſkant waking, whiles he was penning this drowſie diuinitie? What learning, I will not aske what wit, was in this, to make ſuch definitiue reſolutions, that no Prince may amerce or impriſon their adherents without intollerable ſeueritie and crueltie? Forſooth, they might hang and burne old and yoong, men and women, for doubting of their decretals, and all this with praiſe, though *it neuer pleaſed any good man in the Catholike Church,* that heretikes ſhould be put to death for onely religion, as S. Auguſtine very earneſtly auoucheth?

Their ſixt chapter is a maruellous profound Rhetorication, that *it is much to the benefit and ſtabilitie of Common-wealths, and ſpecially of kings Scepters, that the differences betwixt them and their people for religion, or any other cauſe for which they may ſeeme to deſerue depriuation, may rather be decided, by* (the Pope as the Ieſuits would haue it, and ſo they ſhall be on the ſureſt ſide) *than by popular mutinie and phantaſie of priuate men, as* (we) *deſire and practiſe,* or elſe they belie vs, which is no woonder in ſuch Seminiſts. To theſe trifling & tedious diſcourſes of men truſting wholy to their toongs, and ſeeking with daintie ſpeech & couched termes to hoodwincke Princes eies, & delight ſubiects eares, that all the world may dance in a ſtring, after the Pope and his nurceries, what other anſwer ſhould we giue, than that, if there were not a God to be ſerued and honored, who hath committed the ſword to Princes, and will exact at their hands the well vſing of the ſame for the publike maintenance of his will and worſhip, ſurely Princes ſhould do more ſafely to follow that aduiſe of the Ieſuits. For their holy Father will neuer leaue practiſing by all the meanes he poſſibly may to ſubuert their ſtates, and ſhorten their liues, except they receiue his keies, and buſſe his ſhoes. See pag. 19. cap. 6.

The wars of Ireland, and dangers of England, which this roming man ſo much babbleth of, as matters of State, I refer to ſuch as be Common-wealth men, I will not paſſe the bounds of my profeſſion, the Pope may continue his old worme-eaten *claime to the Soueraignie of Ireland,* which theſe louing ſubiects pleade in open writing againſt the Crowne of England: and God no doubt hath meanes enow to viſit our ſinnes, vnleſſe it pleaſe him to be mercifull and gracious to this realme: but as we from the bottom of our harts, ſubmit our ſelues to his holy will, and wiſedome, as well to taſt of his chaſtiſement, whereof all his children are partakers, as to enioy his bleſſings: ſo let theſe prophane rouers and vaunters vnderſtand, that the arme of God is long enough to reach euen them and their holy Father at Rome, and to take from him his deſired vſurpation of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Spaine, &c. though he ſhuffle neuer ſo ſhamefully, to keepe them in his obeiſance. *The defence, cap. 7. fol. 140.*

For the matters handled, this may ſuffice: for the manner, I haue not many

many things, good Christian Reader, to warne thee of. By forme of Dialogues I thought best to lay open the whole before thine eies, as well for auoiding of tedious repetitions, as for adding of perspicuitie, to the points, which I would haue knowen to the simpler sort, as far as the nature and weight of the things themselues permit. And being to refute no certaine text, I was constrained to take this course, that I might in the aduersaries person obiect not onely what they had said, if it were woorth the hearing, but I am sure what they could say, that the matter might be more manifest. If any thinke I fauor my selfe in opposing: besides that in euery part I bring the very choice of their strongest and latest proofes, as in the first and second part, their *Apologie*: in the third, their *Defence of Catholiks*: in the fourth, their *Rhemish Testament*: whether I spare to presse and pursue the same to the vttermost, let the Christian Reader in Gods name be my iudge. It may be the aduersarie would haue often replied in hotter and larger manner: but my intent was to discusse the things, and not to hold on a brable in words: and of that which to any purpose might be said, I haue omitted nothing.

I catch not after cauils, nor vse to seeke for nouelties, as hauing to do with carping & quicke eied aduersaries.

And yet somtimes though seldom, where the place so forceth, I sticke a litle at a letter, and shew how great a change it maketh in the sense, which is soone missed in the print: As where in S. Augustine they print *Esset*, I thinke it should be *Esse*: And so likewise in Chrysostom, (whose Greeke exemplar I then had not when I first mistrusted the Latine,) the word is printed ὅπως εἶλαι παρακλήσητε, *Suffer thy selfe to be intreated to write*. Which the verbs precedent and consequent import should be ὅπως εἶλαι παρακληθῆτε, *Suffer your selues to be intreated to write*, and so the other part of the sentence doth plainly conuince, where he saith ἡμᾶς δὲ τῆς χαρμάτων τῆς ὑμετέρων ἀπολαύειν, and grant vs to enioy your letters still, and your loue, and all other things as before. ε for η is easily ouerseene: and yet in the matter the difference is much, though not so much that it should either helpe them, or hurt vs: as they perhaps will imagine. In these and such like corrections of words or prints, I leaue the learned Reader to his iudgement, when he considereth the sentence: & yet I see no reason why the aduersarie should build himselfe on such suspected places.

Part. 4. pag. 364.
Part. 1. pag. 72.
Chrysost. epist. 1. ad Innocen.

In the fourth part, I haue examined the chiefe and publike actions of the Romish church, which are now reformed by the lawes of this relme: and not onely refuted them as vncatholike, but confirmed the Sacraments and Seruice of the Church of England to be consonant to the sacred Scriptures and Catholike Fathers. In handling the which, where their Rhemish Testament offred any shew of proofe, I haue particularly refelled their authorities: where they failed, I was constrained to make the Iesuits supply of his owne the best obiections that they haue. *Other things named in the beginning of my fourth part, because the volume increased, and they were not so materiall parts of the Church seruice as the former, I haue reserued to be handled by themselues in a seuerall treatie.*

Of quotations and translations I had speciall care in my copie, that they should be direct and true, howsoeuer the Composers haue now and then displaced the one, and in the other not distinguished my additions, which I sometimes interserted to illustrate the rest, with an other letter, and two inclosures in my copie: and this caueat I am forced to giue thee,

gentle

gentle Reader, that whatsoeuer in alleaging is inclosed with two halfe moones ( ) though it be the same letter with the rest, yet it is no part of that authoritie which I cite, but my adiection to shew the force of the place I produced, because I could not stand beating on euery word, without extreme losse of time and labor.

The Lord tread downe Satan vnder our feet, that the honor may be his, and the comfort ours, and abolish the strength of wickednes till his comming.

Faults escaped.

The first number noteth the page, the second the line, r. correction.

Part. 1. *Page* 12. *Line* 37. *safely, Read fasly.* *Part.* 3. *Page* 24. *Line* 2. *her, r. his. p.* 33. *l.* 37. *you do, r. you not do. p.* 37. *l.* 16. *the defence, r. you defend. p.* 52. *l.* 13. *maintaining, r. maiming. p.* 71. *l.* 29. *Christian Princes, r. Christians to be. p.* 83. *l.* 14. *precepts, r. presence. and* 26. *seales, r. seates. p.* 146. *l.* 19. *others, r. othes. p.* 149. *l.* 34. *Foronilienſem, r. Foroiulienſem. p.* 154. *l.* 13. *Rhemiſh, r. Romiſh. p.* 158. *l.* 5. *Frederike, r. Lodouike. p.* 170. *l.* 25. *both, r. but. p.* 183. *l.* 11. *Patia, r. Papia. p.* 217. *l.* 31. *restrained, r. restored. p.* 233. *l.* 20. *of nations, r. of all nations.*

Quotations in the margent, either wanting, or falsly printed.

Part. 3. *Pag.* 44. 1. *Cor.* 4. 5, *r.* 1. *Cor.* 5. *p.* 46. *Matth.* 16, *r. Matth.* 10. *p.* 48. 2. *Ioh.* 10, *r.* 2. *John* 1. *p.* 53. *cap.* 5. *r. Acts.* 5. *p.* 81. *lib. r. lib.* 5. *p.* 88. *Jeremie.* 19, *r.* 29. *p.* 98. *slay, r. say. p.* 110. *in the praier, r. in the praise. p.* 127. *what faces, r. what forces. p.* 140. *fol.* 888, *r.* 288. *p.* 147. *gen.* 23. *r. gen.* 24. *p.* 185. *lesse their r. lesse than these. p.* 268. *wars of, r. words of. p.* 270. *manifest formes, r. manifold formes. A quotation wanting, part.* 3. *pag.* 98. *line* 4. *In Iohn lib.* 12. *cap.* 96.

felt. Theo. Your frends neuer felt the least part of that they did to others, neither haue they cause to complaine but of too much ease. Phi. You haue spoiled them of their goods, cast them in prisons among theeues, hanged them as traitours: call you this ease? What could they feele worse? what could you doo more? Theo. Whom meane you? the Northren rebels, or Irish conspiratours, that were thus hardly dealt with? Phi. As though you knew not, whom I meant. Their heads and quarters pitched in rowes on your gates and bridges are to this day witnesses of their constancie, & monuments of your cruelty. Theo. Though I can gesse, you onely can tell whom you meane. Belike the Iesuits that lately suffered for treason. Phi. Treason was obiected to them for a colour to make them odious to the people, but in deede religion was the very cause why they were condemned: for would they haue recanted their faith, they should neuer haue been brought to the barre. Theo. It may be, pardon was offered them, so they would recant their traiterous assertion, that Popes at their pleasures may depose Princes, and discharge their subiects from al obedience, which christian mildnes in seeking their amendement, and shewing them so much fauour, doth not quite them from the lewdnes of their enterprise. The Princes mercy is no proofe of their innocencie. But in sadnes, Philander, are you since your departure become a Iesuit, that you take their part so freshly?

They complaine of crueltie.

Phi. The question you aske me, is very dangerous, considering the straitnes of your lawes: yet promise me that you will not bewray me, and I will be plaine with you, what I am. I loue not to dissemble, much lesse to deny my vocation. Theo. Promise me likewise, that you will attempt nothing against your dutie to God and your Soueraigne, and I wil do the best I can for your safety. Without this condition I may not yeeld to your petition. Phi. I require no more: but wil you performe that? Theo. None so deceitfull, as those that be most mistrustful. Hauing our former acquaintance for a warrant, and my promise now made you for your better securitie, why feare you? Phi. Blame me not if I be somewhat curious in disclosing my selfe: life is sweete, and

They be curious to disclose themselues.

that

that now must I put wholy into your hands, which is no smal aduenture. Theo. Were your life in my hands, as it is not, you should well perceiue we delight not in blood: howbeit you cast greater perill than you need. The lawes of this land do not touch you so nere for entering the new found order of Iesuits, neither for infecting the simple with the leauen of your doctrine, but only for making deuotion a cloke for sedition. Leaue your undermining the Princes right & state by these secrete and suttle meanes, and I see no danger of death that is toward you. Phi. If I be taken with any practise against the Prince, I refuse no kind of torment: only from preaching and publishing the catholike faith, I neither can, nor wil be drawen. Theo. Well profered if it be well performed. In deede true Christians euer endured, neuer displaced Princes, no, not when they were tyrants and heretiks: for God is not serued with resisting the sword, which himselfe hath ordeined to cherish the good, and chasten the bad, but with dutiful obedience to Magistrats when their lawes agree with his: and in case their wils be dissonant from his, then is he serued with meekenes, and readines to beare, and abide that, which earthly powers shall inflict. And this was the cause why the Church of Christ alwaies reioiced in the blood of her martyrs, patiently suffering the cruell rage both of Pagans and Arrians, and neuer fauoured any tumult of rebels, assembling themselues to withstand authoritie. Phi. Tel vs that we know not, this we neuer doubted of.

They pretend obedience.

Theo. Then if your late Iesuites were sent hither as Pioners to make ready the way for the Popes bull, that should disherite the Prince, and giue his crowne to an other, what say you, were they iustly condemned for treason, or no? Phi. You shal neuer be able to proue them sent to that end. Theo. I do not as yet say they were, but what if they were, do you thinke them martyrs or traitours? Phi. I am sure they were not. For I my selfe came in the same message with them, & know what charge was giuen both to them and to me, that in no wise we should meddle with matters of state. Theo. I thought all this while by the counterfeiting of your apparell, and earnest defending of Iesuites, that you

were of that crew. Phi. You vrge me so farre, that I can not conceale it. The truth is, I am of their societie, & haue so bene euer since my last going beyond the seas: and am now sent backe with others to labor the conuersion of this realme, and to reconcile men to the Catholike faith, & apostolike see, for the sauing of their soules. Theo. I am the more sorie for it, if sorow would helpe: your lighting on them was vnhappie: your ioining with them is vngodly.

Phil. You do the men great wrong to carrie that hard opinion of them without cause: for my part I protest, I neuer met with a more religious, vertuous, and learned company, than the Iesuits are. Theop. You take light occasions to set forth your owne praises, as if it were a point of perfection to commend your selues. Phil. Though we striue to excell others in learning and vertue, which we lawfully may, yet brag we not of it. Theop. You need not. The maker of your Apology doth it for you: whose fingers itched till he came to the comparing, and aduancing of himselfe and his fellowes, in this insolent

They commend themselues.

Apolog. cap. 5. maner. *Our wits*, saith he, *be of God in as plentifull measure as theirs: our foundation in all kind of faculties, requisit for the studie of diuinitie, is as deepelie laid as theirs: our diligence rather more than theirs: our time both of age and studie more complete than theirs commonlie can be: our order, methode, and course of diuinitie much more profitable than theirs: we haue moe disputations, lessons, conferences, examinations, repetitions, instructions, catechizings, resolutions of cases, both of conscience and controuersie, methods and maner to proceede to the conuersion of the deceiued, and such like exercises in our two Colledges, than are in their two Vniuersities, containing neere hand thirtie goodlie Colledges. As for the maisters and professors of our Colledges, specially the Romane readers, we may be bold to say, They be in all kind, the most choise and cunning men of Christendome, for vertue, learning, &c. Now for that part of education which perteineth to Christian life and maners, our chiefe indeuor is in both the Colledges to breede in our scholers deuotion, &c. Which is done by diuerse spirituall exercises, as daily examinations of their consciences, often communicating or receiuing the B. sacrament, much praying, continuall hearing and meditation of holy things.*

Phil. Can you in all this charge him with a lie? Theop. Whether it be true or false that he saith, we neither

ther care, nor come to discusse. The comparison of wits, ages and exercises, would rather beseeme boies in the schole, than diuines in the Church: this vaunting of vertue, learning, often communicating, much praying, continuall meditation of holy things, is fit for Pharisees, vnfit for Christians. Better is, saith Augustine, an humble confession in doing euill, than a proud vaunt in doing well. Phil. To speake truth is no vaunt. Theop. To speake truth in the commendation of your selues, is the greatest pride you can shew. Let an other man praise thee, saith Salomon, and not thine owne mouth. But this is the iust reward of your error, that you take notable paines to please your selues with an inward persuasion of your owne worthinesse, and to be reuerenced of others for the deepenesse of your learning and holinesse of your liues: which desire of glorie so possesseth your heads, that when other heraults faile you, you sticke not, openly to the whole world, to blaze your owne vertues. Phil. We neuer spake but forced, and that in the necessarie defence of our selues. Theop. Who forced Campion to write backe to Rome not onely what admiration, but what veneration (a word fitter for saints than friers) himselfe, and his band of Iesuits had gotten in England, by their singular learning and holinesse. The Priests, saith he, of our society, they excelling in knowledge and sanctity, haue raised so great an opinion of our order, that the veneration, which the Catholikes yeeld vs, I thinke not good to be spoken but fearefully. The framer of your Apology what occasion had he to braue both vniuersities, in such sort as he doth, as well with the scholasticall, as spirituall exercises of your two Colledges, but onely that he would haue the Iesuits way famous for the greatnesse of their skill, and pureness of their liues, that the chiefest praise might redound to himselfe, & others, the maisters & gouernors of those two colledges? Phil. We were charged in open proclamatiō, that we liued contrary to the lawes of God & the realme. Theop. And doth your daily disputting, or much praying discharge you from that? Phil. It sheweth our domestical cōuersation to be honest & orderly. Theop. That is nothing to this purpose. The princes edict did not meane your priuat disputatiōs or deuotiōs,

Sententiarum ex August. decerptarum 118.

Prou. 27.

Camp. in Epist. ad præpositum ordinis generalem.

The Iesuits answer this proclamation with vaunting of their priuate orders and exercises.

of which you crake, but obiected vnto you, that you trained vp your schollers in false and erronious doctrin, and vsed them to lewd and vngodly purposes, as to withdraw the people from their obedience to God and the magistrate.

Phi. Let your Edict meane what it will, our Apologie cleareth vs frō all that was vntruly surmised against vs, and I am right glad you haue seene the booke: for there shal you find vs sufficiently proued to be both good subiects and good Catholikes, notwithstanding your often and earnest inuectiues to the contrary. Theo. If facing and craking wil do the deed, the conquest is yours. Your defender hath fraighted his book with so many solemne protestations, pathetical exclamations, and confident asseuerations: but to the wiser sort, that are led with euident truth, not with eloquent speech, vnlesse you make some better demonstration of your integritie to God and your Prince, than I yet see, you be like to go neither for good subiects, nor for good Catholikes. Phi. Can you wish for a better than our Apologie? Theo. I neuer met with a worse. Phi. What doth it lacke? Theo. Not words, they be copious and curious enough: but I neuer saw fewer or weaker proues. Phi. What one point is there left vnproued? Theo. May, what one thing haue you iustly proued?

No one thing prooued in al their apologie.

Phi. Come to the parts. The first chapter giueth the reasons of our leauing this land, and liuing beyond the seas, what say you to those? be they not euident? be they not sufficient? Theo. Repeate them your selfe, lest I chance to misse them. Phi. *The vniuersall lacke of the soueraigne sacrifice and sacraments catholikely ministred, without which the soule of man dieth, as the body doth without corporal food: this constraint to the contrary seruices, whereby men perish euerlastingly: this intolerable oth repugnant to God, the Church, her Maiesties honour, and all mens consciences: and the dayly dangers, disgraces, vexations, feares, imprisonments, empouerishments, despites which they must suffer: and the railings and blasphemies against Gods Sacraments, Saints, Ministers, and all holies, which they are forced to heare in our countrie are the onely causes why so many of vs are departed out of our naturall countrie, and doe absent our selues so long from that place, where we had our being, birth, and bringing vp.* These they be, what fault

Apol. cap. 1. Sect. 8. The causes why they fled the Realme.

find

nd you with them?

Theo. The selfe same that I find with the rest of your Apologie. You say what you list, and neuer offer to proue that you say: your bare word is your best argument, and other authoritie than your owne, you produce ot. Phi. The matter is so manifest, that it needeth no proofe. Theop. That presumption is so foolish, that it needeth no refuter. Phil. If you doubt or deny them, we e readie to proue them. Theop. That must you first do, efore we refell them. Yet least you should glory too uch of your painted sheath, the reply to your first apter may shortly be this.

The sacrifice which Christ offered on the crosse for the Our sacrifice
nes of the world we beleeue with all our harts, and uerence with all our might: accounting the same to e perfect without wanting, eternal without renewing, nd this is our soueraigne sacrifice. The Lordes table, hich himselfe ordeined to be the memoriall of his death nd passion, we keepe and continue in that manner and me that he first prescribed, and this may be called, and a sacrifice, both in respect of the thanks there giuen to od for the redemption of man, and the bloodshedding our sauiour expressed and resembled in that mysterie. ore than this no catholike father euer taught, and sse than this our Churches do not receiue.

Touching the Sacraments, I meane baptisme and the Our Sacra-
pper, if Christ and his Apostles did minister them ca- ments.
olikely, we can not faile, but doe the same: we swarue t a iot from their example: the scriptures will not ly, t them be iudges. Shew but one word, element, or ac- on added, omitted, or altered in either of them, and we ant your Apologie to be sound and good, which other- ise we see to be replenished with many pitifull slaun- rs, and shamefull errors. But if the Catholicisme, hich you stande on, were not knowen to them, as in uth it was not, the lacke of some ceremonies, which matters indifferent, and set your abuses aside, may be pt, or left without hurting the faith, or offending the dly, can be no iust cause for you to flie the Realme, and sake the Prince.

The diuine Seruice here established you may lewdly

Diuine seruice.

despise, you shall hardly disproue: the Psalmes, that we sing, be Dauids: the bookes that we read, be Canonicall: the prayers that we make, be consonant to the rule and proportion of faith and true godlines: and therefore aduise you, whether we perish by frequenting, or you by refraining them.

Constraint to the same.

The constraint to the same is not outragious with fire and sword, as your order hath bene, and is where you preuaile, but tempered with mercy, that is, free from losse of life or lim: such as the Church of God neuer disliked, and Christian Princes alwaies vsed with great and good successe.

The othe.

That oth, which you so impatiently rage at, calling it intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, her Maiesties honour and al mens consciences, euen that oth conuinceth your intolerable blindnes, or peruersnes of hart, choose you whether: and is, notwithstanding your fustian fumes and wrangling sophismes, agreeable to the word of God, the regiment of his Church, the vocation of Christian magistrats, and condition of all good subiects: neither doth it giue any farther or greater authoritie to the Prince, than the zealous Kings of Iudah, the most famous Emperors, and religious Kings of Christendom haue bin inuested with, and commended for, as well by the warrant of Gods spirit, as witnes of other learned and auncient writers.

Persecution in England.

In reporting the miserie, which you suffer in this realme, for want of iust matter, you fill mens eares with a noise of empty words, as dangers, disgraces, vexations, fears, imprisonments, empouerishments, despites, & I know not what. The smart you feele is not so grieuous, as the complaint you make is friuolous. Some of you were remoued the place in which you refused to serue God and her Highnesse: what lesse could be done? and such as were likely to do hurt abrod, were somwhat restrained: how easie was this in respect of your tyranie? The sorest punishment that hath bin offered you for religion these twenty yeres, hath bene the committing of you: where you lie warme in your beds, fare wel at your tables, and spend the day with what sports and delights you will: not one of you pinched with cold, pined with hunger,

punger, or touched with prons: but as fat & faire in our prisons, as in our owne houses. And this is that terrible persecution of ours, which driue you to make your abode at Rhemes and at Rome so farre from home.

Lastly, where you say we raile against Sacraments, Saints, ministers, and al that is holy, would God your tongs were as free from lying, as ours from blaspheming. You adore the creatures of bread and wine in stead of Christ: you breake the Lords institution with your priuate and halfe communions: you pray in a straunge tong, that the people vnderstande not: you keepe the simple from reading the word of God, and make them bow their knees to painted and carued images: you ioine nature with grace, mans merits with Gods mercies, vnwritten verities with holy Scriptures, your own satisfactions with the blood of Christ: you take rent of stewes, and dispence with incests: you set to sale the deuotion, discipline, keies, and canons of your Church, yea the very sinnes, and soules of men: and when we wish for the reformation of these pestilent errours, and heinous impieties, you say we blaspheme. Railing at holy things.

For a conclusion therefore we say: first the causes of your departure be not true: next if they were true, they be no reasons to forsake the Prince, but onely to forbeare the Church. Warne them, saith Paul, that they be subiect to principalities, when out of al question Princes were persecutours, blasphemers, and Infidels. How much lesse then may you withhold your obedience from a gracious and godly Princesse, vpon a bare supposal of heresie and tyrannie, neither graunted by vs, nor proued by you, but vainely presumed without truth, and boldly obiected without shame? This is all that we need, though not al that we might replie to your first chapter. The causes neither true nor sufficiēt. Tit. 3.

Phil. Mary Sir, such replies be soone made. Theop. Mary Sir, and such Apologies as soone. Phil. You fall your selfe into the same fault, that you found with vs, which is to say much, & proue litle. Theo. I shew by the likenes of our answer the weaknes of your Apology. What you suffer not in vs, commend not in your selues: one measure to both. Phi. With a good will: what we say without proofe, reiect you without answere, we Easie to answere words with words.

meane

The first part. The proofes and places of their Apologie.

meane to serue you the like. Theo. If that rule may stand, we need no further confutation of the rest of your Apologie, for there, besides taunts & tearms, I see nothing. Phi. I woke a little nearer. Theo. As neere as you will, and your selfe make the choise. what one thing in your first chapter is there proued against vs?

Apolog chap. 1. Sect. 1. They sweepe along with wordes.

Phil. *First, where we be closely charged in the Edict of the 15. of Iulie 1580. that we be fled into forraine parts, and refuse to liue in our naturall countrie: we protest to all the world, that it is not for any vndutifull affection, alienation, or estranging our harts and likings from the same, as our daily praiers and sacrifices to God, our continuall sighs and teares both publike and priuate, our sundry dutifull attempts and hazards of our persons, and the blood and liues of our brethren yeelded in an apostolike and peaceable sort for the weale and safetie thereof, do aboundantly testifie: Nor for that by vnkinde affection we prefer any countrie or Commonwealth before our own, be the commodities in themselues neuer so many, or their curtesies to vs neuer so great (as indeed through Gods goodnes, to whose honor it specially pertaineth, and for whose cause they be done, the fauors euerie where shewed vs are woorthie immortall memorie and thanks) whereof our often sorrowfull bewailing before God, and complaints one to another, do beare vs witnes. Which we now willingly disclose also to the world, concerning the hard state of our long banishment: which be it neuer so much eased by christian contentation and manifold graces of the people with whom we conuerse, it neuer wanteth the ordinarie difficulties and displeasant accidents that followe strangers in euerie place.*

Sect. 2.

Thou knowest, good Lord, how often we haue lamented togither, that for our sinnes we should be constrained to spend either all or most of our seruiceable yeeres out of our naturall countrie, to which, they are most due, and to which in all ages past they should haue beene gratefull: that our offices should be acceptable, and our liues and seruice agreeable to strangers and not to our deerest at home. Thou knowest how earnestly we haue togither desired thee, to incline our Princes hart to admit vs to our country in what state soeuer, so that we might there in pouertie and penance neuer so extreame, serue the poore souls to their saluation, voiding our cogitations of all the honors, commodities, preferments that our forefathers and the Realme yeelded & gaue such functions, acquitting them for our owne parts to the present possessioners and incumbents, or to whom soeuer God shal permit.

An answere like their Apologie.

Theop. You fled the Realme not forced to that extremitie, but moued with a priuate dislike of the Princes regiment:

giment: and therefore if the lack of your countrie were not eased by many supplies, both abroad as you grant, & from home, as we know, you may thank your selues: you were the first authors & wilfull contriuers of your owne woe. You want no cõmodities, nor curtesies in the common wealths, where you liue: yet such is your niceues, that you cannot beare the ordinarie difficulties, and accidents that follow strangers in euerie place, without sorrowfull bewailing before God, and often lamenting one to another, the hard state of your long banishment. Your daily praiers, haue their daily purposes, your continuall sighes and teares shew the secret griefe, you conceiue to see your counsels disclosed, & attempts defeated: which rather enforceth the sharpnes of your humor, than the goodnes of your cause. That you be willing to come home we well beleeue, howbeit that proueth not your departure lawfull, nor your returne peaceable. The wolfe would faine be with the sheepe, and the lion is glad to be with his praie: yet this is no token of their friendly meaning. To preuent all suspition of euill, you deepely protest, that you voide your thoughts of honor and preferment, relinquishing those to the present incumbents, and addressing your selues to serue the poore soules to their saluation. The strife betwixt vs is not for Bishoprikes and benefices, but for Christs glory, and the Princes safetie, whom God hath appointed both your & our Soueraigne: and therfore your renouncing of titles and dignities before hand, sauoreth of your accustomed vanitie, and nothing concerneth the matter. Saluation of soules is well pretended, but ill performed. Your boxes of oile, your glasses of holie water, your fardels of other consecrated trifles, wherewith you haue fraughted this Realme, are slender helpes to saue soules: nay rather, your reconciling of those, that receiue you to the see of Rome: your training them to neglect of the scriptures, and reuerence of your fansies: your leading them from the Church of God, and communion of their brethren, to your barbarous and idolatrous Masse: your withdrawing them from their obedience to the Princes wholsome and christian lawes, is their vtter destruction and your assured condemnation. Yet to proue your selues louing

wormes, you wish to be admitted to your countrie, in what state soeuer, were it in penance and pouertie neuer so great: euen so the snake being frozen lieth quiet & still; waxing once warme, he vseth not onlie to stir, but also to sting. Your sugred words cannot sweeten the bitternes of your actions. God hath blessed her Maiestie with greater respect of religion, than to suffer the venome of your doctrine to poison her people: & with better intelligence of your drifts, than to harbor a rowt of Iesuits, the verie forerunners and factors of her open and professed enemie. The Pageants of your holie father & founder, were so lately tried, and are so iustly feared, that her highnes, neither with her safety may, neither of her wisdome, will permit you to begin a new reuell. Her graue and worthie Counsell perceiue that a smal leake sinketh a strong vessell, and the least sparke kindleth a mightie flame.

Their proofs and places of their whole Apolo. answered in sixe leaues. The first chapter of the Apolog. *Socra. eccl. hist. lib. 2. ca. 18. & lib. 4. ca. 12. 16. Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 49. 50. Amb. lib. 5. de Basilicaden. Cyp. epist. 5. Niceph. lib. 9. chap. 23. Sect. 8.*

Phi. Call you this answering? You saie what you list without warrant or witnes. Theo. And what did you when you sent vs ouer whole chapters, yea the most part of your Apologie, bringing no better nor other reason, nor proofe, than your simple word, which is, God knoweth, a single proofe? Phi. You will hardly speake well of our doings or writings. Theo. Let your booke be seene. If I lie, reproue me.

The second chap. of the Apologie. *Hier. Epist. 16. Euse. li. 4. c. 22. Hiero. praef. li. 2 in epist. ad Gal. Aug. de vtilit. cred. cap. 17. Cypri. Epist. 55.*

Your first chapter hath in all fiue authorities, and not one of them toucheth any matter in question. The three first shew, that certaine Arrian Emperours suffered true and false religion in one citie, a proper president for christian Princes: the two next proue, that godly men assembled in priuate houses, when they could not in churches for feare of persecution. We neuer said otherwise.

Your second chapter hath fiue other places besides the first booke of Bede, which we doubt not of. Three declaring that the Romans twelue hundred yeeres ago, were deuout and charitable; which is nothing to our daies, or your purpose: the other two you safely enforce to helpe the see of Rome, and yet were they so ment, they conclude but coldly for you.

Your third chapter alledgeth S. Austen twise, mary not against vs, but at rouers to make vp your reckoning:

See folio. 222

and

and once S. Hierom, warning a gentlewoman of Rome, to prefer the faith of Innocentius and Anastasius, which at that time he knew to be sound and sincere, before certain poisoned plants then freshly springing in Rome. This aduise we refuse not, and at this day we seeke to recall your holie father from his new found heresie and tyrannie, to the right imitation of their faith and humilitie, that were godly, learned and ancient bishops in that see before him. The third chapter of the Apolog. *Hiero. Epist. 8. ad Demetriadem.*

On your fourth and fift chapters, which are the chiefe strength and force of your Apologie, you bestowe some more cost, but not much, or at least not much to the matter in question.

Your fourth chapter, euen at first entrance you fil the page with eleuen texts of scripture, declaring what promises and assistance from God the true preachers & ministers of his word haue: then alledge you S. Paul prohibiting women to teach or speake in the Church, and S. Peter, calling Princes humane creatures: these be things that we neither doubt of, nor striue for. This done, you draw neere the skirmish, & arming your selues with three scriptures and seauen fathers, you thinke to vanquish and ouerrun the Princes power in causes ecclesiastical: but soft Sirs, you mistake your weapons, their force is not great. The fourth Chap. of the Apologie. Luc. 22. 10. Mat. 16. 28. 18. Ioh. 14. 16. Esa. 59. Deut. 17. Mala. 2. Act. 15. 1. Cor. 14. & 1. Tim. 2. 1. Pet. 2. Esa. 60.

The nation and kingdom, saith God to Sion, that wil not serue thee shal perish. The kingdom, he saith not the king: but grant it were directly spoken of kings: what seruice that is which God requireth of kings, if you do not know, S. Austen will tell you. In this, saith he, Kings serue God, if in their kingdoms they cõmand that which is good, and forbid that which is euill, not in temporall affaires onely but in matters of religion also. And againe, Yee kings serue Christ, in making laws for Christ. So that the cõmanding their people to reuerence the word and obey the will of God, and the making of strait lawes to keepe men in the faith and Church of Christ, that is I say the seruice, which Princes owe to God and his Sion, and which you denie lawfull for them to meddle with. *Augu. contra Cresco. l. 3. c. 51* *Augu. epi. 48.*

By the two next places of S. Paul, you proue that pastors and Bishops be rulers of the Church. That word Act. 20. & Hebr. 13.

Rulers

Rulers you catch hold of, as if the words in S. Paul did not also signifie feeders and leaders, which be the two signes and duties of good shepheards: and yet we neuer denied but the messengers and disposers of Gods mysteries by preaching the word, administring the sacraments, and well vsing the keies, haue their internall and spirituall regiment ouer the soules and consciences as wel of Princes, as others: which is the true meaning of the place that you bring out of Nazianzene.

Nazian. ora. 15

*Epi. ad Iolit. vit. dcgentes.

*Suidas in Leon. lib. imperf. ad Constantium.

*Epi. 33. ad Ior.

*Athanasius, *Osius, Leontius, Hilarie & *Ambrose, sharply reproue Constantius, and Valentinian, for taking vpon them to change the faith, and abolish the Godhead of Christ: and plainly tolde those Princes they were no iudges of faith, nor arbiters of doctrin; which was true, which false: neither might they so much as interpose their iudgement or authoritie, whiles such cases were debated. That very lesson haue we from the beginning taught with our lips, & sealed with our blood, more stedfastly than you. We neuer gaue Prince, nor Pope, right, to controll the truth, or reuerse the word, which God hath established in his Church: & the constant auouching therof against earthly states & powers, hath cost vs, as you can not chose but know, many thousande mens liues: yet this is no let, but Princes, as well as other priuate persons, may trie spirits, and beware false Prophets.

1. Iohn. 4. Mat. 7.

And this, I trust, you dare not impugne, that Princes may do that for Christ which you defend they must do for Antichrist: grant vs that, we require no more.

Li. 2. de Sacer.

Chrysostome is the last of the seauen. Christ, saith he, when he willed Peter to feede his sheepe, committed the charge of (them) to Peter, & Peters successors. Meaning by Peters successors not only the bishops of Rome, but himselfe & all other bishops, as appeareth by his own words in the same place. This was Christs purpose at that time (when he said feed my sheepe) to teach Peter, and the rest of vs, how wel he loued his Church, that therfore we also should take the charge and care of the same Church with all our harts. Ambrose extendeth the words of Christ in like maner to all bishops & preachers. It was thrise repeated by the Lord, feed my sheepe. Which sheepe, & which flock not onely Peter receiued then in charge, but he with vs, and we all with

Ibidem.

Amb. de dignitat. sacerdotali. cap. 2.

him

him receiued them in cure. And so doth Austen, When it is said to Peter, it is said to all: Louest thou me? Feed my sheep. *August. de agone Christi Cap. 30.*

That women may not vndertake this charge to feede Christs sheepe, it was needles to cite Chrysostome. S. Paul said it before in other words, & we be far from any such folkie. These be the maine & mightie proofes wherewith you thought to shake the princes seate, which conclude vtterly nothing against that we defend, nor against that her Maiestie claimeth or vseth.

The rest of your authorities, which be six, touch not vs at all, nor any thing in question betwixt you and vs, saue the last, where S. Hierom writeth to Damasus, He that gathereth not with thee, scattereth. Which words we grant were very true, when S. Hierom spake them, for that Damasus rightly professed the christian faith, which the bishop of Rome now doeth not: and by gathering with him, is ment no subiection to him, but a felowship with him in teaching the same truth, and keeping the band of peace, which is common to all Christians. *Epist. 57. ad Damas.*

Your fift chapter, which should cleere you from false doctrine, and proue you to be good Catholikes, hath in all but one section of twentie six lines to that purpose: the rest is a desperate discourse of your owne, ful of your bold assertions & vaine presumptions, without Scripture, or Father, that helpeth you, or hindereth vs. For prayer for the dead, you alledge S. Augustine; for honouring of relicks and pilgrimage, S. Hierom; for vocation of saints, worshiping the crosse, and memories of martyrs, S. Cyril; for the sacrifice of the masse, S. Chrysostome; for the corporall presence of Christ in the sacrament, the Lateran councel; for images, the second Councell of Nice, Gregorie to Serenus, and Damascene; for the power of priesthood to remit sinnes, saint Ambrose. A weake foundation to beare so great a frame. The 5. chap. of the Apol. *Enchir. 110. & haeres. 53. Contra Vigilantium. Lib. 6. contra Iulianum. Jn 10. cap. ad Hebraeos. Lib. 7. ind. 2. Epist. 109. & 53.*

Cyril, Chrysostome, and Ambrose in the places which you quote, teach nothing lesse than those errors and abuses which you maintein. The second Councell of Nice was verie neere 800, the Lateran Councel aboue a thousand yeeres after Christ, both too yong to make any doctrine catholike. Gregorie liketh that stories should be painted in the Church, but adoration of them he detesteth *Lib. 1. de pam. cap. 2.*

The first part. The proofes and places of their Apologie.

steth, which yet that wicked Councell of Nice, did after establish. Damascen, you may take backe againe: his credite is so small, that we nede not answere him.

Argumentum epistole aduersus Vigilant.

S. Hierom is hoat against Vigilantius, and so hoat, that Erasmus is faine to say, *Conuitijs debacchatur Hieronymus:* Hierom raileth without measure. Yet the most honour that he gaue to the bodies or ashes of martyrs, by whom God after their deaths wrought great miracles, was to be fairely wrapt, and honestly kept in their chapels. The tinding of tapers, and setting vp of waxe candles before them, he denieth to be vsed in the Church: in other places if any such thing were, he imputeth it to the vnskilfulnesse and simplicitie of some lay men and deuout women, that had zeale, but not according to knowledge. What is this for your defence? You make new relicks, you set forth vnshamefast legendes, and deuise false miracles to receiue the people: you giue them pardons for many thousand thousand yeres: you promise them helpe in al their nedes, & effect in all their desires: you make a very mart of the graces and gifts of God, to cause men to run from place to place, from saint to saint, from shrine to shrine, to increase your offerings: which wickednes if S. Hierom had seene in his time, he would haue taunted you a little better than euer he did Vigilantius.

Hierom. aduersus Vigila.

Auguſt. de cura pro mortuis gerenda. cap. 1.

In the praiers which were made to God at his altar, we grant with S. Austen, The commendation of the dead, by the custome of the vniuersal Church, had a speciall place, but your praier for soules in purgatorie was neuer catholike. And where you send vs to S. Austens Enchiridion cap. 110. for that kind of praier, I make againe to the words, and you shal find there no certeine doctrine, but a doubtfull diuision, consisting of three parts, and not one of them prouing your purgatorie. When the sacrifices of the altar, or any other almes are offered for all, that were baptized before they died: for such as are very good, they be, saith he, thanksgiuing (to God:) for those that be not altogether ill, they be propitiations *(that is procuring of mercie:)* for such as be very bad, though they be no helpers to the dead, they be some comforts to the liuing: and whom they profit, they profit them thus farre, either to purchase them full remission, or at least, more tolerable damnation. The first part of this diuision,

Auguſt. Enchir. cap. 110.

diuision, that sacrifices for the dead, are thankesgiuings to God, is a point that now you can not heare of: the last, that they comfort the liuing, but help not the dead, by no meanes you will admit: the middle is it, that you stand on, and that is nothing but this, whome they profit, they procure either full remission, or at least a more tolerable damnation. Where S. Augustine doth not affirme which of the twaine they shall procure, but vseth a disiunctiue, and of the twaine rather encline th to the later, as the likelier, by correcting himselfe in this wise, they shall haue remission, or at least a more tolerable damnation. And for your better assurance that S. Augustine, on whome you relie, neuer taught your Purgatorie for a matter of Catholike faith, we send you back to the same father, and the same booke, the 69. chapter, where he saith, It is not incredible, that there is some such thing after this life: and whether it be so, it may be a question, and it may be either found out, or lie hid, that some of the faithfull obteine saluation by a Purgatorie fire so much the sooner, or later, by how much the more, or lesse they loued the transitorie goods of this life. If it may lie hid, then is it no ground of Christian faith, which must be fullie beleeued of all men, neither could the prayers of the Church depend vpon the doubtfull opinion of Purgatorie, which by S. Augustines owne iudgement, is superfluous to be discussed, and most dangerous to be resolued.

Augustin. Enchir. cap. 69.

Augu. de ciuitat. Dei, lib. 21. cap. 27.

The rest of your places in this Chapter, amounting to the number of ten, do you little good, and vs lesse harme: we receiue them without exception or distinction. The words of Maximinus the Arrian you wittinglie peruert to make them like ours: wherein you discouer your malice, and touch not our doctrine: for Arius, as you may reade in that disputation, which Athanasius had with him, vpbraided the fathers for vsing the word ὁμόσιον not found in all the bookes of the new or old testament: whereas the Church of Christ alwaies professed to beleeue nothing, but what was plainely written in the sacred scriptures. The selfesame cauil Maximinus vsed S. Augustine with. *Hæ verò voces, quæ extra scripturam sunt, nullo casu à nobis suscipiuntur:* These words (and not as you trãslate, these sayings) which are not in the scripture, by no means we receiue. This

Disputat. Athanas. contra Arium Laodic. habita.

Augu. contra Maximinum Arrian. Epist. lib. 1.

obiection we graunt was both foolish and heretically, and if we vrge you with anie such, spare vs not. We striue with you not for names and words, but for points and principles of faith, and those we say must be proued by the scriptures. S. Paul said so before vs, Faith is by hearing, & hearing out of the word of God. Wauger your traditions & vnwritten verities, this is a christian & catholike position, which all the fathers cõfirme with one consent, as shall be shewed in place conuenient. In ỹ meane time we say with Basil, that I trow was no Arrian, *Manifestus est à fide lapsus, & crimen maximæ superbiæ, vel à scripto recedere, vel non scriptum admittere:* It is a manifest fall from faith, and a sin that argueth infinite pride, either to leaue that which is written, or admit that which is not written.

Rom. 10.

Basil. sermo. de fide.

The 6. Chap. of the Apolo. *Iren. lib. 4. ca. 32. Cyp. epist. 63. Chrysost. hom. 17. in epist. ad Hebræos. Ambr. in psal. 38. conc. Nicæ. cap. 14. Hier. epist. 1. ad Heliod. Leo. epist. 81. cap. 2. Ambr. lib. 5. epist. 33. Cypr. epist. 5. Aug. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8. lib. 10. conf. cap. 12. 13. Euseb. in vita Const. lib. 4. ca. 45. Chrys. de sacer. Amb. in 1. Tim. 4. Greg. lib. 2. epi. 9. 93. lib. 7. epi. 63. lib. 11. epist. 37. ad 3. inter-reg. Aug.*

Your first chapter handleth no matter of religion, as being purposely made to excuse you from treason: and hath nothing in it any way materiall, saue only that vpon the name of Masse-priest, you fall into a great rage, and wil needs proue, the Apostles themselues, & the ancient fathers of all ages were masse-priests. And that you do full clarklie. For wheresoeuer you find the word oblation or sacrifice in any Father, you presentlie put him in the Deck for a masse-priest. I maruell you be not ashamed, professing so deepe knowledge, to send vs ouer such vaine trifles. The verie children in England do know the Lords supper is a sacrifice of thanksgiuing, & a memorial of Christs oblation on the crosse, daily renewing his death in a mysterie, which is the true meaning of the twelue places that here you bring, and of twelue hundred mo, that might be brought to the like effect: but this is nothing to the sacrifice of your masse, where you professe that Christ is couered with accidents of bread and wine, and offered reallie with your hands to God his father for the remission of your sins: shew but one father for this kind of sacrifice, and we will agnise not only these whome you name, but also Melchisedec and Malachie for Masse-priests.

Searching fiue hundred foure score and thirteene yeeres after Christ with all diligence, you find the word *Missa* twise: once in Ambrose, and once in Leo: and in a brauerie you demaund of vs, *Were they Masse-priests, that said those Masses?* But what if the word *Missa* did then not signifie the

the Masse, but a dismissing of the Catechists before, and of ỹ faithfull after the Lords supper: where is your great & glorious triumph become? Looke to the fourth Counsell of Carthage, the 84. Canon: Let the Bishop forbid no mã to enter the Church, and heare the word of God, neither Iew, Gentile, nor heretike, *vsque ad missam Catechumenorũ*: that is, till the Catechists be sent awaie: not, vntill the Catechists masse. For they which were not yet baptized, could not be present at the ministration of the Lords supper, and therefore *Missa* doth signifie the dismissing of them: as the maner was in the primitiue Church to send awaie, first the Catechists, next the Repentants, & last of all to giue the faithfull leaue to depart when the communion was ended: which three dimissions were sometime called in the plurall number, *Missæ, & missarum solemnia*. The like phrase is else-where to be found in the workes of S. Augustine: *Post sermonem fit missa Catechumenis*: After the sermon the Catechists are willed to depart: and Ambrose in the same epistle which you quote, *Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis Catechumenis*: After the reading and expounding of the scriptures, the Catechists being demised: where these words, that you sticke on, follow: *Ego mansi in munere, missam facere cepi*: I went forward, and sent the rest away: that might not be partakers of the mysteries. And that *missam facere* is not to saie masse, as you dreame, but to giue leaue to depart, the verie Latin tong would leade you, if you were not more than froward: and so may you find the word *missa* in Leo, Gregorie and others, and yet they no Masse-priests.

Concil. Carthag. 4. Canon. 84.

Ite, missa est. Go your way, depart. *Sermo. 237. de tempore sub nomine August. Ambros. Lib. 5. Epist. 33.*

Missam facere, not *dicere*.

Masse, and yet no masse-priests.

To maintaine your *beades, Agnusdeis, and other consecrated creatures*: you note where S. Augustine and Paulinus as familiar friends, sent ech other tokes, and where Gregorie gaue some monuments of Peter, Paul, and others to princes and Bishops, for presents. This is not answerable to your enterprise: you bring vs certaine toies hallowed, as you saie, with the popes blessing: and where you deliuer them, you take promises, bowes and othes, that such persons shall keepe communion, and yeeld subiection to the Bishop of Rome: which is nothing else but the flocking of her Maiesties people from her, & the deuoting of them, their bodies, goods, & forces to serue ỹ popes turne.

Inter August. Epist. 31. 34. 35. Grego. Lib. 1. Epist. 72. 86. Lib. 3. Epist. 30 Lib. 5 Epist. 6. Lib. 7. Epist. 53. 126.

That power to forgiue sinnes *must be holden in Capite* of the pope, you produce Cyprian, who saith no such thing in that place, which you cite, but onlie calleth the Church of Rome a principall Church, whence vnitie among priests, (in former ages) did spring: and Leo, whose priuate affection in aduancing his see, doth carie light credit in the iudgement of wise men, and is far from a Catholike consent in the iudgement of all men: yet if he meane as Cyprian and Augustine do, when they say: *Exordium ab vnitate proficiscitur vt ecclesia vna monstretur:* The beginning (of this power) came from one (which was Peter) to declare the Church to be one: *Et Petrus quando claues accepit, ecclesiam sanctam (& vniuersam) significauit: ecclesia ergo, quæ fundatur in Christo, claues ab eo regni cælorum accepit in Petro:* Peter when he receiued the keies signified the holie (and vniuersall) Church: for the Church which is built vpon Christ, receiued of him the keies of the kingdome of heauen in Peter. If this be his meaning, as it may well be, we refuse him not: and then, *ab ipso, quasi quodam capite,* must be, from him the first that had it. For *caput* is either the chiefe, or the first: otherwise that the Apostles held their function, and power, vnder, and of Peter, *in capite,* is a false and erronious sense, flatlie refuted by S. Paul, affirming, that they which seemed to be somewhat, (as Iames, Peter and Iohn,) bestowed nothing on him: and refuted by our Sauiour himselfe, where he saith: As my father sent me, so I (not Peter) send you. The rest of your authorities, be they scriptures or fathers, impeach not vs, nor our doctrine, but are such as we may well admit, without anie doubt or scruple.

Cyprian Epistola. 55.
Leo Epist. 89.
Cyprian. de vnitate Eccles.
Aug. in Ioh. tract. 5.
Idem in Ioh. tracta. 124.
Gal. 2.
Iohn. 20.

The 7. Chap. of the Apolo. Your seuenth and last Chapter hath neither text nor title, that is anie waie preiudiciall to vs. We graunt your allegations, and denie your applications. Martirs be glorious witnesses of Gods truth, and their death is precious in his sight: but flatter not your selues, you be no Martirs. You bend your selues against God, and his annointed, in a wicked and desperate quarell, and receiue your deserts for preparing the subiects of this realme by colour of religion to take her maiesty for no Queene, whē the pope shal say the word; and to be ready to refuse their allegeance, & ioine with any stranger ꝑ wil inuade ꝑ land.

This

This is the whole furniture of your apologie: to my knowledge I haue not omitted one place that maketh any thing for you. The rest is a fardle of phrases, shadowed with faire pretences & plausible persuasions, fit to preuaile with worldly minds, that neuer tasted the truth: which if we should seeke to repell with like maner and order of writing, we should but waste paper, and weary the reader: & therefore if you list to discusse the principall intents of your apology, more exactly thā hitherto you haue, I will iome this issue with you, that notwithstanding all you haue said, or can say, you be neither good subiects, nor catholiks: if not, I wil refer the iudgement of your proofs to the learned, and leaue you to God. Phil. We know our cause to be so good, that we need not shrinke from any triall. Theop. Then take what helpe you can of your apologie to defend your selues, and as we passe through your chapters, obiect you that which you thinke strongest. Your vaunts and vanities I will not answer, but onely such things as be most materiall. Phil. Content with that. Theop. And as occasion is offered I will shew, that you neither obey God, nor your prince. Phil. Do what you can, we feare you not. Theo. If you thinke any thing worthy your paines in your 1. chapt. you were best begin.

Not one place more in all the apologie touching vs than here is answered.

Phil. Haue we not good cause to find our selues agreeued, *that so many strange nations hauing their Churches with freedom to serue God after their manner in our country, onely Catholiks (which in our fathers daies had all, and for whom, and by whom all Churches & christianitie arose) can by no intercession of forrein potentats, nor no sighes nor sorrowes of innumerable most loyall subiects, obtaine one place in the whole land to serue their Lord God after the rites of all other good christian princes, priests, and people of the world?*

Apol. cap. 1. sect. 2.

Theop. If you meane that strangers haue leaue to professe diuers religions in this realme, you wittingly slander vs against your owne conscience: for in England the people both strange and liege, worship God the father in spirit and truth, according to the gospell of his son, agreeing together in the substance of one faith, and the right order of Christs sacraments: onely strangers are suffered in their Churches to vse that tong, which they best vnderstand, as S. Paul appointeth: and to retaine such ceremonies of their owne, as be neither against faith, nor

Strangers haue not diuers religions in this realme.

1. Cor. 14.

Epist. 118. aduerse to good manners: and therefore by Saint Austens iudgement go for INDIFFERENT, and may be borne in christian vnitie without offence or confusion. But if this be your meaning, that where strangers haue frædome to serue God after the same manner that we do, you should also be licenced to bring in your masse, notwithstanding it be quite repugnant to the seruice of God, which this land receiueth. Your consequent is more than absurd: because their faith and religion agreeth with ours, yours is cleane contrary.

Next you sorow to see no mediation of friends, no threats of foes, no tumults at home, no despites abroad, able to withdraw the princes hart from liking and louing the truth: but the godly reioice to see so perfect a mirror of faith and deuotion in a christian quæne, that she rather chooseth to suffer your wrongs, and abide your reproches with patience, than to step one foot from that Lord which hath gratiously blessed, and mightily preserued her person, scepter, and people from the iawes of his and her enimies.

Apol. chap. 1. sect. 2. Phil. And where *no Iew, nò Turke, no Pagan, can by the law of God, nature or nations, be forced from the manner, and persuasion of his owne sect and seruice to any other which by promise or profession he or his progenitors neuer receiued: onely we (that neither in our owne persons, nor in our forefathers, euer gaue consent to any other faith or worship of God, but haue in precise termes by protestation and promise bound our selues in baptisme to the religion, faith, and seruice catholike alone:) are against diuine and humane lawes, and against the protestants owne doctrine in other nations, not onely bereaued of our christian dew in this behalfe, but are forced by manifold coactions to these rites which we neuer knew nor gaue our consent vnto.*

Papists may be forced to truth. Theop. Few men without your cunning, could huddle so many, so manifest vntruths in one sentence. No Iew, no Turke, say you, may be forced from his religion. If that were so, what maketh it for your defence, which chalenge both the names and roomes of christian men, and are in respect thereof, for iust cause, required to performe that in deed, which you pretend in word, and by moderate correction driuen to keepe the christian faith, which in baptisme you professed. For heretiks of all sects and sorts may be compelled to follow truth, though infidels might not: and

so

so your inference faileth when you say, no law forceth Iewes or Pagans from their persuasion, therefore not Christians: nay rather, if we grant Iewes and Turks excusable for these two reasons, lacke of knowledge, and want of promise: certainly Papists being neither void of the first, nor free from the last, may, yea must, be compelled of christian magistrats, for dread of punishment, tempered with good instruction, to forsake their heresies and forbeare their idolatries, wherewith Christ is dishonored, and his truth defaced.

As the ioints of your argument be loose, so be the parts vntrue. For king Darius seeing Daniell strangely deliuered from the lions den, made this decree, that all people, nations, and languages in the world; should reuerence, and feare the God of Daniell. Likewise the king of Niniueh at the first denouncing of Gods wrath by Ionas immediatly with the consent of his counsell caused this proclamation to be made through the citie, that man and beast should put on sackcloth, and cry mightily to God, and euery man turne from his euill way. Lo sir, two kings precisely commanding their subiects, (and therfore ready to punish the refusers) without delay to worship a strange and vnknowne God, (albeit the true God) whom neither they, nor their forefathers made promise to serue; and yet I thinke, you will not say they brake the law of God, nature, or nations in so doing. S. Austen will assure you, that the king of Niniueh did God good seruice by compelling the whole city to please God. A third instance for this matter is the calling of Paul; first as a Iew, and so within the limits of your assertion, then stroken with blindnes, and amased with terror from heauen; & therfore compelled to christianity by corporall violence, that touched Paul nearer, than impouerishmēts or imprisonmēts, wherwith you find your selues greeued. Behold (saith that learned father) in Paul, Christ first compelling, afterward teaching; first striking, then comforting; and he that entered into the gospell, constrained with bodily punishment, labored more than all those, that were called onely by mouth.

Forcing to religion with out former promise.

Daniel. 6.

Ionas. 3.

Epist. 50.

Acts. 9.

August. epist. 50.

I might refell your idle fooish by the latter examples of Polonia, Russia, Lithuania, forced at the commandemēt of their rulers to forsake their ancient idols, & receiue

Munster. Cosmogra. lib. 4. fol. 894. 902.

Idem lib. 3 fol. 719. 743. baptisme, by the long and sharpe warres, which diuers good princes maintained of purpose to compell the Saxons and Vandales to the faith: by the sore vexations and afflictions of the Iewes in euery christian commonwealth: all which, both old and new, first and last, serue to conuince that Pagans and Iewes haue bene forced by rigor of lawes, & other meanes, to yeld to the truth without any former promise, or farther knowledge, which you stifly deny: but as I said, this is not our question. You are no Iewes, no Pagans, but in shew Catholiks, in deed heretiks: you were baptized, you chalenge an interest in the Church and sacraments: by reason of this your first promise, and next your outward profession of Christes name, you stand in dutie bound, and of right may be compelled to serue God, not as your owne fansies persuade you, nor as the Church of Rome leadeth you; but according to the prescript of his word, and that tenor of faith, which the Prophets and Apostles did teach.

Apolog. cap. 1. §. 2. Phil. *We bound our selues in precise termes by protestation in baptisme to the religion, faith, and seruice catholike alone: other faith and worship of God we neuer consented vnto, neither in our owne persons, nor in our forefathers.* Theop. This is your common charme wherewith you bewitch many simple soules, bearing them in hand, that in baptisme they bowed to professe your Italian religion, which God knoweth is nothing so. For in whose name were you baptized, Philander? In Pius the fift, or Gregory the thirteenth? I thinke you were not, I 1. Cor. 1. know you should not; no not in Peters, or Pauls, but in Christs alone. Then stand you bound by baptisme to yeld faith and obedience to no person or place, but onely to Christ the first author and ordainer of this sacrament.

Mark. 16. Preach ye the gospell, saith Christ, He that beleeueth and is baptized, shall be saued. What else must you preach, what else must they beleeue, that will be baptised, but the gospell? *ergo* the preacher and the beleeuer, that is the baptiser, and the baptised are bound precisely to the gospell.

Al men bownd by baptisme vnto truth.

Gal. 3. All ye, saith Paul, that are baptised into Christ, haue put on Christ, and are the sonnes of God by faith in Christ Iesus

Ephes. 4. [hauing] one Lord, one faith, one baptisme. Perceiue you not, that in baptisme, which no protestation of yours can frustrate, the beleeuers do put on Christ their Lord, not

his

his pretended vicar; and are made the sonnes of God, not the vassals of Rome, by faith, which dependeth neither on man nor angell, but directly belongeth to God and his word: If thou beleeue with all thine hart, saith Philip to the conuerted eunuch, thou maiest be [baptized.] Now faith commeth of hearing, and (that) hearing of the word of God, as Paul witnesseth. So that when you were christened, you made promise to beleeue nothing saue the word of God, whereby faith is ingendred and nourished. 1.Pet.1. Acts.8. Rom.10.

My sheepe heare my voice, saith our sauior, a stranger they follow not, but flie from him. And in baptisme you receiued no mans marke but his, and for that cause stand bound to regard no mans voice but his alone. Doubt you this? Then view the commission that Christ sent you to baptise with. Go teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy Ghost, teaching them to obserue all the things, which I haue commanded you. This text needeth no gloze. Baptisme bindeth no man to the bishop or Church of Rome, but to the will and precepts of Christ. Therefore proue your religion & seruice, (which you stoutly, but falsely terme Catholike) to be commanded by Christ, or else women and children, be they neuer so seely, will collect by the manifest words of our sauior, that their promise in baptisme doth strictly bind them from beleeuing your errors, & admitting your masses, vntill you shew good & effectuall warrant out of the word of God, that you do, what Christ did, & teach, what he taught; without adding or altering any iot. For this is the duty that baptisme requireth of vs; to beleeue no teacher but one, which is Christ; to follow no stranger; to regard and obey no lord or lawmaker in the Church, but only the sonne, whom the father appointed to be master, leader, and ruler of the Gentils. John.10. Matth.28. No man bound to popery by baptisme. Matth.23. John.10. Ephes.4. Iames.4. Esay 55.

And as for your odious outcrie, since the lawes of this realme force you to nothing, but what is directly commanded in the scriptures (as by discussing your Apologie shall appeare) and you vowed, when you were christened, to beleeue and obey the will of God reuciled in his word: let the world iudge, whether your soueraigne offer you wrong, in seeking with mild and gentle correction to reforme your frowardnes; or you rather forgetting your promise

promise to God, and duty to your prince, take the way to forsake the christian faith, and withstand authority.

Apol. chap. 1. sect. 2.

Phil. *It is against your owne doctrine in other nations* that any should be forced to religion. Theop. When you note the places and name the men, I will answer more directly, than I can at this present to so generall an obiection. Howbeit with what face can you reprooue the sober and moderate proceedings of this realme, which reuenge the smallest contempt of your idle ceremonies with vnsufferable torments? For shame rebuke not that in others which in your selues is most rife. But grant some well disposed persons happily warned you, that true religion vseth to perswade, not to compell: that God did rather teach than exact the knowledge of himself, & winning credit to his precepts by the strangenes of his heauenly wonders, despised the will that is forced to confesse him: Their purpose was to moue your clergy to delight rather in teaching than in tormenting their brethren. They thought it a strange and new kind of preaching (for bishops) to driue men to beleeue with whipping, as Bonner did: or else they detested your violent and furious maner of compulsion, which neither toke paines to persuade, nor allowed men time to learne those things which you forced them to beleeue. They knew, that if such as wander astray, should be terrified, and not instructed, it might be counted a wicked ouerruling. Or last of all, if they spake resolutely without limitation, they were nused with ouermuch pitie, which also beguiled Saint Augustine at the first, in the self same point, vntill he toke better aduisement. I was once so minded, saith he, that I thought no mā ought to be forced to christian vnity, but that we should deale by perswading, striue by disputing, conquer by reasoning, least they prooued dissembling catholiks, whom we knew professed heretiks.

How some haue misliked forcing to religion.

Gregor. epist. lib. 2. cap. 91.

August. epist. 48.

August. ibidem.

What we teach of forcing to religion.

Our doctrine which you say, maketh so much for you, is this: that your prelats should not make it their occupation to persecute to death all sorts, ages & sexes, which refuse your schoole tricks, or reiect the dregs of your Clementines and Decretals; but rather with mildnes and patience seeke to recouer such as you thinke lost: yet in princes who beare the sword, & are Gods lieutenants not onely to procure peace betweene men, but also by lawes to

maintaine

maintaine religion towards God, we neither did nor do disprayse moderate correction when need so requireth: only we would haue such as stray from truth, corrected, not murdered. For it neuer pleased any good men in the catholike Church that heretiks should be put to death, as Augustine affirmeth. Many lawes were made to punish them, but no princes law commanded them to be slaine. Yea the Lord doth not forbid to scatter the couents of heretikes, to stop their mouths, to barre them freedome of speech: but to murder and kill them, that he forbiddeth saith Chrysostome. And therefore your tyranous and barbarous hauocke of old, yong; men, women; learned, vnlearned; we detest with hart, and disswade with tongue, wishing all princes to follow the steps of Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and other christian emperors, who with conuenient sharpnes of positiue lawes amerced, banished, and diuerslly punished heretiks, yet none receiued iudgement of death, except only the Manichees, whose monstrous blasphemies in agnising the diuell for a god, and beastly defiling the sacred Eucharist, deserued no lesse.

August. epist. 127.
Idem contra Cresconium lib. 3. cap. 50.
Idem contra literas Petiliæ. lib. 2. cap. 86.
Chrys. in Mat. hom. 47.
Codicis lib. 1. tit. 5. de hæreticis & Manicheis.
Idem leg. Arriani.
August. de hæresibus, hære. 46.

Such manifold coactions decreed by vertuous princes, when the Donatists railed at for life, the learned and catholike father Saint Augustine earnestly defended to be lawfull, and highly commended in sundrie places. Thinkest thou (saith he to Vincentius) no man ought to be forced to righteousnesse, when as thou readest that the maister said to his seruants: *Compell all that you find to come in:* and also that Paul was forced to receiue and embrace the truth by the great and violent compulsion of Christ, except thou iudge goods and lands dearer to men than their eies? Where is now (saith he to Bonifacius) that, which these [*Donatists*] harpe at so much? It is free for a man to beleeue or not to beleeue: what violence did Christ vse? whome did he compell? behold *Paule* (for an example:) Let them marke in him, Christ first compelling, and afterward teaching; first striking, and then comforting. Let them not mislike that they be forced, but examine whereto they be forced. And citing that part of the second psalme, Be wise ye kings, vnderstand ye that iudge the earth, serue the Lord in feare: how doo (saith he) kings serue the Lord in feare, but when they forbid and punish with a religious seueritie those things

S. Augustine defendeth the same.
August. epist. 48.
Idem epist. 50.

The Donatists would haue none compelled to faith.

Ibidem.

things which are done against the commandements of God: as *Ezekiah* did serue him, by destroieng the groues and temples built against the precepts of God: as *Iosiah* did in like manner: as the king of *Niniueh* did, forcing the whole citie to please God: as *Nabuchodonosor* did, restraining all his subiects from blaspheming God, with a dreadfull lawe.

Idem contra 2. Gaudentij Epist. lib. 2. cap. 17.

Gaudentius **reason, that the peace of Christ inuited such as were willing, but forced no man vnwilling, the same father refuteth in this wise:** Where you thinke that none must be forced to truth against their wils, you be deceiued, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God, which maketh those willing [at last] which were vnwilling [at first.] Did the Niniuits repent against their wils, because they did it at the compulsion of their king? What needed the kings expresse commandement, that all men should humbly submit themselues to God, but that there were some amongst them which neither would haue regarded nor beleeued Gods message, had they not beene terrified by the kings edict? This princelie power and authoritie giueth many men occasion to be saued, which though they were violently brought to the feast of the great housholder, yet being once compelled to come in, they find there good cause to reioice that they did enter [against their wils.] **When** Petilian **obiected that no man must be forced by lawes to doo well or to beleeue, &.** Austen **replieth:** To faith in deed may no man vnwilling be forced, but yet by Gods iustice, or rather mercie. The breach of faith is chastened with the rod of affliction. Because the best things are freely chosen with good liking, must not therfore ill deedes be punished by sincere lawes? You be not forced to doo well by these lawes that are made against you, but forbidden to doo euill. Preposterous were discipline to reuenge your ill liuing: but when you first contemne the doctrine that teacheth you to liue well. And euen they which make lawes to bridle your headines, are they not those, which beare the swoord, as *Paule* speaketh, not without cause, being Gods ministers and executors of wrath on him that doth ill?

Idem contra literas Petiliani lib. 2. ca. 83.

Who list to be farther satisfied, that christian princes may compell their subiects to the true worship of God prescribed in his word, and punish the refusers, let him read at large the places aboue cited, or shortly consider that

that the spirit of God commendeth king Iosiah, for making all Ierusalem and Beniamin to stand to the couenant, which he renewed with God, and COMPELLING ALL THAT WERE FOVND IN ISRAEL TO SERVE THE LORD THEIR GOD. So that you might haue wel spared your wanton complaint to God, & kept in your Crocodiles teares. Your soueraigne doth nothing against you, but what is agreeable to Gods and mans law, consonant to the doctrine of our Churches, and much easier than that which your selues practised on others: neither is this our question, what rits you consented vnto, but what faith Christ deliuered his Church in the writings of his Apostles and Euangelists: for to that euery man which is baptised may be lawfully forced by the princes authority, let him and his forefathers assent to what they list, except you can proue that baptisme serueth no longer for a sacrament of Christian religion, but goeth now for a Romish recognisance. 2. Chron. 34. Iosiah commended for compelling Israel to serue God.

Phil. *Our griefe of hart is much increased, either when we looke into other states, and countries*, as Germania, Suitzerland, Suecia, Boemia, *and the like; where though there haue beene great alterations in religion these late yeeres, yet lightly none be forced so, but if they can not haue the exercise of their profession in one territorie, canton, towne, church or parish, yet they may haue it neere them in an other: as also in all the prouinces and kingdomes subiect either to the Persians, or the Turke at this day. The old Christians be permitted to vse freely their deuotions: or when we looke backe to the like distresses of Catholikes in old time when certeine emperors were chiefe fautors of Arianisme and other sects, who yet were often induced of their naturall benignitie to yeeld certaine churches, or at least oratories in churchyards and other places adioining, for the catholike seruice in their dominions. So did Constantius the Arian emperor and Valens grant to S. Athanasius and his followers in Alexandria: which Valens God plagued afterward, because he would not suffer the same at Antioch. Valentinian also the yonger profered the like to S. Ambrose in Millan.* *Apolog. cap. 1. sect. 3.* *Socr. lib. 2. cap. 18. & lib. 4. cap. 12. 16. Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 49. 50. Lib. 5. de Basil. trad.*

Theo. Are you well in your wits to lament the lacke of that in this realme, which God in plaine words detesteth, and with sore plagues reuengeth? Haue you forgotten how sharplie king Achab & the commons of Israel were reproued of Elias for that error? He did not say, Why permit you not those that will to the Lord; those that list, to Two religions in one realme.

1.King.18. to Baal; but how long halt you betweene two sides or opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him [forsaking all other:] if Baal be (God) get you after him. Since then it is confessed on both parts, yours and ours; that there can be no God

Psal. 18. Esa.48. Deut.10. saue the Lord, and he neuer ment to surrender anie piece of his glorie, but is so iealous of it, that he will be serued, and onely serued with all our hart, mind, and strength: these things I say being out of question, I reckon it can not stand with a princes dutie to reuerse this heauenly decree

Mat.4. (THOV SHALT WORSHIP THE LORD THY GOD, AND HIM ONELY SHALT THOV SERVE) with establishing two religions in one realme: the first authorized by Christ, and bequeathed in his testament to the church: the next inuented of Antichrist & flatly repugnant to the prophetical and apostolicall scriptures. For if God be

Psal.31. & Iohn.14. Iohn.8. truth, they which presume to worship him with lies (as in contrary faith must needes come to passe) serue now not God, but the diuell, a liar himselfe and the father of lies: whose seruice no christian prince may so much as tolerat.

Vincentius Lirinens. aduersus hereses. Heresie is an inward idolatrie.

What are (saith Vincentius) strange gods but strange errors, which the scriptures so call figuratiuely, for that heretikes reuerence their opinions no lesse than the Gentils their gods? By the which we learne that the first precept forbidding mo gods than one barreth all other seruices of the same God, saue that which himselfe hath appointed for himselfe. It is the vilest and basest kind of idolatrie, when

Auguſt. de vera religione cap.38. men worship their owne fansies, obseruing that for a religion which their deceiued and swelling minds imagine. Then may not princes winke at corrupt and vitious religion, which is an inward and ghostlie worship of idols, seeing

Matt.6. no man, and therfore no prince, can serue two maisters: and the seruice that princes pæld Christ, in respect of their roiall vocation, consisteth in making lawes for Christ, which if they do likewise for Antichrist, it cānot be saued, but that they serue God & Mammon, or rather ceale to be the seruants of Christ, in that they renounce their maister by seruing his aduersarie. Now what accompt God will exact for his name blasphemed, his Sonne refused, his sacraments prophaned, his word exiled: and what answere must be made for the ruine of faith, harueſt of sin, murder of soules consequent alwaies to the publike freedome of

heresies,

hereſies, I leaue to be fully conſidered and wiſely preuented by chriſtian magiſtrats, who muſt thinke that ſilence prouoketh, and ſufferance boldeneth their ſubiects to forſake God and his Church, euen as in ciuill affaires the ſlacking of iuſtice doth maintaine diſorder.

So that in this point your defender betrayeth his vnſetled humor, which admoniſheth her Maieſtie that *ſhe muſt anſwere (to God) not onely for things done by her commandement and knowledge, but for whatſoeuer is done vniuſtly by her name or authoritie, though ſhe neuer knew thereof:* And yet here find great fault, that her highnes (reſpecting her duetie to God and accompt that ſhe muſt make) denieth to beare the burden of your wicked abuſes & poiſoned errors: which no prince can anoyde, that permitteth your maſſes & licenceth your rites, becauſe the ſeeing and ſuffering your impieties is a plaine conſent and in maner an open communion with your vnfrutfull workes of darknes. Apol. chap. 1. ſect. 7.

To couer the ſhamefulnes of your demand you produce certaine kingdoms and countries affected in religion otherwiſe than you, neuertheleſſe content to ſuffer your ſeruice within their dominions. If it were ſo, what inferre you thence? that we ſafely may doo the like? Your conſequent is nothing worth: their doings can be no diſcharge for vs: we may not imitate the vices, but the vertues of good men. Firſt proue they do wel, then vrge their example. Your ſouereigne perceiuing by Gods law, what euery prince ought to doo, regardeth not what other princes pleaſe to doe: deſeruing therby the more thanks with God, & praiſe with men, for that in guiding her people ſhe rather embraceth chriſtian pietie, than irreligious policie. We may not imitate examples, except they be good

But in deede you doo the Germanes and Heluetians wrong, to quote their names for tolerating two religions. The reformed Churches and ſtates there be ſo farre from admitting the full doſe of your hereſies, that by no meanes they can digeſt one dramme of your ceremonies: the reſt I thinke perſiſting in ignorance, retaine your faith in the ſame faſhion they were wont. Amongſt whom becauſe many dukes, landgraues, marqueſſes, counties, yea biſhops, barons, abbots and gentlemen haue regall iuriſdiction within their precincts, it is no newes to ſee many lawes vnder many Lords, and in diuers regiments diuers religions. No newes to ſee diuers religions in diuers ſtates.

religions. As for the kings of Suetia, Bohemia, Polonia, (not able to reduce their countries to the profession of one faith) neither we may reprowe them, as negligent, nor you can alleage them as indifferent: since not their owne fault but other mens force keepeth them from attempting any redresse by their princely power, which the nobles restraine and commons receiue with this prouiso, that their accustomed freedome of conscience be no way prohibited or interrupted.

Howbeit this kind of dealing in my iudgment is very captious. When you should exemplifie two religions vnder one Magistrate, you tell vs of seuerall rulers bent to maintaine their seuerall faiths: in stead of shewing some that be willing to ioyne falsehode with truth, you repeat such as can not auoyde that confusion. We looked for princes which at least had beene Christians, you make your supplie with infidels and heritikes. To passe the lewdnes of your first allegations, what meaneth the lewdnes of your latter examples? Is your cunning so small or purpose so vile, that you bring Pagans and Arians to countenance your intention? What follie, what madnes was it for you to thinke that a Prince furnished with so rare gifts of wisedome, learning and vertue, would swarue frō the steps of the famous and worthy kings of Iudah to be sorted with Saracens: and repeale the lawes of religious and ancient emperours, to take part with the chiefest vpholders of Arianisme? For if God him selfe had not decided the case, but examples of men might beare some sway, king Dauid was so farre from sufferme the worship of any strange God within his realme, that he protesteth, Their offerings of blood will I not offer, neither make mention of their names with my lippes. When would he thinke you confirme their honour & seruice with his roial authoritie that thus disdained them common humanitie? The good kings of Iudah were fauored and blessed of God for walking in the waies of Dauid their father, and purging the lande from all sacrifices and ceremonies not prescribed by Moses law: contrariwise Salomon was reiected, for admitting other Gods to be serued within his dominions besides the God of Israel, though this toleration were granted in respect of his owne wiues that were strangers, and

Saracens & Arians vnfit examples for Christians.

Psal. 16. Dauids zeale.

Salomons doubling with God.

and Ieroboams politike deuise to worship the same God in Dan and Bethel after a new maner turned to the destruction of himselfe and his posteritie.

Which fearful effects of Gods wrath made Constantine to decree, that all temples of heretikes should be without any denial ouerthrowen: & in no place publike or priuate, frō that day forward should their assemblies be suffered. Iouianus refused to gouerne those which were not found in faith. I saith he, that am a Christian, cannot become your emperour that are the disciples of Iulian: a runnagate from Christ: Gratian at his first entrie finding all places ful of Arrians, and the lawes of Valens his vncle making for them, fearing some generall tumult if he should presently distresse so many, gaue leaue, that euery religion might haue Churches and Oratories with freedome and immunitie. But being once setled & ioyned with Theodosius, he commaunded that al heresies should keep silence for euer, as interdicted by Gods & mans law: that none should any longer presume to teach or learne prophane doctrine. The same prohibitiō did Arcadius and Honorius continue with great seueritie: Let all heretikes vnderstand that all places must be taken from them as well Churches and other open places of resort, as priuate houses: in all which let them be debarred from seruice both by night and by day: the (Lord) deputie to be fined an hundred pounds, if (he) permit any such things in sight or in secret. Theodosius the yonger, and Valentinian his cosin compiling in a long beadrole sundry sorts of heretikes, appoint that no where within the Romane empire their assemblies or praiers be suffred: and that all lawes made to prohibite their meetings should be reuiued, & stand good euerlastingly. These we take to be meeter presidents for christian princes than Turks, Persians, & Arians, not worthy to be named in ỹ Church of God, much lesse to be folowed.

Christian princes could suffer no heresie to be publikly professed. *Eusseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap 63. Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 2. Codicis 1. tit. 5. lege omnes.*

Ibidem leg. Cuncti.

Ibidem leg. Ariani.

But imagine the credite of your Arrian emperors were lesse than it is, why should you peruert their actions? why depraue you foure stories in fiue lines? Constantius and Valens were not induced, as you pretend, *of their natural benignitie*, to yeeld Athanasius a Church in Alexandria: they were compelled much against their wils, of necessitie to suffer that, which of curtesie they wold neuer haue cōsented vnto. For Constans the west emperor denounced open

No more would the Arrians. Power stories wrested by the Iesuits. *Socrat lib. 2. cap. 18.*

hostilitie to Constantius his brother if Athanasius were not restored. He, saith Socrates, driuen to this extremitie, was aduised by the bishops of his owne faction, rather to graunt Athanasius the regimēt of a Church, than to feele the smart of ciuill wars: and Valens knowing that an infinite number in Ægypt and Alexandria fauored Athanasius, and fearing least a sedition kindled in those parts (the people being vehement and fierce by nature) might indanger his state; ceased from molesting him and his followers. These things expressed in your author you purposely skip, byding the facts, and dissembling the causes.

Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 16.

With like boldnes you falsifie the reason, why Valens was afterward punished. It is true that he did teare the supplication of Terentius his Captaine, requesting one Church for the Catholiks at Antioch. It is also true that his army was ouerthrown, & himself terribly cōsumed in fire by the Gothes: but that he was *therefore plagued because he* would not suffer two faiths to be planted in Antioch, that is your owne surmise. Nicephorus hath no such circumstance. Neither did Valentinian proffer the like to S. Ambrose. You wrest the storie from his right course to serue your purpose: but he required Ambrose to deliuer vp a Church in Millan, to ꝓ which he with other Arians would resort. To this Ambrose made answere: If I be forced [from my Church] I can not resist, I will neuer consent to yeeld my right. Naboth defended his vine with his blood, shall I betray the Church of Christ? [*Valentinian*] shall rather take from me my life than my faith. And for ought that I see, the constant refusall of this graue, learned & godly bishop withstanding to death the toleration of two religions in one citie, doth preiudice your assertion more than the demand of a rash yong Arian cā further it. If you tel vs, that your Catholike seruice may be suffered in this realme, notwithstanding both Gods and mans lawes banish heretical assemblies, then you recant the permission of two contrarie faiths in one realme, and resume the case which lieth in question betwixt vs; fondly supposing your selues to be right Catholiks, and those that mislike you, to be condemned heretiks; which is still denied by vs, and of your part neuer yet proued. Athanasius & Ambrose were Catholiks indeed, but not acquainted with your worshipping of images,

Nicepb. li. 11. cap. 49. Idem lib. 11. cap. 50.

Lib. epistolarū 5. oratione contra Auxentiū. S. Ambrose chooseth rather to yeeld his life, than one of his Churches to the Arrian seruice.

Athanasius and Ambrose were Catholikes: and therefore Papists be not.

ges, your adoring the sacramēt, your praying in a strange tong, your changing the Lords supper into priuat Masses: the rest of your impieties they neuer heard, they neuer taught: & therfore till you can make good proofe that your faith and religion agreeth with theirs, they standing by your owne confession for Catholiks, you must of consequent, as differing from them in many substantiall points of doctrine, be reputed for heretiks.

Phil. *Which only grace of our prince if we might haue obtained, no pleasure, profit, or preferment that the world beside yeeldeth in any part of Christendom, should haue kept vs out of our deerely beloued countrie so long, for whose saluation, and so much libertie of conscience as is mentioned, we haue often wished diuers of our persons in perpetuall prison, for pledge & warrant of the peaceable & loial demenor of our brethren the Catholiks, and for securitie of the state, wherof her wise counsellers haue alwaies in such cases greatest regard. But neither this durst our Catholike brethren demand in their manifold feares, doubts & disgraces as home, nor we in such suspition and misconstruction of all our actions, could euer with hope attempt it abroad. And, alas, much lesse then the graunt of publike places for exercise of our ancient religion, would haue giuen vs infinite contentment of the Catholiks within, and haue called home most of them abroad, when both sorts would haue counted it a singular grace, during the distresse of these daies, to haue had by permission, pardō, conniuence, their soule rights (without which men perish doubtles euer lastingly in their priuat houses and chambers, yea in prisons, in the closest and least offensiue maner in the world: as the Apostles and confessors did often in the primitiue Church, and S. Cyprian testifieth that some did in his time, and S. Athanasius himselfe did with the Catholiks in Antioch.) From all which, being by rigour of penall statutes, diligent inquirie of temporall officers, watchfulnes of ministers, spies, and promotors, continuallie restrained, and by them often chased from their houses, spoiled of their goods, disgraced and discouraged in all their affaires, manie thousands, yea the farre greater part of her Maiesties subiects languish awaie in sorrow and sadnesse irremediable.* Apol. cap. 2. sect. 4. Cypr. epist. 5. Niceph. lib. 9. cap. 23.

Theop. You departed this countrie neither expecting her Maiesties leaue, nor regarding her lawes, and would you now be set home with a triumph iniurious to God, infamous to the land, dangerous to the prince? No mā asketh of his equall anie thing but that which is honest and safe for the graunter: only the Iesuits step forth confidently, to demaund at their soueraignes hands, no lesse than the The wise demands of the Iesuits.

manifest breach of Gods lawe, ioined with the subuersion of her royall estate. For how displeasant is it to God, that light should be matched with darknes, and Christ yoked with antichrist? And how pernicious it is for her maiesties quiet and happy continuance, to suffer him, that hath already curst her person, remoued her crowne, discharged her subiects, inuaded her dominions (whose seedemen, and swoorne legats ye be) to steale from her the peoples harts vnder a cloud of catholike religion and famed deuotion, the most honorable and wise sages of this realme so well conceiue, that I gesse you shalhaue much to do, with all your colorable pretences and eloquent flourishes to shadow the clearnes of their long and grounded experience.

To salue this sore, we shall haue you forth comming *for warrant that your brethren shall vse loyall and peaceable behauior.* Were this contention for earthly, not heauenly things; & did it concerne not Christs glory, but her graces indemnitie; what a toie this is, for a few shifting friers to thinke themselues meete pledges for a princes securitie? Submission to God and your prince would better become you, thā this malepert kind of prescribing, on what conditions you will returne, what hostages you will giue, what lawes you will agnise: which couenants whether you rudely purpose them, or manerly wish them, no magistrate will receiue, least your burning harts, and vnquiet heads slide from misliking to murmuring, and so to resisting.

A few Friers thinke themselues sufficient hostages for a prince.

But your brethren are so bashfull at home, that *they neuer durst demand any such thing,* & you so fearefull abroad, *that you could not attempt it with hope*: yet are you so bold that you scatter this inuective which chargeth the state with many vile and vnciuill outrages, and your associats of the north were so brainesicke, that putting themselues in armes against their liege Ladie, they required by solemne proclamation forsooth, not onely safeconduct for your masse, but also the releasing of prisoners, banishing of preachers, reuersing of lawes and displacing of counsellers.

The bashfulnes of papists.

Phil. If the grant of publike places for our seruice seem much we will content our selues with chambers and prisons. Theop. The priuatenes of the place, when the fact is ill, neither acquitteth the doer from wickednes, neither excuseth the permitter from negligence. No corner is so secret,

secret, no prison so close, but your impietie there suffered doth offend God, infect others, & confirme your owne frowardnes. If your religion be good, why should it lacke Churches? if it be naught, why should it haue chambers? A christian prince may not pardon or winke at your falsehood. S. Paul hath put in a caueat against that sleight of permitting, which in truth is consenting. Elie reproued his sons, yet was he sharply punished of God for his indulgence, which is all one with your conniuence. S. Iohn saith, he that lodgeth, or biddeth an heretike God speede, is partaker of his euill works. Then howe can the magistrate beare with your sacrilegious prophaning the Lords supper, or licence the rest of your blasphemies, & hope to be free from your plagues? When Valentinian the yonger was requested to wink at the renewing of an altar for the pagans in Rome, S. Ambrose dissuadeth him in these words: All men serue you that be princes, & you serue that mightie God. He that serueth this God, must bring no dissimulation, no conniuence, but faithfull zeale and deuotion: he must giue no kind of consent to the worship of idols, & other prophane ceremonies. For God will not be deceiued, which searcheth al things, euen the secrets of [our] harts. This earnest desire to serue God in her princely vocation without any shrinking or wauering, hath been so long planted, and is so wel setled in her maiesties deuout minde, that no possible meanes euer could, as you presently finde; euer shall, as we trust in gods mercy, quench in her highnes y religious affection. Phil. *This the apostles & confessors did often in the primatiue Church, & S. Cyprian testifieth that some did in his time, and S. Athanasius himselfe did with the catholikes in Antioch.* The. What did they? marchandize priuate masses, or fede men with demie communions? Did they mock the simple with praiers not vnderstood, or weary them with emptie gestures? They did no such thing, but priest and people ioined together to celebrate the Lords supper, tasting all of one bread which was broken, of one cup which was blessed: & offred thanks to God with one consent of hart and voice, for the flesh of Christ y was wounded, & blood that was shed for the remission of their sinnes. This was done in prisons, whiles persecution lasted, in chambers if necessitie forced, and in those Churches which the Christians frequented.

Priuate permission of error, vnlawfull as well as publike.

Rom. 1.
1. Sam. 2.

Iohn. ep. 1.

Ambr. lib. 5. epist. 30.

God alloweth no conniuence.

The apostles had priuate places, but not priuate masses.

Straine Cyprians words at your pleasure, yet will they neuer be drawne to make for your vanities. He warneth the people not to flocke to the prisons in heapes, least their resort be noted of infidels, and by that meanes all accesse denied: he rather aduiseth them, that a priest and a deacon by course, should visit the confessors. To what end you shall find at large in a letter of his to Cornelius. Let vs not leaue them naked and vnarmed, whom we prouoke and incite to the skirmish, but defend them with the munition of the body and blood of Christ: our Eucharist hauing that vertue to safegard the receiuers. How do we prepare them to take the cup of martyrdom, except we first admit them in the Church, as communicants, to drinke of the Lords cup? He that concludeth both kinds to be needfull for such as were ready to spend their liues in the profession of Christes name, doubtles neuer ment to procure them a priuate masse, that should keepe them from receiuing of either.

Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 2.

The cup of the Lords table then thought needfull for martyrs, which the Iesuits now bar the people from.

Athanasius refusing Leontius the bishop of Antioch for heresie, did communicate in priuate houses with such as fauored Eustathius. It skilleth not where, but what he did: our sauior appointed neither time, nor place, to be respected in his supper, but the word and elements: charging vs to do what he did, which is to breake and giue, that all may be partakers of one bread; to diuide the cup, that all may drinke thereof. Do that which he commanded to be done, who first ordained this mystery. Do that which S. Paul receiued of the Lord, & deliuered to the church of Corinth: do that I say which ỹ primitiue Church of Christ alwaies did, and as for places we will not greatly striue.

Niceph. lib. 9. cap. 23.

1. Cor. 10. Mat. 26.

1. Cor. 11.

The rigor of penall statuts, searches of temporall officers, and watchfulnes of (poore) ministers, doth maruellously trouble your spirits. I will not requite you with the flames you kindled in England to burne your brethren to dust; with that holy house which your friers haue planted in Spaine, resembling the tortures of Neroes garden; with the massacres of Prouince, Piemont, and Paris. Let passe with silence the cruell executions of your inordinate rages: God giue you grace to repent your murders past, and soften your vnmerciful harts in time to come: you were brought vp in lambes leasebelike, that you startle thus at the fatherly chastisement, wherewith this realme seeketh your amendment,

The popish mercy.

amendment, and sucketh not your blood. Compare the penalties, which you fret at, with the lawes of former emperors, & you shal see that her maiesties gracious intimation to shew you fauor aboue your deserts, hath eased the burden, & tempered the sharpnes of their ancient edicts, which restrained such as forbare to cõmunicate with the church of Christ, from buying, selling, disposing, bequeathing goods or lands by will, or otherwise, yea from receiuing any legacies, or enioying their fathers inheritance, the place (where schismaticall seruice was said) chappell or house to be forfaited, and the bishop and clergy-man to pay ten pound weight in gold, or to be banished.

The ancient penalties of heresie and schisme.
Codic. lib. 1. tit. 5. § Manichæos.
Ibidem § cuncti.

S. Austen, when it was expected by reason of the goodnes of his nature, that he should mediate for some part of these penalties to be released, gaue this quicke and stout answer: Yea mary, what else, I should gain-say this constitution, that you loose not the things which you call yours, and you without feare spoile Christ of all his: that the Romane lawes should permit you to make your last wils, and you with cauilling reuerse that which God bequeathed our fathers: that in buying and selling your contracts might be good, and you share that among you which Christ bought, when he was sold: that you might freely giue what you list, and what the God of gods hath bestowed on his owne children from east to west should be void: that you should not be banished from the place where your bodies rest, and you driue Christ from the kingdom (purchased) with his blood to reach from sea to sea. Nay, nay, let princes [on Gods name] serue Christ in making lawes for Christ.

Augustine.
Augu epi. 48.
S. Austen allowed and commended those penalties.

You need not complaine of rigor so long as our penall statuts be farre more fauourable than these lawes, which the christian emperors established, and the catholike fathers commended. Acquaint the world with the persecution that you suffer in England, and your vntrue reports shall soone be conuinced. The greatest brunt your friends did beare till this last reuolt, which you procured (if they ioined therewithall no traiterous intent) was imprisonment, where no man was denied the freedome of his goods, the comfort of his wife, the succor of his friends: the basest among them neuer knewe what dungeon, stockes, or irons meant: yet

Our penalties far gentler than those.

say you, *They were chased from their houses, spoiled of their goods, and handled* I know not with what extremitie.

Apol. Cap. 1. Sect. 5. Phil. *Neither be such men miserable onely by so long lacke of things necessarie to saluation, but much more that they be inforced to things which assuredly procure damnation. In which case very lamentable it is to thinke vpon all the distressed consciences that throughout the realme repine with inconsonable sighes and grones against their receiuing, hearing and vsing of the pretended sacraments, seruice, sermons and other actions, whereunto they be inuoluntarilie and against their will drawen, and especially for the othe of the Queenes soueraignte in spirituall regiment, a thing improbable, vnreasonable, vnnaturall, impossible: and yet the forme thereof so conceiued in statute, and so tendered, that the takers must sweare vpon the Euangelists (howsoeuer they thinke in deede) that they acknowledge euen in their conscience that, which neuer learned man of any sort or sect did euer think to be true, & which they know euery catholike man to condemn in hart, & which the chiefe makers of the same, by exempting themselues from it by a special prouiso, haue iudged either damnable or very dangerous. Which othe therefore to exact of most officers in the common-wealth of euery one that is preferred in the vniuersities, or otherwise almost throughout the realme, and namelie, of all such as they suspect thinke it vntrue, is nothing else but wittingly to driue men to pitifull torment of minde, remorse and vtter desperation. Which thing if her maiestie did know, she would neuer of her naturall clemencie, for a title and claime that neuer king (much lesse Queene) christian nor heathen, catholike nor heretike, in his owne dominions or in all the world beside before our age, did chalenge or accept; suffer her poore subiects to be so inwardly & deeply afflicted in their soules, &c.*

Theop. I confesse the lacke of things necessarie to saluation, maketh men very miserable: but you should haue shewed what those things are which this realm wanteth: your mouth is no measure what is requisite for the sauing of our soules, and your reader I dare say, looked for some grauer authorite. Receiue with meekenes the word that is
Iames. 1. graffed [amongst you] saith Iames: it is able to saue your
Rom. 1. soules. So long as we refuse no part of the gospell, which is the power of God for the saluation of euery beleeuer, all
2. Tim. 3. other wants we nothing esteeme. S. Paul doth a certaine vs, that the scriptures are able to [direct and] instruct to saluation by faith in Christ Iesus. Lesse we beleeue not, more we need not; deame you what you list of damnation or saluation,

saluation, the comfort of scriptures shal nourish our hope. Rom. 15.

It greeueth you sore *to thinke on the distressed consciences of such as be drawen against their wils to frequent our sacraments and seruice.* Begin you now to mislike that any mans conscience should be forced: Then why did you, why yet at this day do you force numbers with extreme violence to recant and forswear the persuasion of their faith: what reason can you bring that you may compell others, and none must compel you: Where gate you that exemption: Or if compulsion be lawfull for both sides alike, why grate you so much at our small and easie penalties, when your selues be iustly charged with many cruel and vnchristiā tragedies: Your inquisting, your burning, your murdering of thousands without any respect of innocent or ignorant is in deed very lamentable: this kind of compelling, which her highnesse vseth, neither can your friends deny to be charitable, nor your selfe gainsay to be semblable to that coaction, which the scriptures commend in Iosiah, which the most vertuous emperors followed in ỹ primitiue Church, and which S. Austen vpon deepe debating the case, found allowed by God himselfe, as the chiefest point of that seruice, which he requireth of christian princes. The Iesuits would force, but not be forced to religion.

Our sacraments, seruice and sermons are, you say, pretended: We say, reformed by the constat of Christs will and testament: farther defence till you name the faults shal be needlesse; lightly said without proofe, may be lightly contemned without answer.

The princes interest to persons and causes ecclesiastical sticketh in your stomacks, *as a thing improbable, vnreasonable, vnnaturall, impossible, which neuer king, much lesse Queene, christian or heathen, catholike or heretike in this land, or in all the world beside before our age, did chalenge or accept.* If great taunts were sound proofes, the victorie were yours. You haue words & crakes at will, they cost you nothing: as for the matter in question, when we are come to your fourth chapter, where you seeme to shew the ground of these speeches, it shal thē appeare, notwithstanding your tempest of termes here, and trifling cauils there, that the power of princes to command for truth, and to make lawes for Christ, stādeth not only with probabilitie, possibilitie, reason & nature, but also with euident vtilitie, necessitie, religion and equitie, confirmed Examining the oth respected to the fourth chapter.

confirmed expressly by the scriptures, and plainly warranted by the lawes, actions and examples of the most famous and renowmed princes that euer were: keepe your courage for that combat, the time is not long.

Phil. I am content to respect you till then: yet this I will adde by the way; the contents of that oth for the princes supremacie, *neuer learned mã of any sort or sect did think to be euer true.* Theop. No? What did the bishops and preachers of England for these fiftie yeeres, which liked and accepted this oth for good and godly? Not a learned man among them, say you: then happy be those Seminaries of yours, that of ignorant boyes, starting hence but last day, can so soone bring forth learned and graue diuines. What say you then to some of your owne sect, I meane Tonstall in his epistle to cardinal Poole, and Gardener in his oration of true obedience? Did not either of them take this or the like oth, and willingly defend the same? Phil. They changed their minds in Queene Maries time. Theo. They did so, but their latter inconstancie doth not abolish the truth of their former confession. Well if this whole realme be void of learning (such is your modestie) come to strangers. Was there euer any learned of our side, that impugned your errors? I trust you will not reiect them as vnlearned, lest men begin to doubt not of your learning, but of your right wits. Graunt them to be learned, & I will proue their iudgements to go with ours in this question.

Many learned men of their side as well as ours haue both taken and defended the oth.

You require me to shew their words. I wis that were no great masterie. Read Molineus against your holy fathers abuses, Peter Martyr vpon the 19. chap. of Iudges, Symlerus his preface before Boetius, Cassianus, Gelasius, &c. And tell me what difference betwixt vs and them. But I chose rather to produce the common wealths, where these learned men and infinite mo did, and do liue: for beholding their deeds, what need we their words? Their actions will testifie their opinions. Scotland, Flanders, Denmarke, Suetia, Polonia, Bohemia, the free cities and states of Germanie, Suitzerland, and other nations, which haue displaced your impieties, and receiued the gospel: made they this change by the popes permission and assent of his bishops, or else by the magistrates aid and assistance? The first of these twaine you dare not auouch;

Other nations both by words and deeds haue allowed and shewed that power of the prince, which the oth propoſeth.

for

or God knoweth it went much against your wils: then must you confesse the second, & so those learned preachers and writers which either at first perswaded and incouraged, or at this day commend and allow the princes and magistrates of those kingdoms and countries, for removing Antichrist with all his trinckets out of their dominions, and imbracing the truth of Christ by publike authoritie, yea for reforming their Churches and setting an order in causes ecclesiastical as farre forth in euery point, as her highnesse hath done in this land: all these learned & worthy diuines, I say, consent with vs in this, that the magistrate may lawfully settle matters of religion, maugre your Romish idoll, and punish error and iniquitie by the temporal sword as well in bishops and priests, as in others: Which is the very summe and effect of this oth, that you by no means can away with.

Phil. *The chiefe makers of it themselues haue iudged it either damnable or very dangerous.* Theoph. This no doubt is a vehement accusation, if it can be proued; if it be rashly surmised, then is it as pestilent a slaunder. Goe to, what reason leadeth you to charge the nobles of this land in this sort? Phil. The Barons *exempted themselues from taking this oth by a speciall prouiso.* Theo. What if they did not exempt themselues, but her maiestie for the confidence she reposed in her nobles, and for a difference betweene them and the commons, would not haue their othes, but accepted their honors as sufficient pledges of their fidelitie, will you wrest her graces good opinion of them to their vtter and open diffamation? Or what if some barons of this realme skant fullie resolued in that point (which then was no wonder) made meanes to be respited for a season till they might be farther instructed, which could not be graunted to particular persons by name without infamie to themselues and iniurie to the rest; and for that cause, least any should be pointed at, or distrusted more than others, this generall exemption were deuised as most indifferent; who but a wrangling Iesuite would inferre that the chiefe doers in heart condemned their owne law?

The nobles of this relme shamefully slandered by the Iesuits.

You demaund, how my suppolals can be proued. That needeth not, your vile and infamous report is sufficiently confuted, if I bring other & better occasiõs, that were but possible.

possible. For where many good reasons of this exemption may be produced, why do you spitefully presume? Worst: and that vpon a blind suspition, without any proofe? Why do you rashly coniecture their secret thoughts, which you by no meanes could knowe? why boldly pronounce you that of christian and godly states, which no sober man wil suspect in Turkes and infidels? to wit, that they met in parliament to make wicked and bloody lawes against their owne consciences? And what if I coulde not resolue you whence this exemption first sprang, (such matters of counsel pertaining little to your vocation and mine) yet due respect to their places, which we should not despise: good triall of their wisedomes, which we cannot deny: common charity to their persons, which we may not purposely diffame; withhold me Philander, and should haue restrained you from this lewd and insolent reprochyng the consciences of so many noble men and worthy counsellers, except you could shew some iust & inuitable proofe, which you cānot, hauing for your vnhonest surmise no surer ground than this, that the statute doth not compell barons or any temporall person aboue that degree to take his oth, but exempteth them from the penalties of this act, prouided for others of meaner calling & lesse credit with her maiestie.

Phil. *To exact this oth of most officers in the common wealth, and of euery one that is preferred in the Vniuersities is nothing els but wittingly to driue men to pittiful torment of minde, remorse, and vtter desperation.* Theo. Why so good sir? Is this consequent, that he which keepeth your men from degrees and offices driueth them to desperation? Gape your friends so mightilie for honor and lucre, that rather than they will lacke earthlie preferments they cannot chose but venter their soules? No law forceth them to seeke for offices and dignities, but onely debarreth them from such, vntill they renounce that vsurped authority, which your holy father claimeth to cōmand, correct and depose princes at his becke. If any be tormented in minde for abiuring that vniust title, which the pope pretendeth; blame not the lawes of this realme, which you cannot disproue; blame the couetous and ambitious humor of those, that for worldly respects would rush headlong against the perswasiōs of their harts; blame your odious and erronious whispering in their eares

The oth exacted of officers and proceeders.

The law barreth papists from preferments and offices, vntil they demonstrate their obedience by oth. Is that to driue them to desperation?

which

ohich hath troubled and altered their conceits, that were
aulmed & setled in quietnes. Such temporising hipocrits,
f any such be so vexed in minde, as you tell vs (which I
eanstly beleeue: for ambition and gaine breed in them ra-
her delight than remorse) yet were they not therto driuen
y the magistrate, who proposed this lawe with condition,
nd left them to the choise; but their greedines first baited
hem, next your secret buzzing in corners disordered their
onstant affections, and nowe perhaps foolish fantasie
oth afflict them, without reason of their parts, or occasion
f ours. Phil. But to compell *namely all such as you suspect to thinke is vntrue*, that is wilfully to force men to desperation.

The Iesuits buzzing in corners doth trouble their consciences, and not the oth.

Theo. The time was when you and your fellowes cared little for driuing others to desperation. The strange tor-
ments you deuised and practised on thousands, to compell them from the confession of their faith without any regard of their consciences, can witnes the same: mary nowe the sword is out of your hands, you grow so tender and deli-
cate that neither religion nor obedience may be forced on you, for feare least you fall to desperation. You can shift for your selues, I perceiue, what euer betide your neighbors: but in sadnes Philander, where learned you this diuinitie, that subiects may not be compelled against their wils, if they list to pretend conscience, least they dispaire? Shall the peeuish opinion of such as be froward and ignorant, or to speake with fauor, the priuate persuasion of such as be weake, stop magistrates from yeelding that seruice which God requireth of them? May princes displease God, to please men? or breake the least of his precepts, to content neuer so great a multitude? No doubt they may not. For rulers in making their lawes must depende on the will of God reuealed in his word, not on other mens consciences,

The magistrates may compel to things that be lawfull, though desperation do ensue.

idolaters, heretikes, and schismatikes lacke not an inward and strong persuasion of their sects, yet dare you not deny, but christian princes ought to force their subiects, from idolatry, dissention, and heresie.

A thiefe may be hanged, though he would pretend desperation.

The scriptures commend Iosiah, for compelling the people to serue God: the seruant is charged to compell the guests that were loth to come: God hath ordained the sword (which neuer entreateth or perswadeth, but onely commandeth and compelleth) to punish falshood and assist

2. Chron. 34. Luc. 14.

truth.

truth. Note men that be willing nede no forcing, *ergo* princes may compell their subiects, that is, constraine them against their wils to keepe the faith and communion of Christs Church, notwithstanding they pretend, or indeed haue neuer so resolute & strong an opinion to ꝯ contrary.

The Donatists rather than they would be forced from their fansies, slue themselues, yet this did nothing fray the Church of God from compelling them by the rigor of princes lawes, without any respect to their wilfull desperation. We grant he that woundeth a weake conscience sinneth against Christ; mary to be grieued with that which is good, is no weakne but wickednes; and he that tendereth or regardeth a wicked conscience, by your leaue, is a fauourer and confirmer of his euil workes. To such saith Paul, I gaue no place, no not an houre: for if I should [so] please men, I were not the seruant of Christ. We may not for things indifferent trouble the weake mindes of our brethren, yet this rule bindeth no magistrate to remit the punishment of error and infidelitie, because God hath charged them to suffer no kind of euill vnreuenged, (and this is the greatest) whose voyce they must heare, whose will they must obey, though they were sure thereby to scandalize neuer so many both aliens and subiects.

August. epist. 50. & 204. The Donatists were not spared though they offered them selues violence.

1. Cor. 8. Gal. 2. Gal. 1.

Phil. Woe to that man by whom offences come. Theoph. True sir, but an offence fondly taken, not iustly giuen, entangleth no man besides the taker. Blessed is he (saith Christ) that is not offended at me. Where cursed is he that taketh an offence, the giuer is blessed for euer. We preach Christ crucified a stumbling blocke to the Iewes, and vnto me (saith Paul) if I preach not the Gospell, yet doth it bring the wicked to their destruction, and is the sauour of death vnto death in them that perish. Then as the minister must dispense the word of truth, be therewith offended and grieued who list: so the Magistrate may draw the sword of iustice to compell and punish such as be blindly led, or maliciously bent to resist sound doctrine; without any respect what afterward befalleth such ouerthwart creatures vpon compulsion, desperation ensue; wo not to the compeller, vsing those meanes which God hath appointed & discharging that dutie, which God hath cōmanded; but wo rather, & double wo to ꝯ despairer, who first framed his conscience

Luc. 17.

Luc. 7.

1. Cor. 1. 1. Cor. 9. 2. Cor. 2.

Offence taken not iustly giuē, hurteth no man but the taker.

conscience to forsake truth & beleue lies; & now receiuing the iust reward of his error hath his hart hardened, that when good discipline, which healeth others, is applied as a wholesome medicine to recouer him, it causeth or sheweth him to be past cure, without any sinister action, or ill intention of the Magistrate.

Thus much for the making & exacting of that oth. The contents whereof shall be fully discussed when we come to the place which I named. We stand too long I feare about these foolish and impertinent quarrels. I will passe to your second chapter as finding nothing left in your first, but an action of vnkindnes against such as call you fugitiues: which name you well deserue, though you be loth to beare. Phil. That is but your saying, which we little regard. Theo. Much lesse need we regard your slanderous & false reports published of purpose to deface this realme: they be but your sayings, which no good man esteemeth. Phil. You fall now to words. Theop. What else haue you done, since we began? We be now come to the shutting vp of your first chapter; reuiew the same: what one line, what one letter haue you proued, that hurteth vs, or helpeth you? Phi. You were not here to looke for many scriptures or fathers: we giue you the reasons of our departure, which be matters of fact, and admit no proofes. Theop. If you can not proue them, we need not disprous them; & so let vs end with this, & proceed to the next. Phi. You answer not halfe that which we haue obiected. Theop. You obiect much and proue litle: which forceth me to neglect the most part of that you haue obiected. For when you heape vp idle words, that are but wind; and raigne ouer your aduersaries with lordlike vaunts, which are better despised than answered; why should I follow your vaine humor, or bring the cause of Christ to a meere babble of words, as your Apologie doth? Phil. Say your pleasure.

Theo. Your first chapter we haue seen: what doth your second contain? Phi. The causes of our repairing somtime to the citie and court of Rome. Theo. If this be all, I will neuer open my mouth for the matter. Your priuate actions & secret purposes we can not see, we nede not search. Therein you may pretend what you please, without any truth, and we beleue what we list without any wrong. Phil. Their running to Rome.

Apol. chap. 2. Sect. 6.

Phil. *In faith and truth they were none other, but to make humble ſute for the eſtabliſhment, and perpetuall foundation of the college or Seminarie which his holines had long before inſtituted in place of the hoſpitall of our nation there: this was one thing. Another was, that the gouernors of that college in Rome aboue, and of this other nowe reſident in Rhemes beneath might giue and take mutuall direction for correſpondence in regiment, diſcipline & education moſt agreeable to our countriemens natures, and for preuention of all diſorders that youth & companies of ſcholers namely in baniſhment are ſubiect vnto.*

Theo. It may be this you did, but did you nothing elſe? Phil. It was ſtrongly ſurmiſed we know, that our going to Rome was to procure ſome matter againſt the prince, but God is our witnes it was no part of our meaning. Theop. That intelligence was giuen by ſuch as were daily conuerſant with you, and thoſe articles of confederacie betweene the pope, & others to inuade this realme were rife in your ſeminaries there, and cloſely ſent to your friendes here; but whether interpriſed and followed by common conſent amongſt you, or onely deuiſed and ſcattered by ſome of you, to ſtrike a feare in the peoples harts to make them the redier for your perſwaſions, we can not exactly ſay: this we be ſure, ſuch practiſes in ſubiects be lewd and ſeditious. Phil. If that information were true. Theop. What reaſons haue you to proue it falſe? Phil. Enow: The ſecond chapter of our Apologie doth refel it at large. Theop. You refell it indeed, as your maner is; that is, you ſay that you will without any further proofe or paine. *Certain yoong felowes,* ſay you, *Fugitiues from their maſters, deprehended in diuers coſinages, counterfaiting of letters, & plaine theftes haue of malice, hope of impunitie and lucre, traiterouſly ſlandered you.* Thus as if you ſate ſupreme iudges ouer al the world, you bring nothing to quite your ſelues and confute your aduerſaries, but onely the breath of your owne mouths.

Apol. cap. 2. Sect. 1.

A Ieſuits oth is no great aſſurance: they haue ſuch cunning to make othes, and power to diſpence with othes.

Phil. We giue you an oth for our diſcharge: will you not beleeue vs, when we ſweare? Theo. If we do it, is more of our good meaning than your wel deſeruing; you diſpence ſo faſt with the breach of othes. Phil. You miſreport vs, we do not ſo. Theo. That ſhall appeere in place conuenient. I wil not now digreſſe from the matter. An oth, you ſay, we haue to purge all ſuſpition: Let vs heare it. Phil.

Apol. cap. 2. Sect. 2.

The principall of the voyage doth profeſſ, that he neither ioined with rebel

rebell nor traitor, nor anie other against the Queene or realme, or traiterouslie sought or practised to irritate anie prince or potentate to hostilitie against the same. Further inuocating vpon his soule that he neither knew, saw nor heard during his aboad in the court of Rome, of any such writings, as are mentioned in the proclamation of Iuly, containing certaine articles of confederatiõ of the Pope, king of Spaine, & other princes for the inuasion of the realme. Theop. We heare you sweare, but meane you plainly: Phi. Why doubt you that? Theo. You teach others, whē they be called before such as you count heretiks; *sophisticè iurare, & sophisticè respondere,* sophistically to swear, and sophistically to answer, ỹ is to mock the Magistrate with a captious & cunning oth or answer. And therfore vnlesse you giue vs a precyser & strickter oth than this, we trust you not. You did not *traiterously secke or practise to irritate any prince or potentate to hostilitie against the Queene or Realme:* What nēded this addition, you sought it not traiterouslie? Your meaning may be, you sought it but lawfully. Phil. What fraud you suspect, where we meane simply? Theop. Then for the better explication of our selues, do you thinke it treason for an Englishman to come with the Pope or any other appointed by him to inuade the land for the restoring of religion, and execution of the sentence, which Pius the fift pronounced against her maiestie? Phi. That sentence is extrauagāt. Theo. Not so. For if you count it no treason, as we can proue ỹ most part of you do not, to obey ỹ pope deposing the Queene, then in your owne conceits may you safely sweare, you did not these things traiterouslie, though touching the facts it were certaine you did them. Phil. What a compasse you fet to intrap vs? Theo. What euasions you get to delude vs? but how doth this cleare the rest of your side?

Inter quæstiones ad tribunal iudicis pertinentes, quæst. 2. quomodo respondendum in tribunali hæreticorum.

They make it no treason to inuade the land, if the pope so commaund vpon pretence of heresie and schisme.

Phil. We be *most assured that no English Catholike would or could be the author thereof.* Theop. It is much to be sure what euerie man of your faction would or could do: you must be gods and not men, if you can do that. Phil. We knowe they would not. Theop. Leaue this follie, you can not search the secrets of other mens harts, nor account for their deeds: in a matter so impossible; the more behement, the more impudent.

Phil. *It verilie may be thought (and so is it certaine, that some of the principall ministers of the forenamed princes haue answered,* being

Apolog. cap. 2. sect. 2.

being demanded thereof) that the protestants hauing exercised skill and audacitie in such practises and counterpractises (of which France, Flanders, Scotland, and other countries haue had so lamentable experience) did contriue them to alter her maiesties accustomed benignitie and mercie towards the Catholiks. Theop. It is great pitie that papistes be no practisers. Aske England, Scotland, Flanders, France, Spaine, Italy, Sicily, Germany, what practises they haue found, I say not in your temporall men, but in the priests, prelats, and pillers of your Church. Righter Macheuels than the popes themselues Christendom hath not bred: mary this in deed you were alwaies better with poisons and treasons, than with papers and pamflets: and yet you spared neither scriptures, councels, nor fathers; but corrupted and interlaced them to serue your turnes.

Popes for these 600. yeeres haue bene nothing else but practisers.

As for the procurers and setters of this late confederacie to assault ỹ realme, if you know not who they were, Charles Paget, and others with you can tell; or if they would dissemble, Throckmorton hath told. There shal you see, whether this were a meere deuise and sleight of ours, or a lewd intent and practise of yours. These be the chiefe points of your second chapter: the rest is lip-labor, and no way concerneth your cause.

Phil. Yes: We proue it lawfull for men in our case to flie to the bishop of Rome, for reliefe either of body or soule. Theop. We be sure you will say it with boldnes enough, but will you proue it? Phil. We will proue it.

Apolog. cap. 2. sect. 5. *Hiero. epist. 16.* A fond flourish for their going to Rome.

Theop. How? Phil. *Whither should we rather flie than to the head, or as S. Hierom speaketh (to the most secure part of our catholike communion) to the rocke of refuge in doubtfull daies and doctrines, to the chiefe pastor and bishop of our soules in earth, to the vicar generall of Christ, out of the compasse of whose fold and familie no banishment can bring vs: to him that by office and vnction had receiued the grace of loue, pitie, and compassion: to him that counteth no christian nor domesticall of faith a stranger: to him whose citie & seate is the native home of all true beleeuers, and the paterne of all bishoply hospitalitie and benignitie.*

This is no flatterie.

Theop. Whither now maisters, are you well aduised? Phil. Why not? Theop. You presume that to be most true, which is most in question betwixt vs; and as if your vnshamefast flatteries were found and substantiall verities,

you

you conclude without proouing the precedents, or respecting the consequent. For first, what witnesse bring you, that the pope is as you say, *the head, the rocke of refuge in doubtfull daies and doctrines, the chiefe pastor and bishop of your soules in earth, the vicar generall of Christ: or that his seat is the native home of all true beleeuers*, and the whole Church *his fold and familie*? What ancient father or councell euer liked, or suffered these proud and false titles? Why proouе you not that which you speake? Or why speake you that which you can not proue? In so weighty matters do you thinke it enough to say the word, and by and by we must hust? Phil. We haue else-where brought you so many demonstrations for these things, that now we take them to be cleare. Theop. Omit these vaunts, we aske for proofes: and till you bring them, by your owne rule we need frame you no farther answer.

Phil. Make you merry with that aduantage, but yet S. Hierom is not so shifted. Theop. His name you set in the forefront to lead on the rable of your vnsauorie speeches, but the words of S. Hierom do litle releeue you. For let it be that Athanasius, and after him Peter, bishops of Alexandria, declining the persecution of the Arian heresie, fled to Rome as to the safest port of their communion; because Rome was then free from the tumults of Arians, so long as Constans liued, and ready to receiue such as suffered affliction, for the truth of Christ, which is all that S. Hierom saith: What infer you thence? that Rome is now the like? This illation commeth twelue hundred yeers too short of your antecedent, & no way dependeth vpon S. Hieroms words; vnles you thinke that Rome now because she beareth the same name, must also chalenge the same vertues, and praises, which Rome so long since both had & deserued; which were very ridiculous. But is this al you wil adde before you grow to your maine conclusion.

Hiero. ad principia. epitaphium Marcell. Rome was then safe from Arians whiles Constans liued, but not after when the bishop of Rome was banished by the Arians.

Phil. The greatest part is yet behind. For as I began, whither should we rather flie than *to him, whose predecessors gaue vs our first faith in the time of the Britanes, restored it after in the daies of the English, recouered vs from Paganisme, from Arianisme, from Pelagianisme, from Zwinglianisme: often receiued, harbored, and relieued, diuerse blessed bishops and priestes of our nation, as well in the tymes of their prosperitie, as persecution; and who*

Apol. cap. 2. sect. 5. *Bede lib. 1. hist. Ang.* The pretences of their running to Rome.

The pretences of their running to Rome.

haue receiued againe of all our princes, prelats and people, all dutifull and correspondent honours and good offices for so manie hundred yeeres together, when they and their dominions florished in much glorie and felicitie, and were dreadfull to Gods enemies, the Churches and their owne: among whome, her maiesties father for his worthie writings and doings against the Lutherans, receiued the glorious and eternall title of Defender of the faith, to him of whose predecessors all the famous fathers called for aid, comfort and counsell in their like distresses, Cyprian of Cornelius and Stephanus, Athanasius of Iulius, and Marcus, Chrysostome and Augustine of Innocentius, Basill of Liberius, Felix and other Bishops of Italie: Hierom and Milecius of Damasius, Theodoret of Leo the great, and all the rest of other holie Popes, as time and necessitie required: to him whose seate (as Eusebius reporteth of Saincte Denys of Corinth) did alwaies send reliefe to all the Christians persecuted, and condemned to metals, and refreshed all the faithfull comming vnto it as the parent the children: to him who as he canonicallie succeedeth all these in seate, doctrine, and dignitie, so is inferiour to none, farre passeth manie, and resembleth most Saincte Gregorie the great our Apostle in all charitie, hospitalitie, zeale, and tenderneſſe of heart and affection toward the desolate, namely, our nation: for the spirituall calamitie whereof the writer of this hath seene him weepe full hartilie, and hath heard him saie, the goods of that holie seate, whereof he had the dispensation, were for the poore afflicted domesticals of faith. Finallie, whither could we with more hope haue recourse, than to him, by whose bounteous goodnesse so manie Patriarches, Bishops, learned, Gentlemen and Christians of all sorts, English, Scottish, Irish, Almans, Hungarians, Syrians, Armenians, Cyprians, and all other vnder the Turke, or anie waie for Christes sake oppressed or impouerished haue been and shall be relieued.

Lib. 4. cap. 22. Eccle. hist.

Theop. A long processe to little purpose. Graunt that diuers good men in times past haue sent and gone to Rome for counsell and comfort in cases of distresse, which is all in effect which you can or do say: what conclude you now? Phil. That we may do the like. Theop. The like you may, but not the contrarie. Phil. We follow precisely their steps. Theop. That we denie. Well, you may go to Rome as they did, and so your iourney not differ from theirs in the paines, which you take; nor the place, which you see; but you neither carry with you the same minds, that they did; neither doth your holy father content himselfe with those

The Iesuits go to Rome, but not as the Fathers did.

those meanes, which his predecessors vsed. For the ancient bishops of Rome were dutifull and obedient subiects to the christian emperors, & dealt by petition and supplication in most humble wise for their afflicted brethren: they neuer offered armes, nor incouraged rebell against the superior powers, no not when Constantius the Arian banished Liberius the bishop of Rome, for dissenting from his opinion; nor when Iulius the Apostata renounced the faith, and openly fell to Gentilisme: but euer submitted themselues to the same lawes and paines that other godly bishops did, when the prince toke part with error. And for this cause the traueling then to Rome, whiles the bishop there imbraced the truth, obeied the state, and assisted their brethren by good & lawfull meanes, could no way be displeasant to God, iniurious to princes, nor dangerous to common-wealths: in our daies it is far otherwise. The pope now taketh vpon him to depose kings, to inuade realmes, to authorize rebellion, yea to curse all that yeld any subiection or duty to those magistrats that withstand their fantasies: which vile & intollerable presumption of the late bishops of Rome, neither Cyprian, nor Athanasius, nor Chrysostom, nor Augustine, nor Basill, nor Hierom, nor Theodoret in their times euer found or feared. And therfore both you must alter the lewd persuasions of your harts, & your holy father must leaue his vnholy practises to pull princes out of their thrones by stirring sedition, and inuading their dominions, before your flocking to Rome can be warranted by these examples.

Phil. I maruell you still obiect that, which we by oth haue purged. You know we haue sworne that in going to Rome we had no such intent. Theop. Your oth, if it be true, clereth one man for one voiage; but which of you doth, or can sweare for all other times and persons? Howbeit in this place we do not vrge you with your intents nor attempts against her maiestie, we onely weigh the strength of your argument, that you may flie to Rome, as wel as some learned and ancient fathers haue done. This collection of yours is not good: because the bishop of Rome now claimeth ful power to depriue princes of their crownes, and discharge their subiects from all obedience, contrary to the word of God, and examples of Christes

They may not go to Rome in these daies, though the fathers did, when the bi-

shop of Rome behaued himselfe as a dutifull subiect to the Emperour.

Church; which in those daies, whiles these Fathers, whome you mention, liued, the bishops of Rome neither did or durst presume.

Phil. We meddle not with the popes claime, he can answere for himselfe. Theop. You must meddle with it, and bring incontable proofe for it, before your consequent will be currant, or your flight to Rome lawfull. Phil. If we sought to Rome, for succour against the prince, your saying were somewhat, but I haue often told you we do not. Theop. And I haue told you as often, that graunt you did not, the popes claime to discharge Kings and Quenes at his pleasure, is enough to reuerse your argument. We care not what you dissemble of policie for a season, but what he chalengeth for euer as of right. His pride, not your craft is the thing we stand on, and that being such as the learned Fathers whome you name, neuer saw nor suspected, maketh so great a difference betweene those daies and these, that from their fact to yours no good consequent can be framed.

If this pride and tirannie be vnlawfull: resorting to him, and partaking with him, can not be lawfull.

And yet I could tell you besides, that when he commandeth you must and will execute. So that although you were no seekers nor prouokers of his vnchristian dealings against our soueraigne, you neither may, nor do refuse to be commenders, assisters, performers of his vngodlie purposes, tend they neuer so much to the preiudice of this realme, and disturbance of her Maiesties title, state and wel-fare. Which tyranous vsurpation in him, and traiterous affection in you, no father, that is catholike, did euer allow; no prince, that is auncient, did euer endure. And as for your scattered and maimed examples, which here you heape to fraie the simple with emptie names and loftie words, not one of them auoucheth anie such matter or meaning.

Not one of their examples toucheth the popes power ouer princes: but conuince rather the contrarie. Counsell and comfort may be set from anie place as well as from Rome.

Phil. If they proue not the popes iurisdiction ouer princes which vnstoutlie denie, yet I trust they proue, that we may send, or go to Rome, to be resolued in doubts of religion, and to be relieued in times of affliction, which is all we require. Theop. Counsell in cases of faith, and comfort in daies of danger, be no signes of authoritie, but duties of charitie, neither those peculiar to the bishop of Rome, but common to the whole Church of God: and therefore

therefore if your examples reach no farther, but that princes haue beene sometimes aduised, and other good men harbored by the bishops of Rome, whiles the citie was famous for learning and religion, you take great paines to proue that which neither helpeth you, nor hindereth vs. All this may be graunted, and your running to Rome no whit the soner concluded to be lawfull.

Phil. What reason barreth vs now from trauelling to Rome more than others heeretofore? Theop. Your holie Father pretendeth and exerciseth in our daies a monstrous and pernicious power ouer the Church of Christ, which at that time when these godlie men wrote, and repaired to Rome, was neither attempted by him, nor mistrusted by them. So that they might resort to the bishop of Rome, as to their fellow seruant without offence to the Church, or contempt to the state: because the bishops then behaued themselues as religious members, not as presumptuous heads of the Church; and liued as subiects, not as superiors to the prince: you can now not flie to the bishop of Rome, but you must do violent wrong to them both: to the prince by renouncing your subiection, breaking your oth, and bearing armes against your liege Ladie, when the pope commandeth: to the Church in thinking and teaching the bishop of Rome to be the decider of all doubts, vpholder of all truth, expounder of all scriptures, confirmer of all councels, dispenser with all lawes, yea supreme and infallible iudge of all men and all matters, that anie waie touch or concerne religion. Which strange and incredible pride those examples which you bring, are so far from allowing, that we need no better witnes to confute you with. Phil. You do but iest I dare saie.

The Fathers resorted to the bishop of Rome as to their brother and fellow seruant.

Theop. Examine the particulars, and you shall find them make cleane against you, or at least nothing for you. The bishop of Rome, you saie, *gaue vs our first faith in the time of the Britaines, restored it afterward in the daies of the English, recouered vs from Paganisme, from Arianisme, from Pelagianisme, from Zwinglianisme.* This last I may skip as a fond effect of your distempered choler. The Gospell now preached among vs you call in your heate Zwinglianisme, from the which though some of you be lightly stept, I trust in God, yt worst

your holy father can do, shall neuer remoue vs. That this land was infected with Arianisme and Pelagianisme, as many other places then were, I finde it reported in the story of Bede: that the bishop of Rome recouered vs from both, or from either, I find it not; yea rather certaine it is, the bishops of France our neighbours vpon request made vnto them by the Britains, sent Germanus and Lupus, two French bishops, chosen in a Synode by the generall liking, to conuert this realme from Pelagius errour, which also they did with great celeritie. So that of those foure recoueries to the faith, which you reckon in fauour of the bishops of Rome, the last is the present estate which we striue for, the two next be false, the first is onely left and that furthereth your conclusion but litle.

Bede Eccl. hist. gentis Ang. lib. 1. cap. 8. lib. 1. cap. 17. This land recouered frō Pelagianisme by two Frech bishops. *Lib. 1. cap. 17.*

Phil. Will you deny that the bishop of Rome first causfed the Britanes and Saxons to be christened? Theop. I will deny nothing that is true: presume you no more than you proue, and we shall soone grow to an end. Lucius an ancient king of the Britanes, wrote to Eleutherius bishop of Rome for his helpe, that himselfe and his people might be baptized: and Gregorie the great sent Augustine the monke to see whether he could conuert king Edelbert and the Saxons. Doth this proue the pope superior to princes, or that he may send his factors hither without the princes leaue?

Bede Eccl. hist. gentis Angl. lib. 1. cap. 4. Lucius christened, and Edelbert conuerted from Rome.

Phil. There was somewhat in it, that Lucius sent so far. Theoph. This realme was then rude, learning here skant, religion newly sprong, and no where setled, Coilus his father brought vp at Rome from a child, and one that of his owne accord yelded both friendship and tribute to the Romanes, Lucius himselfe a great fauourer of the Romane empire, and no place neere home so famous and wel furnished with able men to serue his turne as Rome. What maruell then if Lucius, so well acquainted and friended at Rome before, thought best to be thence directed & instructed at his first entrie to the christian faith? But can you proue that Lucius was bound to do that he did, or that Eleutherius did any thing against the princes will? Phil. I say not so. Theo. Then this example maketh litle for you which be sent hither not onely without the princes leaue but against her liking and lawes, to withdraw the peoples hearts from her, and to prepare them for a farther purpose:

The occasions of Lucius sending vnto Rome.

Gregories

Gregories fact in sending to conuert the Saxons maketh nelle. For Augustine & his fellowes, notwithstanding they were sent from Rome, as you are, and taught nothing but subiection and obedience to princes, which you do not; yet would they not enter into this land without the kings consent and permission, but rested in the Ile of Tenet till his pleasure were knowne; & offered not to preach in this reime before the king in expresse words gaue them licence. They came not in disguised as you do, they lurked not in corners they trauelled not by night they brought no buls in their bosomes to discharge the subiects and depose the prince: the bishop of Rome that sent them, neither stirred rebellio, nor inuaded king Edelberts dominio. And where you being subiects offer that wrong to a christian queene, which they being strangers did not to an heathen king; yet would you beare me in hand you follow their example; but lay downe the true report of these stories and see how handsomely they fit your conclusion. Eleutherius being requested by king Lucius sent some to baptise him and his subiects; and Gregorie sent others to trie whether king Edelbert would giue them leaue to preach to the Saxons: *Ergo* you may flee to the bishop of Rome notwithstanding he professe himselfe an open enemy to the queene.

They that came from Rome, would not enter this land nor preach here without the kings expresse licence. *Bede lib. 1. cap. 25.*

Phi. You still presse vs with that which we neuer meant. Theop. You still defend your selues there where we do not strike. This is the very drift and scope of all your examples, as your owne words witnes: *And for vs of the schoole & cleargy, whether should we rather flee than to him.* Now that he hath openly shewed himselfe an enemy to her highnesse, in accursing her person, in remouing her crowne, in forbidding her subiects to obey her, in aiding rebels against her and assaulting her land with force, you can not so much as doubt, would you neuer so faine; the facts are so notorious & fresh in the memories of al men. Phil. We noted this in you, that where the Britans & Saxons receiued preachers from Rome with honor and thanks, you persecute them with all kind of torments. Theop. Your attempt is as contrary to theirs, as your reward is diuerse from theirs. They came with religion to God & submission to princes, you come with neither. Phil. I would you knew it, we come with both. And you may be ashamed to charge

Apolog. cap. 2. What greater hostilitie than this could the Turke himselfe offer?

bs with two such hainous crimes, prouing neither. Th
Haue patience till we come to the place, where both sha
be discussed, and se whether that which is now said sha
then be proued or no: but in the meane time goe forwar
with the rest of your examples.

Phil. We flee to him *of whose predecessors all the famous fathe*
called for aide, comfort and counsell in their like distresses, as Cypri
of Cornelius and Stephanus, Athanasius of Iulius, Chrysostome a
Augustine of Innocentius, Basil of Liberius, Felix and other bisho
of Italie, Hierome and Miletius of Damasus, Theodoret of Leo t
great, and all the rest of other holy Popes. Theop. This is no re
soning but rouing. You flourish with a few generall ar
doubtfull termes, neither opening the causes, nor expre
What aide the fathers sought at Rome. sing the circumstances. They called, you say, *For aide, co*
fort and counsell. What aide? such as the bishops of Ron
might and did yeeld in those dayes without chalenging
ny supremacie? That is nothing to your purpose, neith
will that warrant your gadding to Rome. Such as no
could giue but they that were rulers and heads of t
whole Church? That were somewhat, if it could be pro
ued: but your examples containe no such thing. Vie
the particulars.

Cypri lib. 1. epist. 1. & lib. 2. epistola 1. Cyprian in his epistles to Cornelius and Stephanus n
uer calleth them otherwise than brethren and collegues
and in matters concerning the regiment of the Churc
as well giueth as taketh both counsell and comfort. Bu
can you shew that Cyprian euer allowed any man to runn
to Rome for helpe against the iudgements and acts of
ther bishops? if you can not, as we be right sure you
Cyprian misliketh running to Rome. *Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 3.* not able, then can we shew you, where Cyprian misliketh
and plainly reprooueth this posting of yours to Rom
writing to Cornelius. He saith, that certaine persons co
demned in Africa by the bishops there, *Romam cum mendaci*
rum suorum merce nauigauerũt, sailed to Rome with their fraigh
of lies: adding farther, And now what is the cause of the
comming? for either they like that they did, and so perseue
in their wickednes; or if they mislike and relent they kno
whither they may returne. For where it is a thing prescribe
to vs all, & besides that equal & right, that euery mans cau
be there heard, where the crime was committed; and euer
pastor hath his portion of the flocke assigned him, which h

mu

must gouerne and rule, as one that shall giue an accompt of his doings to God, *Oportet vtique eos quibus præsumus non circũcurrere:* Those that be vnder vs must not run thus about [to Rome] but there plead their cause, where they may find both accusers and witnesses: vnlesse perhaps a few desperate and loose companions take the authoritie of the bishop of Africa to be lesse than [at Rome.]

The like he saith of one Basilides that being depriued of his bishoprike, procured letters from Rome for his restitution. Neither can this infringe the ordering [*of the next bishop,*] lawfully finished, that Basilides running to Rome, deceiued Stephanus our collegue by reason he is farre off, and not acquainted with the truth of the case, getting himselfe to be restored vniustly to the bishoprike from the which he was iustly deposed. If Cypriã did not like that Cornelius should meddle with matters concluded in Africa, neither esteemed the restitution of Basilides made by Stephanus, but reiected it as void and vniust, what other aide thinke you would he call for at their hands, but onely such mutuall concord, as should profite the Church, and well beseeme the seruants of Christ?

Cypr lib. 1. epist. 4. Cyprian encourageth the Spaniards to neglect the popes letters.

Phil. If Cyprian would not, Athanasius did; who being patriarke of Alexandria, fled twise to Rome for succour in his owne person, and was there not onely receiued & harboured, but also restored to his former dignitie of Iulius, notwithstanding the councels of Tyrus and Antioch had decreed the contrary, and Constantius the emperour consented thereto. Theop. The troubles of Athanasius gaue Iulius good cause to claime and vse the vttermost of his authoritie. The wrong offered Athanasius was so shameful, the madnes of Arians subuerting the faith and oppressing the Church so manifest, the rage of Constantius, assisting their heresie with all his might so cruell, that if euer the bishop of Rome would stir, this time must needes force him to doe his best. Phil. And so he did I warrant you. Theo. What did he? Phil. You know well inough, he summoned the Arians to appeare before him, examined their proceedings, reuersed ỹ sentence giuen against Athanasius, & placed him in his bishoprike in spite of his aduersaries.

How Iulius helped Athanasius.

Theo. Can you proue that Iulius did all this alone without ỹ help of others, or that he did any part of this as head

of

He did all that he did, as patriarke of the west with the help of the west bishops.

of the Church & vicar generall to Christ? Phil. What causes you inuent when you be driuen with any thing? The. What broken reeds you leane to & thinke them strong pillors? It is well knowne the bishop of Rome was not only patriarke of the west parts, but of the foure patriarkes also which were the chiefe bishops of Christendom, in order and account the first. By reason whereof no councell could be generall vnlesse he were called, no matters concerning the whole Church or principall patriarks could be handled, vnlesse he were present or priuie to the same. Which prerogatiue was giuen him by consent of men, not by grant from Christ; in respect of the citie that was the seat of the empire, then ruling the world; not in token of any supremacy descending from Peter. Thus much we grant without any proofe of yours, and more than this, if you would sweat out your harts, you shal neuer proue by these nor any other examples of the primitiue Church.

The bishop of Rome had his prerogatiue from the city of Rome not from Peter.

He was chief among them not supreme ouer them.

Phil. Then by your owne confession he was the chiefest & highest bishop in the world. Theop. He was before the rest in honor & dignity, but not ouer the rest in power and authority. His place was first when the patriarks met, but his voice not negatiue: he might assemble his prouince and consult with them, but not conclude without them: himselfe was subiect both to the decrees of councels & to the lawes of the christian emperors euen in causes ecclesiasticall: and was oftentimes not onely resisted by famous men, but ouerruled as well by prouinciall as oecumenicall councels, when he attempted any thing against the canons. Which differeth much from the supremacie that he now chalengeth and vsurpeth. And therefore you did well to walke in a mist of ambiguous words, to couer the lamenesse of your conclusion.

Phil. Why did Athanasius flee to the bishop of Rome for helpe, if Iulius had nought to do with his matter. Theop. Athanasius being wrongfully thrust from his bishoprike, & an other forcibly set in his roome by certaine Arians assembled at Antioch, vpon this pretence, that he was deposed in the councell of Tirus, before he was banished, & after his returne presumed of his owne head without a councell to reenter & keepe his place: & finding the east Church not able to succor him, for that Constantius the emperor

supported

ppozted his enimes with a strong hand: fled to the bi-
)op of the west, where Constans a religious and curteous
ynce, brother to Constantius raigned, and made his com-
laint, as reason was he should; first to the bishoppe of
Rome, the chiefest man amongst them, and the ringleader
f the rest, with whom he was ioined in consort and com-
munion as the right and true patriarke of Alexandria, de-
ring no more but that his case might be heard, and the
esperate and furious proceedings of his aduersaries a-
gainst him examined in a iust and lawfull councell. which
etition of Athanasius doth not proue the west bishops to
e controllers and ouersees of such things as were done
n the east, much lesse the bishop of Rome to be supreame
udge ouer al: but rather sheweth that the church of Christ
was guided by the common consent & mutuall agreement
of both parts, as well east as west, indifferently balanced;
& y the west bishops might call for a reason of the sentence
giuen against Athanasius, before they allowed the same, or
receiued his successor to y fellowship of their communion.

Athanasius sought to the west emperor and to all the west bishops, that his cause might be heard in a councell.

Phil. The ecclesiasticall historie saith otherwise; that A-
thanasius opened his cause to Iulius bishop of Rome, & that
he vpon the prerogatiue of the Roman see wrote threatning
letters in his behalfe, and restored him to his place, reproo-
uing them that rashly deposed him. Theop. Socrates as an
historiographer noteth in few words the chiefe points,
and chiefe persons: but if you will take the paines to read
the particular discourse of these things, which Athanasius
writeth in defence of himselfe, you shall find that true
which I say. Phil. What shall we find? Theop. That the
west bishops were ioined with Iulius in all this action,
and nothing done without their Synodall decree. Phil.
How proue you that?

Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15.

Theop. First the letters of credit which Athanasius
brought with him to Rome from the bishops of his com-
munion in Ægypt, Thebais, Lybia, Pentapolis, witnessing
the manifold wrongs which he suffered, & earnestlie cra-
uing a due reformation of the same, were written not to
Iulius alone, but *Omnibus vbique Ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopis*, to
all the bishops of the Catholike Church whereseuer: ha-
uing these words in the conclusion; For this cause in a
publike assemblie by the consent of vs all wrate we these let-
ters

Athanasius cause intimated to all the west bishops.

Athan. Apol. contra Arria.

ters vnto you, praying your wisedomes in Christ to receiue this testimonie touching Athanasius, and to admit him to your fellowship and communion, and to be mooued with zealous indignation against the Eusebians [his enimies] the authors of these disorders; and that such lewdnes and mischiefe preuaile no longer against the Church, *vos certè vindices huius iniustitiæ imploramus*, we call for your helpe to be the reuengers of their vnrighteous dealing. *Hæc quidem Aegypti ad omnes & ad episcopum Romanum Iulium scripsere:* this they of Egypt wrate to all, and to Iulius the bishop of Rome. So that in sight the complaint was made generally to them all.

Iulius had the consent of both parts that a councell should be called.

Phil. But Iulius alone cited the contrary part to appeare before him by a day limited, and that argueth his authoritie ouer them that were not of his prouince. Theop. Iulius by the consent of both parts, and aduise of all the bishops of Italie and other places neere him, appointed the matter to be heard in a councell, and exhorted the aduersaries of Athanasius to be present at the time and place prefixed. Phil. What a mincing you make of this matter: Iulius cited, that is, Iulius exhorted them to come: Iulius heard the cause, that is Iulius called a councell to heare it. Theop. What a mountaine you make of a mole-hill: I repeate the very words of Iulius, and good reason in his own fact to beleeue him best. Phil. If he say so, but I doubt you mistake the words. Theo. Then may you take them righter: but I am perfect, I misse them not. Heare first what Athanasius, and then after what Iulius writeth. *Quin & Eusebiani ad Iulium literas miserè, & vt nos terrerent, Synodum conuocari iusserunt, & ipsi Iulio si vellet arbitrium causæ detulerunt.* The Eusebians also sent letters to Iulius, and the rather to fray vs, willed a Synode to be called, and Iulius himselfe to be iudge in the cause, if he would. Which Socrates doth not omit. *Eusebius verò cum quod volebat perfeciſſet, legationem ad Iulium Romanum Episcopum misit, obsecrans vt ipse Iudex esset in causa Athanasii, & ad se litem hanc vocaret.* Eusebius when he had done all that he would, sent messengers to Iulius Bishop of Rome, praying him to be iuge in the cause of Athanasius and to call for the hearing of this contention.

Athanasius in Apolog.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 11.

Phil. Athanasius aduersaries seeme to consent, that Iulius alone should sit iudge in this cause. Theo. That Iulius as chiefe, but not that Iulius alone should examine this quarell

uarell. For they required to be heard in a common coun-
ell both of east and west bishops. Phil. As yet I see no
ich thing. Theop. Say not so: for Athanasius euen nowe
old you, that his enemies, to fray him, in their letter to Iu-
us, willed a councell to be held for this matter: and Iulius
his epistle replying to those that were gathered at Anti-
h the second time, writeth thus, What is there done wor-
hie of offence? or what cause haue I giuen you, to whome I
rate, to be angry? *An quia adhortati vos sumus, vt ad synodum*
curreretis? Is it for that we exhorted you to meete vs at a sy-
ode? The bishops assembled in the great councell of Nice
ot without the wisdome of God, gaue leaue that the acts of
ne synode might be discussed in an other, to this ende, that
oth they which were iudges, knowing a second examination
f the selfe same matter was to folow, should with al diligence
veigh the cause; & those, against whom sentence was giuen,
night cleerely confesse themselues to be condemned, not by
ny faction of the former iudges, but iustly & woorthily. And
f this were an ancient custom & the memorie therof renued
& put in writing by the great [Nicene] councel, & you now wil
not suffer the same to take place with you, truly you do an vn-
seemly thing. For no equitie doth allowe, that a fewe of you
should abrogate a custome once receiued in the Church, &
confirmed by [so great] a synode, and yet that being granted
you, the offence which you take is without all reason, for your
legats Macarius and Hesiochus, no way able to match those
that Athanasius sent, but in euery thing conuicted and refu-
ted by them, *Concilium indici postularunt, literasque ad Eusebianos*
& Athanasium, Alexandriam, quibus conuocarentur, mitti; vt coram
omnib. iusto iudicio de causa cognosci posset; tunc enim se de Athanasio
probaturos esse quod iam nequirent: Required a councell to be
summoned, and letters to be sent to the Eusebians and to
Athanasius at Alexandria, to giue them warning to come,
that the cause might be debated before all, in an euen and
vpright iudgement: [adding] that they woulde then con-
uince Athanasius of those things wherein now they failed.
Yea publikely in our presence Martyrius and Hesichius were
confounded, Athanasius priests readily answering them
with great boldnes; and to say the truth, Martyrius and his
side were alwaies put to the woorst, *Ac proinde Concilium gene-*
rale postulauit: And for that cause he requested a generall
assemblie

Epistol. Iulij ad eos qui ex Antiochia scripserunt citatur ab Athanasio Apologia. 2.

Iulius pretendeth not Peters keies for his authoritie.

This spirit differeth much from the late spirit of Rome.

assemblie of bishops. If therefore *Martyrius* and *Hesichius* [your agents] not requiring a councell, I had exhorted you, that they which wrote to me on either side might be called to a councell, namely in fauour of my brethren, which complayned they were oppressed: that motion of mine had beene honest and iust; for so much as it is acceptable to God and agreeable to the Canons: but now where those very men, whom you counted to be discret and worthy to be trusted [with your message] were the first inciters of me to call you to a synode, surely you ought not to take that in so ill part.

By these words, these two points are more than manifest. First that Iulius did not peremptorily commaund them to appeare before him, but exhorted them to meete in a lawfull councell for the better discussing of matters in question: Next, that for the warning of a councell which should examine their acts, he pretendeth not his supreme power ouer all the Church, nor his lieutenantship to Christ, but groundeth himselfe on their consents, which were the chiefe authors of this tragedie, and citeth the Nicene councell agreeing with the auncient vsage of the Church, that Synodes might discusse and redresse the wrongs done by bishops.

Phil. You can not denie but Iulius heard their legats, before the bishops met. Theop. I grant for his better information he might heare them alone, but not to giue iudgement thereof without others: so saith Iulius himselfe. Athanasius was neither condemned at *Tyrus*, nor present at *Marcosa*, where you proceeded in his absence. And you know that the records of those acts be very suspitious, and of no force, where on part onely was admitted [to prooue]. Yet we, though it were so, for the more full discussing of the matter did neither preiudice you that wrate against him nor those that wrate for him: but exhorted all as many as wrate, to present themselues here in iudgement, that all things might exactly be skanned in a Synode. In the which Synode when the contrary side refused to appeare, Athanasius was heard at large, and there receiued to the communion of all the west Church as right bishope of Alexandria, notwithstanding his former depositiō by the bishops at Antioche and the violent intrusion of an other in his place.

Idem in Epist. Iulij.

Phil. This you say, but this you proue not. The. If Athanasius

nasius say the same, it is proofe sufficient; and that you shall heare him say. Viton the priest (whom Iulius sent for that purpose) brought with him to the councel mo than fifty bishops, where our defence was admitted & we counted worthy to be receiued to their communion and brotherly feast, & great indignation kindled against the Eusebians, to whom they willed Iulius to write backe [in his owne name] for that their letters were written to him [not to them.] And so Iulius did, putting them to wit (which is the thing that you stagger at) that although his name were alone to the letters, yet the common consent, and approbation of the synode wanted not to the matter. Notwithstanding, saith he, that I alone wrate to you, yet I wrate the iudgement and opinion, not of my selfe onely, but of all the bishops of Italie, and of all in these quarters. The bishops met at the time appointed, and were of that mind which I now signifie to you againe: wherefore though I alone write, yet I would haue you know that I write the common opinion of them all. And his epistle ended, This, saith Athanasius, the synode at Rome wrate by Iulius the bishop of Rome.

Athanas. Apolog. 2. Athanasius heard and restored by a councell.

The councel willed Iulius to write in his owne name because the Arrians wrate to him and not to them.

Idem in epist. Iulij.

So that all this while Iulius did nothing of himselfe without a synode; neither did he or the synode challenge any superiority ouer the east bishops, but rather an equality with thē, & for that cause might require to see the reason of their doings against Athanasius, before they would reiect him as no bishop, and communicate with Gregorie that was placed in his seat. And so much the east bishops should haue done without asking. For where a prouinciall synode bindeth no man out of the same prouince, they were by the discipline and custome of the Church to send their letters to the bishops of euery prouince, and namely to the chiefest; and to expect the generall consent of their brethren, before they proceeded to the deposition of a bishop, and so great a bishop as the patriarke of Alexandria was, which is the thing that Iulius vrgeth them with. *Si, vt dicitis, omnino in culpa fuerunt, oportuit secundum canonem & non isto modo iudicium fieri: oportuit scribere omnibus nobis, vt ita ab omnibus quod iustum esset decerneretur. Episcopi enim erant, & non vulgares ecclesiæ, qui ista patiebantur.* If, as you pretend, they were giltie in deed, yet iudgement should haue gone forward according to the canon [of the Church,] and not after this

Iulius claimeth an equality with the east bishops, no supremacy ouer them.

Ibidē in epist. Iulij.

They should haue written to al the west bishops, and not to the bishop of Rome alone.

[strange] sort: you should haue writte to vs al, that that which had beene iust might haue beene determined by all. For they were bishops, and no meane Churches, that were thus vsed. By this you see that in aiding and helping Athanasius, the bishop of Rome did neither by word nor deed take vpon him to be vicar generall to Christ on earth, nor supreame iudge of all men's matters in the Church, as now he doth; but claimeth rather a society with the east bishops for himselfe and the rest of his prouince, as hauing no lesse interest in the Church than they had.

Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Idem lib. 2. cap. 17.

Phil. What say you then to the prerogatiue of the Roman see, and to that ecclesiasticall canon, which forbiddeth to meddle in the Church without the consent of the Roman bishop. Theop. The bishop of Rome had this prerogatiue, that first he should be written vnto, by reason of his place, which was first; but not that he alone should be written vnto. So saith Iulius: *Cur igitur, & in primis de Alexandria ciuitate, nihil nobis scribere voluistis? An ignari estis hanc esse consuetudinem, vt primùm nobis scribatur, vt hinc quod iustum est definiri possit?* Why then would you write nothing to vs, and especially touching the city of Alexandria? Are you ignorant of this custome that you should write to vs first, that hence, that which is iust, might be determined?

In epist. Iulij.

By reason his place was first and after to the rest.

Phil. No better text: from Rome must be determined what is right in the regiment of the Church. Theop. A wise catch I promise you. Did you not heare Iulius euen now speake the same words of euery bishop; *Vt ab omnibus, quod iustum esset, decerneretur*; that euery one might determine what was iust? So that Iulius by this had no greater authority than the rest: for right was to be determined by them all. Phil. The canon of the Church made euery thing void that was done without the bishop of Rome. Theo. That which you call a canon, in deed was an order taken by the bishops among themselues for the better guiding of the Church by common consent, when as yet there were no christian magistrats; and the same was afterward liked and allowed of godly princes, as the best way to keepe the Church in peace from quarels and factions. And this it was. In weighty matters no prouinciall councell might deale without consulting the rest of the patriarks, who straightway conferring with ꝑ bishops of their prouinces,

Sozomen lib. 3. cap. 10.

In weighty matters the consent of all the patriarks was to be required.

wrate

wrate backe the generall opinion of themselues and their brethren. This if any councell did omit; the prouinces round about were at liberty to reiect their proceedings, if they saw cause. This canon or kind of regiment obserued in the Church, Iulius obiecteth against the councel of Antioch. *Oportuit secundum canonem iudicium fieri*, Iudgement should haue proceeded according to the canon: that is, *Oportuit omnibus nobis scribere, vt ab omnibus quod esset iustum decerneretur:* You should haue written to vs all, that that which was iust might haue beene concluded by all. And as by the canon they should haue written to all, so first to the bishop of Rome, by reason that his place was the first in order among the patriarks, which is all the prerogatiue that Iulius in his epistle claimeth for himselfe and his see. This is that ecclesiasticall canon and priuiledge, which Socrates and Sozomenus do mention when they say the councell of Antioch did against the canons, in that they called not the bishop of Rome to their assembly. *In epistola Iulij.* *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 17. & Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

Phil. The deposition of a bishop was no matter of such importance that a prouinciall synode might not attempt it without the rest. Theop. Yes, the deposing of a patriarke was in it selfe a matter of weight, and required the consent of the rest, as appeareth by that which the councell of Antioch long before this did against Paulus Samosatenus, where you shall find the causes of his condemnation laid downe at large in their letters written to all prouinces, and namely to Dionysius and Maximus bishops of Rome & Alexandria: but yet the wrong offred Athanasius at this time touched the faith & Church of Christ neerer than one mans iniury. Phil. Why? Theop. The Arrians by their shifts and practises had almost gotten the most part of the east Churches, & finding the two principall archbishops of Constantinople & Alexandria greatly to hinder their enterprise, for that their prouinces were very wide, & many that stoutly defended the truth, were shielded by them, they thought best to inuade them both at one time, thrusting Paulus from his bishoprike by plaine force, and pretending a canon of their owne making against Athanasius. Which if the west bishops had quietly suffered without enterposing themselues & assisting their brethren, two parts of the world by their silence had beene drowned The deposition of Athanasius a matter of great weight. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.*

in Arianisme, and themselues in great danger not long to remaine without the same infection. This respect made them earnest for Athanasius as Sozomene noteth. The bishops throughout the east, that fauored the Nicene faith, were deposed, and the chiefest seats inuaded [by the Arrians] as Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, the roiall city [of Constantinople] in Hellespont. This the bishop of Rome, & the priests of the west tooke to be their reproch, and [therefore] very friendly intertained Athanasius at his comming to them, and tooke vpon them the defence of his cause.

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 7.

The Arrians sought by deposing him to possesse the east Church.

Philand. This is not all that Iulius did for Athanasius. Theop. What else can you shew that he did? Phil. He called a generall councell to determine this matter, and made Constantius the emperor glad to receiue Athanasius to his former seat. Theoph. By mine aduise you should haue left out this, it will come verie short of your reckoning. Phil. Not a whit. Theop. Be not so peremptorie. Phil. What? Was not this, that I say, done for Athanasius? Theop. It was. Phil. Who then besides Iulius could bring this to passe? Theop. In other if you could light on him. Phil. What was he? Theop. Constans the west emperor. Phil. Who saith so besides you? Theop. The three writers of the Church storie, which with one consent agree, that the west emperor called the councell, and threatned his brother if Athanasius and Paulus were not suffered to enioy their former places. Iulius when the letters which he sent touching Paulus and Athanasius, did nothing preuaile with the east bishops, opened their cause to Constans the emperor. Constans wrote to his brother, that he should send some of the bishops of the east, to shew [him] the reason why these men were deposed. Three were chosen, who comming to Italie, went about to persuade the emperor, that the synode of the east bishops had done well, & Constans perceiuing they had done vniustly, sent them backe whence they came. And because Constans requiring this fauor at his brothers hands, that Athanasius & the rest with him might be restored, could not obtaine so much, and those that were with Paulus & Athanasius getting to his presence besought him that a synode might be called, it pleased the emperor that the bishops of either side should meet at Sardica by a certaine day prefixed.

Iulius when he could do no good in Athanasius cause, besought the west emperor to put to his helping hand.

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 11.

Phil.

Phil. It might please him they should do so, but how proue you that thither they came by his authoritie? Theo. Athanasius going to Constans bewailed vnto him the violence that was offered the apostolike faith, Putting the prince in mind of his fathers acts, that the greatest Councell that euer was, was called by him, and the determination of those fathers lawfully confirmed; beseeching the emperor with teares to imitate his father. Constans vpon the hearing of these things presently writeth to his brother, and warneth him to keepe inuiolably the inheritance of his fathers faith. Constantius mooued with these letters, appointed a Councell to be held at Sardica, and willed the bishops as well of the east as the west to be there present. After this Councell had likewise concluded for Paulus and Athanasius against their deposers, Constans wrate to his brother the resolution of the synode, and exhorted him to restore them to their places; which when Constantius delained and deferred, the west emperor offereth him this choise, either to restore them their Churches, or if he would not, to looke for hostilitie and war. Wherevpon the [east] emperor, being driuen to this streit, sent for Athanasius and his fellowes, by three seuerall letters, and not onely restored them, but abolished all things that might any way be preiudiciall to them.

Athanasius with teares requesteth a Councell of the west emperor. *Theodor. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 20. The emperors letters for Athanasius restitution.

By this you see Iulius had no power to call a generall Councell, but Athanasius was faine to beg it of the prince with teares; and the bishop of Rome was not then taken for the last and supreme iudge on earth: but the Councell sate in iudgement after him, where matters were ended by number of voices.

Phil. Yet we said truth, that Athanasius called for aid of Iulius. Theop. I said as truly that you flourish with generalities & ambiguities, and conclude nothing. For what haue you gotten now more than we granted at first? Or which way doth this example pertaine to that which is in question betwixt vs? Phil. You make too light of our proofes. Theo. Then put you more weight to them; I take them as I find them, and for ought that I see, you cannot mend them. Phi. Wel: esteeme them as you list, they proue that the bishop of Rome was euer a sure refuge for the Catholikes against heretikes, which he neuer performed

more worthily than in our dayes. Theo. I thinke in deed Rome was neuer fuller of deuises and practises than at this present; Antichrist is so carefull for his kingdome, least it fall, that he spareth neither men, nor money to be reuenged on those that shrinke from him; but when all is done, God will strike the stroke. Phil. No doubt he will, but neuer for you, that be so shamefully fallen from his Church. Theop. You be more shamefully fallen from his word; and consequently from faith, which is the foundation of the Church: neither can he be ioyned to the Church, which is seuered from the Gospel. But we go from the matter, your examples be not yet all discussed. Philan. Returne when you will.

Ambros. de incarnatio. Domin. sacramenti. cap. 5. Cyprian. sermo. 5. de lapsis.

What Chrysostome requested of Innocentius.

Theop. Chrysostome and Augustine, you say, asked ayde of Innocentius. Phil. They did so. Theop. Aide they might aske, and he might yeeld; and yet neither make for your purpose. Phil. That were marueil. Theoph. None at all. Chrysostome, whom you first name, sought for helpe as Athanasius did, but the displeasure which Arcadius the east emperour had conceiued against him was so great, that Innocentius could not preuaile. Phil. It serueth our turnes, that Chrysostome did seeke to the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding Arcadius by force did ouerbeare him. Theoph. Chrysostome sought nothing, but that his cause might be heard in a ful Synode before indifferent iudges. Philan. It maketh much for Innocentius supremacie, that Chrysostome sought this at his hands. Theop. You must make your foundation surer, before your building will stand. You sawe by the last example of Athanasius, that the bishop of Rome and the west Church might reiect and refuse the sentence of any prouinciall Synode giuen against the patriarke, vnlesse their consents were first had; & euen the very same doth Chrysostom request of Innocentius; that he would neither admit, nor allow the proceedings of his aduersaries against him, as good; nor communicate with him, that was chosen by them to succeed in his place.

The bishops of the west Church were to consent before the

Phil. This stil confirmeth that nothing was good, if the bishop of Rome did dissent. Theo. And still that inferreth nothing, but that the bishop of Rome and his prouince were a part of the Church, and by reason and equitie were to giue their voyces as well as others, before the rest

might

might conclude any thing that did cõcerne, or should bind the whole Church. And this is strãge that where the bishop of Rome for himselfe and his prouince seeketh an equalitie with others, as a part of the Church; you frame him alone a superioritie ouer all others, as the head of the Church. Your examples shew this, that others without him could not bind the whole Church, because the consent was not generall; and your conclusion must be this, that he without all others, as Christes vicegerent in earth, might dispose the whole Church at his pleasure. See you no difference betwixt these two positions? Phil. I confesse they differ, but can you shew that others withstood him, as wel as he withstood them? Theo. Yea that I can. Phil. Arians perhaps or Donatists. Theo. Nay, catholike fathers and councels. Phil. Shew that, and you say somewhat to the matter. Theo. That I wil shew when your proofes are ended. I think not good to mingle yours & ours together. Phil. Ours I grant, are much after one sort, and therfore I long to heare yours. Theo. No hast but good, anone you shal: you would faine I se rid your hands. Phi. You shall wel know the contrary. Say what you can. Theop. I say nothing but that you gaine litle by Chrysostoms example. sentence could be giuen.

Phil. Do we not? These be Chrysostomes words to Innocentius: Wherefore least this confusion inuade euery nation vnder heauen, I beseech you write, that these vniust proceedings, both in our absence and when we refused not iudgement, may be of no force; as in deede of themselues they are not: and let them which haue done this wrong, feele the censure of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and suffer vs that were neither conuicted, nor charged with any crime, nor so much as conuented, to enioy your letters [of communion] and charitie, and likewise of all others, whose fellowship we had before. Doth he not in these words request Innocentius to pronounce the sentence voyde, that was giuen against him, and to remoue the authors of this disorder from the communion? Theop. To dissent from it was enough to vndoe it; because neither he nor his prouince were acquainted with it: to excommunicate the doers, was nothing els, but to communicate no longer with thẽ; which euery bishop and prouince might doe, when any wilfull breach of the Canons was offred. Philan. This *Chrysost. epist. 1. ad Innocent. tomo 5.*

petition was made to Innocentius alone, and not to the residue of the west bishops. Theop. If Innocentius alone were spoken to, the matter is not great: sure it is the bishop of Rome neither did, nor might deale in these cases without the consent of his brethren; for feare, least when the matter came to voices as in the end it must, his owne prouince should take stitch against him. But how can you proue, that he alone was spoken to? Phil. The words be plaine: *Obsecro vt scribas*: I beseech you to write, in the singular number.

Chrysost. vt supra.

Theop. What if a man should distrust the print or the copie, would it not tempt your patience? Phil. Haue we not good cause, if you begin to discredite euery thing that maketh against you? Theoph. Whether I suspect the place vpon iust occasion or no, your selfe shall be iudge. Chrysostom in this epistle hauing reported at large the violent and enormous rage of his enimies against him and his adherents, commeth at last to make his petition not to Innocentius alone, as you conceiue; but generally to the west bishops. *Igitur Domini maximè venerandi & pij, cũ hæc ita se habere didiceritis, studium vestrum & magnam diligentiam adhibite, quo retundatur hæc, quæ in ecclesias irrupit, iniquitas:* Therefore most renerent and religious Lords, since you see what is done, put to your endeuors and diligence, that this wickednes which is broken into the Church, may bee beaten backe. *Quippe si mos hic inualuerit, scitote quod brevi transibunt omnia. Quapropter ne confusio hæc omnem, quæ sub cælo est, nationem inuadat, obsecro,* [*vt scribatis*] *quod hæc tam iniquè facta robur non habeant: nobis verò literis vestris & charitate vestra frui concedite.* For if this grow to a custome, know you that all things will shortly come to nought: and therefore leaſt this confusion attempt euery nation vnder heauen, I beseech [not one of you, but all] you, to write that these things so vniustly done, may be taken as voide, and you [all] grant that we may enioy your letters and your fauors. And so goeth he on to the very end with verbes of the plurall number, leauing off with these words; *Hæc omnia cum ita se habere intellexeritis à dominis meis pientissimis fratribus nostris episcopis, obsecro vt præstetis, id quod petent officij.* All these things when you shall perceiue to be true by these my Lords & most godlie brethren the bishops [whom I haue sent] I beseech

Eadem epist. ad Innocentium. Chrysostom maketh this petition to all the west bishops.

Ibidem.

you

ou giue them that assistance which they shall aske. The whole petition from the first word to the last is made to them all without exception: the self same sentence, where ye praieth them to write, hath these words, *nobis verò literis vestris frui concedite*, you [all] grant vs your letters. Now whether, *obsecro vt scribas*, can stand with these words *literis vestris frui concedite*, or rather *obsecro vt scribatis*, I refer it to your selfe: this you cannot deny but he requireth aid of them all, and praieth their common letters, which is enough to shew that Chrysostom ment Innocentius should take with him the generall consent of the west bishops. And so he did. For this wrongfull and vnrighteous dealing against Chrysostome, saith Theodoret, the bishops of Europe did greatly detest, and therefore severed themselues from the communion of those that were the doers thereof.

A verbe of the singular number thrust in among verbs of the plural, to claw the bishop of Rome.

Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 34.

Phil. I grant they did, but Innocentius alone did excommunicate the chiefe doers, euen Arcadius the emperor, Eudoxia the empresse, Arsacius and Theophilus the patriarks of Constantinople and Alexandria. Theop. Who told you so? Phil. The bull is extant to this day. Theop. A bull of that antiquitie were newes in deed. Phil. You may soone find him. Theop. Where? Phil. In the 13. booke & 34. chapter of Nicephorus ecclesiasticall historie. Theop. I was afraid you would haue quoted Socrates or Sozomene. Phil. Nicephorus is as good. Theop. Not by ten parts of twelue. Phil. Why not? Theop. Besides that he lodeth the whole history of the church with many fables & visions, he liued thirteene hundred yeres after Christ, as your owne friends confesse: which in comparison of the rest, is but yesterday. Therefore if Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomene, which wrote at that very time when these things were done, report no such matter, I would faine know, which way Nicephorus, that came a thousand yeere after them could light on a true constat of this ecclesiastiall censure. Phil. Perhaps he found it in some ancient librarie. Theop. As though the patriarks and princes of Greece would suffer such a president against themselues to lie quiet in their libraries a thousand yeres.

A bull absurdly forged to make men beleeue the pope did excommunicate the emperor for Chrysostoms banishment. *Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 34. Cronologia Canisij.*

The bull proued to be forged. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 18.*

Phil. That reason of yours is but coniecturall. Theop. Then heare that which is effectuall; and you shall see the framer of this bull prooue himselfe a calfe. The twentieth

day

The first yeere of Chrysostoms banishment. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 19.*

day of Iune Honorius and Aristinetus being consuls, Chrysostom was caried from his Church into banishment by the emperors edict, as Socrates witnesseth. The thirtieth of September the same yeere, a mighty haile fell in Constantinople, and the suburbs thereabout; and the fourth day after the haile [Eudoxia] the empresse died. The next yeere, the eleuenth day of Nouember, when Stelichon the second time, and Anthemius were consuls, Arsacius died. The next yeere after that, which was the sixt of Arcadius, and the first of Probus, a very religious man named Atticus, was chosen [bishop of Constantinople.] The next yeere, which was the seuenth of Honorius, & the second time of Theodosius consulship, the fourteenth day of Nouember Iohn Chrysostome died in banishment. You doubt not of this accoũt I trust Phil. As yet I see no cause to doubt it. Socrates was then aliue, when these things were in action. Theop. The same order of their death you shall find in Sozomene, a writer of that age also when these troubles were hottest.

The same yeere the empresse died. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 20.*

The second yeere of his banishment. *Eodem capite.*

The third yeere. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 21.*

The fourth yeere Chrysostom himselfe died. *Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 27. & 28.*

Phil. What then after all this? Theop. Your solemne bull auoucheth Chrysostom to be dead, and Eudoxia to be liuing after him, which died three whole yeeres before him. Phil. What? It doth not I hope. Theop. Marke the words: *Tametsi enim beatus Iohannes vitam reliquit, in æterna tamen secula immortalis vitæ hæreditatem est consecutus. Verum illa excipiet & præsentem hic pœnam, & futurum sempiternum supplicium post non multos hosce dies ei aduenient. Itaque ego minimus, & peccator cui thronus magni Apostoli Petri creditus est, segrego & reijcio te & illam à perceptione immaculatorum mysteriorum Christi.* For although blessed Iohn [Chrysostom] departed this life yet hath he gotten the inheritance of an immortall life for euer: but Eudoxia shall receiue a present punishment in this world, and eternall paines that shall befall her afore many daies be past. Therefore I, though the least and a sinner, to whom the throne of Peter the great Apostle is committed, do segregate and cut off thee [O emperor] and her from receiuing the vndefiled mysteries of Christ, &c. How thinke you was the contriuer of this bull well in his wits, to threaten that the empresse should shortly die, which was dead long before; and to put her from receiuing the communion, after she had beene three yeeres buried?

Phil. Perhaps Innocentius knew not of her death. Theo-

A blind prophet to threaten that she should shortly die which was dead foure yeeres before.

Theo-

Then surely was Innocentius all that while asleepe: in the continuall entercourse betweene the two cities both for temporall and ecclesiastical affaires was so great, the person so famous, the time so long, that no meane man in Rome could be ignorant of her death). Besides that Innocentius legats were at Constantinople to intreat Arcadius for a councell, a litle before Chrysostom died, and there unlesse they wanted both eies and eares, they could not choose but learne, that the empresse was dead. Phil. She was then liuing as Nicephorus saith). Theop. The more he fableth, the lesse credit he deserueth. Eudoxia died before Arsacius, and after his death was Atticus chosen: then how could she be liuing when Atticus was bishop, in whose time the legats of Innocentius came to intreat for Chrysostome? Phil. Let Nicephorus answer for himselfe. I laid before you what I find in him. *Sozome. lib. 8. cap. 28.* *Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 33.*

Theop. If this be all you can say for his defence, giue vs leaue to tell you that this bull bearing Innocentius name is some foolish and late forgerie deuised to perswade men that popes in those daies could quaile emperors, which God knoweth is nothing so. Next for Chrysostōs cause, as it helpeth you litle, so doth it hinder you much. For first Chrysostom when himselfe and his cleargie were called to appeare before the synod, where Theophilus the patriarke of Alexandria his mortal enimie was the chiefe man, appealed from them, not to the bishop of Rome, but to a generall councell. So saith Socrates. *Iohannes cos, à quibus vocabatur, tanquam inimicos exceptione recusabat, & vniuersalem synodum appellabat.* Chrysostome refused those that called him vpon this exception, that they were his enimies, and appealed to a generall councell. So saith Chrysostom himselfe: Though we were absent and appealed to a synod, and sought for iudgement, and refused not audience but manifest enimitie; yet [Theophilus] receiued accusors against me, excommunicated such as held with me, and tooke libels at all their hands which had not yet purged themselues of such crimes, as were laid to their charge; all which thinges are contrarye to the lawes and canons. Chrysostom appealed not to the bishop of Rome, but to a councel. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 15.* *Epist. 1. ad Innocentium.*

Next when Innocentius saw the matter could not be ended but in a generall councell, by reason the three patriarks *Sozome. lib. 8. cap. 28.*

Ibidem. The popes legats sent away with reproch.

triarks of Constantinople, Antioch, & Alexandria were against him, he sent legats to Honorius and Arcadius, to beseech them that a synod might be had, and the time and place appointed. Wherein his supplication was so litle regarded, that his legats were sent away with reproch as disturbers of the west empire, and Chrysostome caried farther off in banishment than before.

They were punished by the princes law that did communicate with the bishop of Rome.

Lastly, when such as favored Chrysostome in the east parts, would not communicate with his enimies, but ioined themselues in communion with the bishop of Rome, who likewise seuered himselfe from those that were the beginners of this garboile; Arcadius made this law: If any bishop refuse to communicate with Theophilus, Atticus, and Porphyrius, he shall lose both his Church and his goods: If any that beare office, they shall forfeit their dignitie: If any souldier, he shall lose his seruice: If any of the common people, let him be fined and exiled. Phil. Will you now trust Nicephorus?

Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 30. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 24.

Theop. Sozomene in effect saith the same. For the communion of Arsacius, Porphyrius, and Theophilus, at the sute of the nobles, there was a law made, that no Christians should meete at praiers out of their Churches, and those that would not communicate with these [three Patriarks] should be expelled. So small was Innocentius communion at that time respected, that the followers of it were sharpely punished.

Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 34. Chrysost. enimies were men of good account in the Church. *Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 2. Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 35. Epist. 1. ad Innocentium. Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

Phil. You know what maner of men they were that did it. Theop. Such as you may not easily despise. Intending to write the wrong done to Chrysostom, saith Theodoret, I am forced to shrinke at the doers thereof for their other vertues. Atticus, as Socrates confesseth, was a very learned, religious, & wise man. Porphyrius, saith Theodoret, left many monuments of his benignitie, being a man endewed with excellent wisedome. Arcadius, besides that Chrysostom calleth him after his banishment, *Christianissimum & pientissimum regem*, a most christian & godly prince, a litle before his death wan estimation of holines not without the admiration of a great multitude saued from destruction by his praiers. Theophilus, Epiphanius, and others that held tooth & naile against him were no babes in the Church of Christ. Cyrillus a famous father was after long time with much adc

ado drawen to yeeld thus much, that Chrysostoms name should be rehearsed in the catalogue of those that had bene bishops. Arsacius, if Cyrillus may be trusted, was a blessed man and most worthy of commendation. *Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 27.*

Phil. You go about to deface Chrysostom by commending his enimies. The. It is the least part of my thought: & yet Socrates doth not altogether excuse him, in saying he was a man *Iracundiæ magis quàm reuerentiæ indulgens*, more addicted to serue his passions, than to reuerence any person. And surely the words that he spake of the empresse in his sermon openly before all the people, Againe, Herodias is mad, againe she rageth, againe she danceth, againe she will haue Iohns head in a dish, were very bitter; but my meaning is to shew they were great & good men in the church, that about Chrysostomes quarrell, were it right, were it wrong, neglected the communion of the bishop of Rome. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 21.* Chrysostom very passionate. *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 18.*

Phil. Though they made light of it in this tumult and faction, yet Augustine, Hierome, and others did highly esteeme it. Theop. The communion and fellowship of christian loue and peace may not rashly be broken with any Church, especially not with the chiefe & principall Churches, vnlesse the cause be weighty and vrgent; but looke when the bishop of Rome attempted any thing against the faith or the canons, & tell me then what account they made of him. Phil. That you must looke out, I know no such thing. Theop. So will I, when my course commeth, but yours as yet is not ended. Phi. Mine shal not be long. Theop. As short as you will. I thinke the best be spent.

Phil. Augustine and the fathers assembled in the Mileuitan councel aske help of Innocentius for the condemnation of Pelagius and his heresie. Theop. The bishops of Africa themselues in this and an other councel holde at Carthage condemned the error of Pelagius, as repugnant to the scriptures, and iniurious to the grace of God. And because it was a matter of faith that indifferently concerned all, they thought it necessarie to aduertise the bishop of Rome what they had done, and to pray him also to condemne the same: that as the infection was farre spred and found many defenders; so the condemnatiõ thereof might be generall, and ratified by the publique liking of the bishops in euery prouince. What can you gather by this, but

What helpe Saint Austen and others sought of Innocentius.

but that it was then the manner of the Church, as in truth it was, by their letters sent to and fro, both to aske and to giue their mutuall consents, for the suppressing of errors that daily sprang, when generall councels could not be called? In which case the bishop of Rome both in respect of his city, that was imperiall, and his see, that was Apostolicall, vsed to receiue the first letters.

Phil. The councell of Carthage writeth thus to Innocentius: *Hoc itaque gestum charitati tuæ intimandum duximus, vt statutis nostræ mediocritatis etiam Apostolicæ sedis adhibeatur auctoritas pro tuenda salute multorum.* That which was done, we thought good to intimate to your charitie, that to the decrees of our meanenes, the authoritie of your Apostolike see might be added, for the sauing of many from infection.

Inter August. epist. 91. They requested Innocentius to concur with them in the condemnation of Pelagianisme.

Theop. First they for their parts decreed against Pelagius without the bishop of Rome; next they seeke the consent of the bishop of Rome, not to make that good which they had done, but to preuaile the rather with many that were out of their prouince. *Error ipse & impietas quæ tam multos assertores habet per diuersa dispersos, etiam autoritate Apostolicæ sedis anathematizanda est:* This error & impiety which hath so many fauorers dispersed in so many places, had need be condemned by the credit and authority of your Apostolike see.

Idem epist. 91.

Phil. Innocentius saith they did but their duties. Theo. A man might soone intreat Innocentius to take enough vpon him, and yet the worst he saith is this: *Arbitror omnes fratres & Episcopos nostros, quoties fidei ratio ventilatur nonnisi ad Petrum, id est sui nominis & honoris authorem referre debere, velut nunc retulit vestra dilectio:* I thinke that all our brethren and fellow bishops when any matter of faith is in question, ought to referre the same to none but to Peter the author of their office and honour, as now your kindnesse hath done. Where by referring to Peter, he did not meane as you do, that all faith and religion should depend on the popes sleeue; but that when they had concluded as they saw cause, they should giue him intelligence to this ende, that he might concurre with thē for the better repressing of heresie with full consent. Now that which Innocentius made but a thought of, you since that time proclaime for a gospell. Philan. Innocentius would not thinke so without some ground. Theoph. Thoughts are weake proofes, when the case is

Inter August. epist 93. The bishops of Rome will quickly take enough vpon them. What is ment by referring matters to Peter.

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our owne; and Innocentius epistles in answere of these two councels, Erasmus noteth for want of words, wit and learning, requisit for so great a prelate. Phil. Erasmus is very bolde with the fathers. Theop. Your decretall epistles be euen such for the most part, mary that is not to this purpose. *Censura in Epist. 90. & 93.*

Basill is the next man in your beadrole, who called, as you say, for helpe of Liberius, Felix and other bishops of Italie; but can you tell vs where we shall find all these thinges that you affirme? Phil. In his epistles. Theop. There be foure or fiue epistles of his written to the west bishops in general, and to the bishops of Italie and France, for succor and helpe where the bishop of Rome perhaps is included as one amongst the rest, but neuer intreated, nor so much as named, asunder from the rest. And here may you learne of Basill, the cause why good men being oppressed in the east Church by the craft and power of heretikes or enimies, sought to the west for ayd and assistance. Not that they tooke the bishop of Rome for supreme iudge of all doubts and doctrines, as left in Christs steed; but that the number & concorde of the west bishops might temper and hinder the malice of their aduersaries, and bring their quarels to be decided in an open and euen councell. Basill wrote to the west bishops in general, but neuer to the bishop of Rome. The end why the east bishops sought to the west.

So Basill aduised Athanasius to do. For the experience that I haue had in things, I know this to be the onely way to get help, that our Churches are linked with the west bishops. For if they will readily shew the same zeal for our countries, which they did against one or two, that were diffamed in the west, perhaps somwhat will be done that shall generally profit all; whereby those that are in authoritie may be moued to reuerence their number, and the people euery where will follow them without contradiction. And Basil himselfe writing to them: As much comfort & help as you can, saith he, delay not to yeeld to the distressed & afflicted Churches. As we thinke the cõcord & vnity, which you enioy there among your selues, to be our owne happines; so ought you to labor with vs in these dissentions which assault vs. If then there be any comfort of loue, if any cõmunion of the spirit, if any bowels of pitie, be moued to help vs: take ye the zeale of godlines, and deliuer vs from this tempest. *Basilij epistola 48. ad Athan.* *Basilij Epist. 61. occidentalibus fratribus.*

And describing at large the miserable state of the Chur-

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Basilij Epist. 69. Italicis ac Gallis.

ches thereabout. The principles of godlines, saith he, be ouerthrowen, the rites of religion peruerted, faith it selfe in daunger, godlie preachers put to silence, euery blasphemous mouth is open; holy things are prophaned, and those that are sound among the people flee the house of prayers as in the which impietie is published. Therefore while yet some stand, before a perfect and full shipwrack oppresse the Church, hasten vnto vs, hasten at the lenght yet. What you shall do to help vs we neede not tell you, but onely this, that you must make speed, and the presence of many brethren will be requisite for this matter, to this end that they which come may make a ful and iust synod. This is the chiefest thing that we require, that by your meanes the troubles of our countries may be knowen to the emperors own person, or if that be hard, that some of you come to see & comfort the afflicted. The things that we spake, many suspect, as proceeding of priuate contention; you the farther you dwel off, the more credite you haue with the people. If therefore many of you with one consent shall decree the same, it is euident that the very number of you concurring in one minde with vs, shall cause all men to receiue this doctrine without any doubting.

Basilij epist. 70. Gallis & Italis epist.

Marke what thinges Basill requested of the west bishops.

Basilij epist. 74. occidentalibus epist.

The greater number, and the farther off, the lesse suspected of the people. *Ibidem.*

You see what helpe Basill asked of the west bishops, making no mention of the bishop of Rome, but praying them all to ioyne togither, and to shew their zeales for the truth either by meeting in a full synod for the condemnation of such errors, as were newly risen in the Church; or by writing their letters to the east bishops, that the teachers & embracers of those impieties should be seuered from the communion of the faithful vntil their amendment. The redresse of these things we seeke for at your hands, the which you shall performe, if it please you to write to all the east Churches, that those which in this sort haue corrupted the doctrine of truth be then admitted to the communion, when they correct their errors; and if they will not be brought from this innouation, but frowardly continue the same, then the rest to depart from them: We know it behoued vs to be with you, as assessors to your wisdoms, and in common to consider how these things should be handled: but these times do not permit that, and the differring of it would be daungerous for that their poison taketh hold apace.

Phil. But Basill conferring with Athanasius how to help

helpe the Church, saith; I haue thought it meete, that the bishop of Rome be written vnto, to consider of our state, and to giue vs his counsell; and because it is a matter of more difficultie to send some thence by the common decree of a synod, he himselfe vsing his owne authoritie in this matter, may choose men both able to indure the iourney, and fit for the mildnes and easines of their dispositions, to correct those that here with vs are wrested awry, or started aside. This proueth that the bishop of Rome had authoritie sufficient of himselfe without a synod to send legats to reforme things amisse in the east churches, which is cleane against your assertion. *Basil. epist. 52. ad Athanasium.* The bishop of Rome might counsell but not command.

Theo. You mistake the matter for lacke of due marking the circumstances. When these troubles were first beginning, before they came to that extremitie, which after fell out, Basil knowing that the credit and opinion of the west Church might stay many from falling, and reduce others that were not too far gone, because it would be long to tary the assembling of a synod, and the enimie perceiuing their intent would hinder the fruit of their labors: wisheth that the bishop of Rome would vse his discretion in chosing some that were fit for this purpose, and send them very closely to see what good might be done by gentle and faire persuasions. Why Basil required messengers from the west patriarke.

Phil. You qualifie the text with your owne additions.

Theo. You shall find them expressed in Basils owne words if you weigh them well. First he would haue the bishop of Rome written vnto, to consider their state, and to giue them counsell what to do. Next, because it is hard to haue some sent by the common decree of a synod, he vsing his own authoritie in this [so small] a matter, may choose men fit, &c. And that no man knowing of it, without any stirre, let them come secretly by sea to those that are here, least the enimies of peace discry their comming. Lastly they fitting and applying their speech to content euery man, with mildnes and gentlenes may rectifie such of our side as tread awry. So that these messengers should be but mediators and procurers of peace betweene those that were of the same religion and ioined in communion with the west Churches. When they come which by Gods grace shall be sent, let them not occasion any schismes in the Churches, but ra- *Basil. epist. 52* *Ibidem.*

ther by all meanes draw those that be of one religion to vnitie. Care must be had, that all things be borne with, to win peace; and that the Church of Antioch in any case be prouided for; least that which is yet sincere in her, be weakened and rent in peeces through respect of persons. Meaning the schisme at Antioch where the catholiks had diuided themselues and their Churches, some cleauing to Miletius, and some to Paulinus.

Phil. You could neuer speake it in a better time. Vpon this and other such occasions I remember S. Hierom consulteth Damasus the bishop of Rome, both what to beleeue, and with whom to communicate. Theop. In deed S. Hieroms name is next, and if he serue your turnes he doth more for you than all the rest of the fathers besides: but was Hierom in his old age to seeke what to beleeue? Phil. I say not so; but that touching the faith and communion of the church he submitted himselfe to the bishop of Rome. His words are worth the noting; Because the east parts are togither by the eares by an inueterate madnes of the people, and foxes there do roote vp the vineyard of Christ, therefore thought I best to consult Peters chaire, and the faith which was praised by the Apostles mouth, thence desiring food for my soule, whence long ago I receiued the garments of Christ. I know not Vitalis, I refuse Miletius, I care not for Paulinus; he that gathereth not with you, scattereth; that is, he that is not Christs, is Antichrists. And hauing opened his griefe, and shewed what was demanded at his hands by the east bishops in the matter of the trinitie, he concludeth: I beseech your blessednes by him that was crucified, euen the sauior of the world, and by the trinitie, three persons of one and the same substance, that by your letters you will appoint me whether I shall confesse [there be three *hypostases* in one diuine nature] or deny the same; and also that you will signifie with which of those [three] at Antioch I ought to communicate. And vrging the same matter the second time; Miletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say they be ioined in communion with you. I could beleeue them if one [and no mo] said it; but now either two, or all three lie. Therefore I beseech your blessednes by the crosse of the Lord, by the necessarie ornament of our faith, by the passion of Christ, that by your letters you will signifie with whom

S.Hierom consulting Damasus.

Hieron. Damas. epist. tom. 2.

Ibidem.

Epist. sequent. ad Damasum.

I should communicate in Syria. Despise not the soule, for which Christ died. Giue me leaue to be as long in repeating the words of S. Hierom, as you were euen now in alleadging S. Basil.

Theop. With a good will, you spend but a litle the more time, and we shall haue day enough. Mary now you haue said all, marke first; that most of these praises be not seuerall to the citie of Rome, but generall to the west Church. The vnthriftie children [of the east] haue wasted, saith he, their patrimonie: onely with you [in the west] is the inheritance of your fathers kept vndiminished. There the good ground yeeldeth an hundred fold increase, that still resembleth the purenes of the Lords seed: here the corne that was cast into the furrowes doth degenerate into tares and oates. Now in the west the sonne of righteousnes shineth, in the east, Lucifer that fell, hath set his throne aboue the starres. You are the light of the world, the salt of the earth, the vessels of siluer and gold: here are the wooden and earthen pots that stay for the iron rod and vnquenchable fire. This comparison he maketh, as you see, not betweene all other places and Rome, but betweene the east and west Churches; preferring the one many degrees before the other. Secondly the reason why Hierom himselfe depended so much on the Church of Rome, was, as he saith, for that he was baptized in the citie of Rome; and therefore as one of that citie still desireth thence to be fed in Christ, where he was first cleathed with Christ. Thirdly, the points that he doubted of, and sought to be directed in, where no matters of doctrine nor principles of faith, but a question of words, and a dissention about the bishoprike of Antioch: for the which trifles, who can blame Hierom if he were loath to ose the communion of that city, where he was christened? And as Hierom here honoreth the Church of Rome for keeping her faith, so elsewhere he taketh vp roundly both the citie and clergie of Rome when occasion was offered.

Epist. ad Damasum prior. S. Hierom preferreth the west Church before the east as more sincere in faith; & not Rome before all the world.

And in this very place by your leaue he protesteth that he followeth no man as chiefe, much lesse as head of the Church, but onely Christ. *Ego nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est cathedræ Petri communione consocior:* following none chiefe, but Christ; hold the fellowship of cō- *Ibidem.*

munion with your blessednes, that is with Peters chaire.

S.Hierom sought no resolution in faith at Damasus mouth but letters to keepe him from trouble in a strange place.

Neither doth he pray the bishop of Rome to appoint him what he shall beleeue touching the trinitie, as if Damasus word were the rule of his faith; but where he confessed in the trinitie three persons subsisting of one and the same substance, with the councell of Nice, and the whole west Church, and certaine bishops of the east not therewith content, urged him precisely to grant the word *tres hypostases*; and for sticking at it, traduced him as an heretike; his request to the bishop of Rome is, *vt sine dicendarum, sine sacendarum hypostaseon detur auctoritas*; that he might be licenced to vse, or refuse that word, without being molested at their hands any farther. When we aske them, saith Hierom, what they meane by *tres hypostases*, they say, three persons subsisting: we answer that we beleeue the same. *Non sufficis sensus, ipsum nomen efflagitant; & quia vocabula non edidicimus, hæretici indicamur.* It is not enough to beleeue so, they vrge the very word it selfe; and because we can not frame our selues to [these new] words, we be charged with heresie. So that Hierom craued Damasus letters and authority for his quietnes, least he should be troubled in Syria where he lay among strangers, for a word that he suspected to be scant sound. The other petition that he maketh is but to know, which of those three at Antioch were ioined in communion with the Church of Rome, and the west bishops; that he might safely communicate with that side. Grant these two cases wherein Hierom praieth helpe of Damasus, and what are you the nearer?

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Phil. Nay, grant the words that Hierom speaketh in his epistle, and see what then will follow. Theo. What words? Phil. *Cathedræ Petri communione consocior; super illam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio. Quicunque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, prophanus est. Si quis in arca Noe non fuerit, peribis regnante diluuio.* I hold the communion of Peters chaire [that is of the Church of Rome] vpon that rocke I know the Church to be built. Whosoeuer shall eate the [paschall] lambe out of that house, is a prophane person. If any man be not in Noahs arke when the flood riseth, he shall be drowned. This is as much as we do affirme, or could desire for the Church of Rome: grant this, and the quarrell betwixt vs shal soone cease.

Ibidem.

Theop.

Theop. You be so hastie when you heare of Peters chaire, that you neuer looke at Christ himselfe, though he stand in your way. For Hierom in the same sentence protesteth, that although he keepe the fellowship of communion with Peters chaire, yet he followeth none chiefe but Christ. Vpon that rocke I am sure, saith he, the Church is built. Why may not these words now be referred as well to Christ, as to Peter? Phil. For shame, what an euasion this is? Theop. May shame to your selues that are so wedded to your owne conceits. The words are more likely to belong to Christ than to Peter, if you soberly view them. Christs name going first, and Peters second in the sentence, by the very rules of grammar, *super illam petram*, vpon that rocke, serueth more aptly for Christ, than for Peter. Againe, the vehemencie of the verbe *scio*, I am right sure, doth argue the words to be more fitly referred to Christ than to Peter. For that the Church is built on Christ, no Christian euer doubted: but that Peter is the rocke on which the Church is built, S. Augustine and others do plainly deny.

Epist ad Damasum.

Super illam Petram in Hierom stād fitter to be referred to Christ than to Peter.

Phil. But S. Hierome in the third epistle before this, saith expressely, *Petrus super quem Dominus fundauit Ecclesiam*: Peter on whom our Lord built his Church. Theoph. The words of our sauior in the gospell, Vpon this rocke will I build my Church, diuerse men haue diuersly taken. S. Augustine expoundeth them thus: *Tu es ergo, inquit, Petrus; & super hanc Petram quam confessus es, super hanc Petram quam cognouisti, dicens, tu es filius Dei viui, edificabo Ecclesiam meam; id est super meipsum filium Dei viui edificabo Ecclesiam meam. Super me edificabo te, non me super te*: Thou art Peter, saith Christ, and vpon this rocke, which thou hast confessed, vpon this rocke which thou hast acknowledged by saying; Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God, will I build my Church; that is vpon my selfe the sonne of the liuing God will I build my Church. I will build thee vpon me, not my selfe on thee. Hilarie likewise, *Vnum est immobile fundamentum, vna hæc est fœlix fidei Petra Petri ore confessa, tu es filius Dei viui: super hanc igitur confessionis Petram Ecclesiæ edificatio est. Hæc fides Ecclesiæ fundamentum est*: This onely is the immooueable foundation, this onely is the happie rocke of faith which was confessed by Peters mouth; thou art the sonne of the liuing God. Then vpon this rocke

Hieron. ad Marcellum aduersus Mōtanum: tomo epist. 2. Vpon this rocke: diuersly expoūded of the fathers.

Aug. de verbis Domini secundum Mat. serm. 13. The Church built on none but on Christ.

Hilar. de Trin. lib. 2.

Ibidem lib. 6.

of confession standeth the building of the Church. This faith is the foundation of the Church. So doth Ambrose:

Ambros. in 2. cap. epist. ad Ephesios. *Idem de incarnat. Dominici. sacrament. cap. 5.*

Dominus dicit ad Petrum, super istam Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam; hoc est, in hac catholicæ fidei confessione. Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum. Non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt. Sed confessio vicit infernum.

The Lord saith to Peter, vpon this rocke will I build my Church, that is, in this confession of the catholike faith. Faith therefore is the foundation of the Church. For it was not spoken of Peters flesh, but of faith, that hell gates should not preuaile against it. But that confession conquered hell. Vpon this rocke will I build my Church, that is, faith. Chrysostom, vpon this faith and confession. Bede; Vpon this rocke, saith Christ, which thou hast confessed will I build my Church. That rocke was Christ, vpon the which foundation euen Peter himselfe was to be builded. These meane as Saint Paul doth, that the right and true foundation of the Church is Christ, and none else. An other foundation can no man lay, than that which is already laid, which is Iesus Christ.

Chrysost. hom. 55. in Matth. *Bede in cap. 21. Iohan.*

1. Cor. 3.

Others I know apply these words, Vpon this rocke will I build my Church, to Peter; mary not as if he alone were laid in the foundation of the Church, and the rest of the Apostles excluded, but that which is here spoken to him, they make common to all, or as much elsewhere to be giuen to all. Origen, If onely vpon Peter thou thinkest the whole Church to be built, what wilt thou say to Iohn and euery of the Apostles? Shall we dare say, that against Peter onely, the gates of hell shall not preuaile, and against the rest of the Apostles they shall? And not rather in them all and euery one of them, that to be true, which is said, the gates of hell shall not preuaile? And that also vpon this rocke will I build my Church? For if this speech, To thee will I giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen, be common to all, why then should not all that which goeth before, and followeth after, as spoken to Peter, be common to them all? Hieron himselfe, whose authority you pretend, as he placeth Peter in the foundation of the Church, so doth he the rest of the Apostles likewise. Thou wilt say, the Church is built on Peter: notwithstanding the selfe same in an other place is done vpon all the Apostles, and they all receiue the keies of

Peter laid in the foundation of the Church as a principall member thereof.

Origen. in 16. Matt. tract. 1.

Hieron. lib. 1. aduersus Iouinianum.

the kingdome of heauen, and the stedfastnes of the Church is equally setled vpon them. This sense doth somewhat agree with that place of S. Paul where he saith: Ye be built vpon the foundation (not of Peter alone) but of the Apostles and prophets, Iesus Christ being the head corner stone. And in that respect Paul saith of Iames, Peter & Iohn iointly, they that seemed to be the pillors, gaue me their right hands of fellowship.

Ephes.2.

Galat.2.

Both these constructions we can admit, though we prefer the first, as most religious and comming nœrest the true meaning of our sauior; but you wrest the words of S. Hierom quite against himselfe and all the rest of the learned and catholike fathers. It is one thing to say the Church is built on Peter, which Origen, Hierom and others affirme in the sense that I told you before: and an other thing to say the Church is built on Peters chaire at Rome, which no father euer said or thought. And therefore if we should grant that S. Hierom in these words spake of Peter, what are you the better? This is no proofe that Rome is the rock, on which the Church is built, but onely that Peter is a rocke laid in the foundation of the Church, where also the rest of the prophets and apostles are. Phil. The place doth mention the chaire of Peter, which is Rome. Theop. The words stand so, that they may respect either Peter himselfe or his chaire: but the likenesse of the names *Petrus* and *Petra*, both for sound and for sense, the alluding to that, which Christ spake to Peter in the gospel, long before he knew Rome, the general consent of the fathers expounding the rocke to be taken either for Christ or for Peter, and neuer for Rome, import that these words in S. Hierom, haue their relation to Peters person, and not to his chaire. This exposition the place which you brought confirmeth. *Petrus, super quem Dominus fundauit Ecclesiam:* Peter, on whom (that is on whose person, not on whose successors at Rome) the Lord built his Church.

Neither of these constructions make for the Church of Rome.

Tertul. de præscript.

Cyprian. lib. 3. epist.

Ad Marcellũ tom. epistolarũ 2. Testimonia.

Phil. The rest of S. Hieroms words can not be referred to Peters person, as namely these, that next insue: Without this house whosoeuer shall eat the [paschall] lambe, is prophane. And why should the former more than these? Theoph. Peruse the words as they lie, and you shall

Hier. Damas. quoniã vetusto tom. 2.

and your owne error. Vpon that rocke I know the Church is built. The Church not of Rome only, but of Christ generally. Then followeth, *extra hanc domum*, without this house. What house; but the Church, which he said before was built on the rocke? And out of this house (meaning thereby not the particular Church of Rome, but the catholike Church of Christ) whosoeuer eateth the passeouer, is in deed as Hierom saith, a prophane person. This is far wide from the marke which you shoot at.

The house of God, is the Church of God, and not the Church of Rome.

Phil. S. Augustine I trust shooteth streight, when he applieth the words of Christ in the 16. of Matthew, to the chaire of Peter. Theop. That were maruell, if he which by no meanes would allow Peter himselfe to be the foundation of the Church, be now content to yeeld that honor to the bishop of Rome. Phil. He doth so. These be his words: *Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede, & in ordine illo patrum, quis cui successit, videte. Ipsa est petra quam non vincant superbæ inferorum portæ:* Number the priests euen from Peters seat, and see who succeeded one an other in that rew of fathers: that is the rocke which the proud gates of hell do not conquer.

What S. Augustine meaneth by Peters seat.

Aug. in psalm. contra partem Donati.

From, not in Peters seat.

Theop. This place proueth nothing, vnlesse you be suffered to referre the words, *Ipsa est petra*, (that is the rocke,) whither you list. Phil. You can not referre them but either to the succession of priests from Peter, or else to Peters seat, which is all one with Peters chaire. Theop. Why not to Peter himselfe?

Phil. That were farre fet. Theop. The words stand indifferent for both, as S. Hieroms did; and not onely the same reasons I made there, serue here, but also the proposition hath a manifest referēce to Peters person. He saith not number the priests in Peters seat, but number them *vel ab ipsa Petri sede*, euen from the very seat of Peter, that is frō the time that Peter sate: he is the rocke, against which the proud gates of hell do not preuaile. Phil. You seeme to read, *Ipse est petra*, he is the rocke; but the words are, *Ipsa est petra*, that is the rocke. Theop. There are greater corruptions crept into S. Augustines workes, by the negligence of scribes than of a foe: neither did I translate the words, but giue you the right meaning of them; & yet, *ipsa est petra*, in S. Augustine may be referred to Peter himselfe, as wel,

Why may not *ipsa est Petra* be referred to Peters person as well as *super hanc Petram* in the gospel, as the Iesuits would haue it?

as

as *super hanc Petram*, in the gospell expounded for Peter, which you all vphold. But grant, which is more than ever you shall iustly conuince, that Peters chaire is thereby ment: S. Austen doth not say that is the rocke on which the Church is built: but that is the rocke which the gates of hel do not conquer: not promising that Rome stil should, but witnessing that Rome thē did withstand the gates of hel, by keeping the faith vndefiled, which Peter deliuerd.

Phil. What S. Austen lacketh S. Cyprian supplieth. *Qui cathedram Petri super quam ædificata est ecclesia, deserit; in ecclesia se esse confidit?* He that forsaketh the chaire of Peter, on which the Church is built, doth he hope himselfe to be in the Church? I trust these words be plaine enough. Theo. The words as you set them be plaine enough: but where saith Cyprian so? Phil. In his book *De vnitate ecclesiæ catholicæ*, you call it corruptly *De simplicitate prælatorum*. Theop. Call the booke how you will, so the words be there. Phil. There shall you find them. Theop. There we find them not. Phil. What prints haue you? Theoph. Prints enow. Alopecius at Cullen, Heruagius at Basil, Langelier at Paris, Crinitus at Antuerp, Gryphius at Lions, Manutius at Rome. In all these and diuerse others we find no such words. Phil. Indeede I confesse the words were wanting, till Pamelius a canon of Bruges found them in an old written copie lying in the abbay of Cambron. In his edition printed at Antuerp by Stelsius you shall find them. Theo. And thinke you Philander, that al other copies both printed and written lacking those words, Pamelius did well to put them to Cyprians text? Phil. He laid them downe as he found them written in the copie, which is kept at Cambron. Theo. As though the blind abbay of Cambron were of greater credite and authoritie than all the Churches and libraries of Christendom. Phil. I say not so. Theo. What else do you say, when you cite these words for Cyprians, which no copie printed, nor written hath besides that of Cambron?

Cyprian de vnitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

S. Cyprian lately falsified by the papists.

A Canon of bruges with his blind cambron copie hath inlarged Cyprians text against all the copies of christendom.

There haue trauelled in the correcting & setting forth of Cyprian at sundry times, men of your religion, not a few; namely, Remboltus, Canchius, Costerius, Erasmus, Granius, Manutius, Morelius; euery one of these for their seuerall editions searching far and neere, and vsing the best written copies that could be gotten or heard of, and they

they all agree that no such words are found in their copies: yea Pamelius himselfe hauing as he confesseth the sight and helpe of eight other written copies from diuers places, found these words in none but in Cambron copie.

Either the Cambron copie, or all the written copies in the world must be corrupted; & which of these twain thinke you, do the Iesuits choose?

Since then either Cambron copie must be corrupt, or an infinite number of other written copies, that haue been viewed by these learned men of your own side, and are yet extant in diuers abbeis and Churches obedient to the see of Rome at this houre; say your selfe in reason, whether we ought to beleeue your Cambron copie before al the copies that haue been perused, and are yet remaining in Europe. Phil. That were much, but how could this copie be corrupted? Theoph. What a question that is? How could whole bookes be thrust into the workes of Cyprian, Ambrose, Hierom, Austen and others, & lie forged vnder their names not in one, or two, but in the most part of the abbeis and ancient libraries of the west Church? Your monks and friers that were so skilfull in committing these manifold forgeries were not to seeke how to corrupt your Cambron copie.

Dist. 93. qui cathedram.

Phil. It helpeth Pamelius very much, that Gratian 400. yeres ago cited the very same words as out of Cyprian. Theo. Gratian might be deceiued by the same or some other false copie, as wel as Pamelius; & of all men Gratian himselfe is most corrupt in alleaging the fathers; but what if Gratian be forged as well as Cyprian? Phil. Nay then all shalbe forged, that liketh not you. Theop. They that ventured on Cyprian and others, would neuer sticke to frame Gratian to their purpose. Phil. This is but your suspition.

Gratian lately augmented as well as Cyprian.

Theoph. Yes I haue some reason to challenge this in your canon law for a corruption. The very same place of Cyprian is else where alleaged at large by Gratiã in his decrees, where we find no such words: and therefore this or that must needs be forged. Again Iohannes Semeca, who liued seuen skore yeres after Gratian, ouerskippeth this place without any glosse, as not finding it in the decrees extant in his time. Phil. You be deceiued: there is a glosse vpon this place. Theop. I am not deceiued, there is none. Looke to the lesser volume of your decrees printed by Iohn Petit, and Thielman Keruer, and you shall see there is none. And he that in the bigger volume of your decrees, thinking to

Caus. 24. quæst. 1. loquitur Dominus ad Petrum.

This place was not in the ancient decrees.

preuent

preuent this obiection, set a certaine glosse to the chapter, *Qui Cathedram*, shewed himselfe not to be his crafts maister; for he grossely mistaking the words that folow, (*episcopi verò*, which are Gratians) and thinking them to be Cyprians, put the summe of Gratians words, as a glosse to Cyprians text, which is nothing neere: and so betrayeth him a willing, but no skilfull forgerer. Last of all the relatiue, that you most esteeme, and I most withstand, *super quam*, on which [chaire] the Church is built, is contrary to the plaine words of Cyprian not many lines before cited by Gratian, and confessed by Pamelius to be found in his Cambron copie, *super vnum illum edificat Ecclesiam*, vpon him alone (meaning Peter) Christ buildeth his Church. So that either you must mend your booke, and read *super quem*; on whom the Church is built, or els make Cyprian so forgetful that within eight lines he contradicteth himselfe, and refuteth his former saying.

Glossa ibidem qui Cathedrã. The glosse lately forged as well as Gratians text.

And all this to make Cyprian speake cleane contrary to himselfe within the compasse of eight lines. *Cyprian. de vnitate eccles.*

Phil. May not the Church be built on him and his successors? Theop. If Peter alone were chosen by Christ to be the foundation, that is the first stone that should be laid in the building of his Church; how can that possibly be extended to his successors? Can you remoue Peter from the foundation where Christ laid him, and not doe him wrong? Or can you change the foundation, and not shake the building of the Church? Phil. You take the foundation I perceiue for the first beginning. Theo. And what cal you that which is first laid in the building of an house, but the foundation? Phil. Did Cyprian meane so? Theop. Cyprian expresseth his meaning in this sort: Though Christ after his resurrectiõ gaue al his Apostles equal power, yet for the declaratiõ of vnitie, with his owne [voice and] authoritie did he dispose the originall of that vnitie to begin in one [which was Peter]. The rest of the Apostles were the selfsame that Peter was, endued with like fellowship of honor and power, but the first beginning came from one, that is, Christ chose Peter alone to be the originall or first beginning of his Church. Now this is proper to Peters person to be the first stone that was laid in the foundation of the Church, and cannot be deriued from him to his successor.

Peter the first stone that Christ laid in the foundatiõ of his Church. *Cyprian. de vnitate eccles.*

Exordium & fundamentum all one.

Phil. That priuilege died with Peter, vnles it remaine in some successor. Theop. Not so. Peter as well after death as

The first part. Peters person laid in the foundation of the Church.

Peter at this day lieth in the foundation of the Church where Christ placed him. Galat. 4. Ephes. 2. Heb. 12.

as during life, keepeth the same place which Christ gaue him in the building of his Church, vnlesse you meane to excinde the saincts cleane from the Church of Christ. Phil. They be of the Church triumphant, not militant. Theop. And these be not two, but one Church. Ierusalem which is aboue, is the mother of vs all. Ye be now, saith Paul, no more strangers and forreners, but citizens with the saints, and of the houshold of God. For you be come to the citie of the liuing God, the heauenlie Ierusalem, and to the Church of the first borne written in heauen, and to the spirits of iust men (now) made perfect. Where you see the saints in heauen be not remoued from the Church of God, but we receiued to their fellowship, they keeping still that honor and excellencie which they had in Christ before our comming. Abraham is to this day the father of the faithfull; the patriarks and prophets are not depriued of their dignitie; Peter no doubt as he was, so he is the first stone that Christ laid in the foundation of his Church, which dignitie you can not take from him after his death.

Phil. What then shall his successor haue? Theop. The charge that he had to feede, and the same keies that were giuen him and the rest, to bind & loose: which office if the bishop of Rome wil execute, he may haue. Phi. A faire promotion: you mean he shal be a bishop, as others are. Theo. God grant he be so much. More if he will haue by warrant from Peter, you must proue it better than by such forged authorities & maimed examples as heer you bring. Those that are past, your selfe see, were to litle purpose; Theodorets example which is yet behind, is like the rest.

Phil. He submitted himselfe to Leo the great, & was by him restored to his bishoprike, though he were not of his prouince. Theop. Leo toke his part against Dioscorus the patriarke of Alexandria, that like a tyrant in the 2. Counsell of Ephesus not onely was the death of Flauianus by spurning & treading on him, but also confirmed the wicked opinion of Eutyches, and deposed Theodoret without any iust cause: whom the bishop of Rome receiued to the communion, and accepted for a lawfull and catholike bishop, not regarding the sentence pronounced against him by Dioscorus. Phil. Then Leo reuersed the lewd acts of Dioscorus in that Ephesine Councell. Theop. Leo withstood

Chalcedonens. concily actio. 1. Leo tooke Theodorets part against Dioscorus. *Euagrius lib. 1. cap. 10. Leo Epist. 61. ad Theodoretum.*

them

hem, as all other good men did throughout the world, but the iudgement was reuersed by the great councell of Chalcedon, and not by the bishop of Rome: where Theodoret was forced with his owne mouth in their presence to cleare himselfe from all suspicion, notwithstanding his restitution by Leo, before he could be admitted to make his complaint against Dioscorus. *Chalcedonens. concilij actio 8.*

Phil. Still you see the bishop of Rome resisted others, and by dissenting from them ouerthrew their enterprises. Theop. And still you see the bishop of Rome neuer ended these matters at home in his owne consistorie as supreme iudge of the whole earth, but euer made sute to christian princes, that these things might be determined in full assemblies of bishops by the iudgement and opinion of the most part, which is clean contrary to that absolute power, he now claimeth, as vicar generall to Christ, & the only ruler of his vniuersall Church. And therfore these examples which you haue brought, and many like which you might bring, proue not that power, which you defend at this day, to belong to the bishop of Rome, but rather euert the same. For what needed his predecessors with all duty become suppliants to catholike emperors for the gathering of bishops out of all quarters to decide matters in doubt, & that sute often refused, as when Innocentius messengers came back from Arcadius with a shameful repulse, & Leo the great, whom you last spake of, besought Theodosius the yonger with sighes & teares to grant a councell for the repealing of Dioscorus acts, & could not obtain it: what needed, I say, such earnest and humble request to those that neglected their prayers, if Christ had appointed them as Peters successors, and his deputies without depending on princes pleasures, or other mens voices to say but the word, which should stand good in his Church, against all persons, in al causes both of doctrine and discipline? And what better conuiction of your falshood can there be, than that in all these troubles & tempests of the Church, which you haue chosen out of many for your best aduantage, the bishop of Rome neuer so much as pretended or mentioned his lieutenantship to Christ, which you now defend, but euer keeping his place, which by reason of his citie was the first among the patriarks, and ioining himselfe to the

Their examples proue the bishop of Rome had no such power as he now claimeth.

The pope besought the emperor with sighs & teares for a councell, and could not preuaile.

In all these examples the bishop of Rome neuer so much as

alleadged or mentioned his vniuersall power, which your Iesuits defend.

the west bishops which were then a good part of christendom, by their helpe and the fauor of religious princes ga: those things that oppressed the Church, and impugned the faith, to be debated and determined by common consent, in generall and lawfull councels, without any reseruation or motion of his absolute power, or negatiue voice?

As the bishop of Rome resisted others, so others resisted him.

Phil. Our examples, you grant, proue this, that he resisted others: now shew you that others ouerruled him. Theop. If I could not, the matter were not great, considering your examples conclude nothing against vs: but least you should flatter your selues too much in your follies, you shall see that others withstood him, as well as he withstood others. Phil. Were they Catholikes? Theop. I trust you dare not account thē heretiks. Peter, as you say, the first bishop of Rome, was resisted by Paul the teacher of the Gentils; Anicetus by Polycarpus Saint Iohns owne scholler; Victor by Polycrates, Ireneus, and all the brethren of Asia; Stephan by Cyprian; Damasus, Syricius and Anastasius by Flauianus and al the Churches of the east, of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyricum; Innocentius by Cyrill; Zozimus & Bonifacius by Augustine, and two hundred and sixteene bishops of Africa; Cælestinus by Theodoret; Leo by the great councell of Chalcedon; Gregorie by the Brittans; and many other bishops of Rome by diuerse godly princes, prelats, countries, and councels. Phil. I like not these generall flourishes, which serue onely to obscure the truth, and beguile the simple. Theop. How then can you like your Apologie which consisteth of nothing else? And what a slender kind of proofe, was that idle rehersall of names, which you made euen now for your running to Rome? But our particulars I am well content you shall shun.

Who they were that resisted the bishop of Rome.

Gal 2. *Ibidem.* Paul resisting Peter, & that after his installation at Rome, if the Romish account be true, which most men doubt.

The first, Paul himselfe affirmeth. When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him to his face, for he was to be blamed. Phil. The quarell betwixt them was not great. Theo. Not walking the right way to the truth of the Gospell, and compelling the Gentils to liue, like the Iewes, was no such petie fault as you make it; but grant it were. The smaller the fault, the stronger our instance. If Paul for a light matter resisted Peter to his face, what would he haue

haue done in a cause of more weight? Phil. Was Peter then bishop of Rome when Paul reproued him? Theop. It forceth not whether he were or no. Peter as you pretend had his prerogatiue not frō Rome, but from Christ, long before he sawe Rome; and therefore was in as full authoritie when Paul resisted him, as when Nero martyred him: and yet if their account be true, that were the first authors of his preferment to Rome, he was rebuked at Paules hands euen when he was bishop of Rome. For, Peter as Eusebius or some other in his name recordeth) went to Rome, and was bishop there in the 44. yeere of Christ, that is, eleuen yeeres after his passion, Christ being put to death in the 33. yeere of his age: and Paul in the fifteenth yeere of his conuersion, or as himselfe speaketh, After fourteene yeeres, came not to Rome, but to Ierusalem to confer with Peter; which at least must be the 48. yeere of Christ, and foure yeers after Peters installation at Rome. And after that when Peter came to Antioch, and began to dissemble for feare of the Iewes which were sent from Iames, Paul resisted him to his face, and sharpely rebuked him, not respecting that he was then in his pontificalibus and newly made bishop of Rome, as you your selfe beleeue. Now chose whether you will disclaime Peter for no bishop of Rome, and so lose your succession from him, or grant that the bishop of Rome may be lawfully resisted as Peter was, which is the very thing you required vs to proue. One of these twaine you shall neuer auoide; do what you can.

Euseb. Chronic. in anno 44.

Gal. 2.

The papists make Peter a Nonresident.

Phil. I may not deny that Paul did it, the scripture is plaine, I resisted him to his face; but whether he did no more than he might, or how to his face, is a schoole-point and a poetic question. Theop. No question at all, vnlesse you will charge Paul with rashnes in doing it; vnshamefastnes in writing it; and wilfulnes in directlie defending it. For by this dissention doth he proue the soundnes of his doctrine; and by Peters yeelding, he confirmeth the Galathians that were wauering. And therefore you must either allow this resistance for good and lawfull, or else conclude this epistle to be no scripture, and Paul to be voide of the holy Ghost, in proposing an vnhonest and vngodly fact of his owne for a president, which to say, were no

Rhemish annot. in Epi. ad Gal. cap. 2. vers. 11.

Whether Paul might resist Peter, is an vngodly doubt.

no small blasphemie. Phil. I did not auouch it, but onely moue the question. Theop. You must moue no such questions, if you be a chystian: they be reprochfull to the spirit of God and iniurious to his word. You were driuen to a narrow strait, when you came to this shift. You be loth I see, to confesse either; but there is no remedy, Philander, you must yelde vs one of these, whether you will or no. Phi. Let me heare the rest, and then you shall know my minde.

Theo. Resist not truth, to maintaine your credit; God will surely reueng it. This example is meuitable, study til your braines ake for an answere. But the rest you shall heare.

Polycarpus withstood Anicetus for the obseruatiō of Easter. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.*

Polycarpus being at Rome when Anicetus was bishop there, they dissenting in some other small matters were by and by reconciled; but touching the obseruation of Easter day, which in diuerse places was diuersly kept, Anicetus could not perswade Polycarpus to leaue those thinges, which he had alwayes obserued with Iohn the disciple of our Lord and the rest of the Apostles, with whom he had bene conuersant. Phil. The contention was but in words betweene them. Theop. Yes they differed in deedes, and Polycarpus could not be induced by any words to follow that manner of celebrating Easter-day, which Anicetus receiued from those Apostles, that founded the Romane Church.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 25. Polycrates withstood Victor for the same cause. *Ibidem.*

This controuersie waxed hoater in Victors time, who for the very same cause went about to cut off all the Churches of Asia from the vnitie of communion, as intangled with some strange opinion; and by letters inueighed against them, and vtterly denounced all the brethren there excommunicated, but for all his hast he was quickly staied. Phil. By whom? Theop. Polycrates in the behalfe of the Churches of Asia, amongst other things replyeth thus to Victor: I that haue seene threescore and fiue yeeres in the Lord, and haue conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and haue turned and searched the holy scripture, will neuer be afraid of those things that are done to terrifie me. I could make mention of the bishops that are with me, whom you required me to send for, & so I did, whose names if I would reckon they would make a great multitude, which taking the paines to visite me, a man of small account, consent to this epistle. Victors deede did not please all the bishops that otherwise were of his side: Yea many of their letters, saith

A great multitude of bishops with Polycrates against Victor. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26.*

Eusebius,

Eusebius, are extant that did sharply reproue Victor. Amongst whom Irenæus was one that wrote in the name of his brethren of France where he was chiefe, and allowed [Victors opinion] that the mysterie of the Lordes resurrection should be kept onely vpon Sunday. But yet he wisely and largely warneth Victor, that he should not excommunicate all the Churches of God obseruing their auncient tradition. Victor reprooued by his owne side for offering to excommunicate the Churches of Asia, that stood against him.

Phil. They withstood him in a small and trifling cause.

Theo. You take hold of that which doth hurt you. To resist whom they should not, in a matter that they need not, is a double offence; and then should Irenæus and others haue rather reproued Polycrates and his adherents for neglecting their dueties, than the bishop of Rome for passing his bounds; but in that he was stoutly resisted by the one, and sharply reproued by the other, it is euident that neither of them tooke him for his sole and supreme directer of Christes Church on earth.

Of Cyprian I said before, that he counselled the Church of Spaine to reiect Basilides, notwithstanding his restitution by Stephanus bishop of Rome: and how vehemently the said Stephanus was resisted by Cyprian for the rebaptizing of such as forsooke their heresies, his epistle to Pompeius doth aboundantly witnesse. Because you desired to know what answer our brother Stephanus [bishop of Rome] returned to our letters, I haue sent you a copy of that he wrote. By the reading whereof you shall more and more perceiue his error, that he laboureth to maintaine the cause of heretikes against the Church of God. For amongst other things either superfluous, or impertinent, or contrary to themselues, which he writeth vnskilfully and vnwisely, he added this, &c. And hauing repeated and refuted the words of Stephanus, What blindnes of heart, saith Cyprian, is this, & what peruersenesse, that he will not acknowledge the vnitie of faith comming from God the father by the deliuerie of our Lord Iesus Christ? And where no heresie, no nor schisme, can haue the sanctification of healthfull baptisme out of the Church, why doth the inflexible obstinacie of our brother Stephanus breake out so farre, that of Marcions baptisme, and such like blasphemers against God the father, he auoucheth children may be borne [vnto God]? It commeth of too much presumption and frowardnesse, that a man had

Cyprian. li. 1. Epist. 4.

Cyprian. epist. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephan.

Cyprians stoutnes against Stephanus bishop of Rome.

Ibidem.

rather defend his owne, though it be false and naught, than yeeld to an others deeds and words. How like you this resistance? doth it go to the quicke or no?

Cyprian in an ill cause resisting the bishop of Rome did & doth go for a martyr and father of the Church.

Phil. This was an error in Cyprian, for Stephanus held the truth. Theoph. The question is not whether Cyprian were deceiued, but whether Stephanus were resisted. I grant in this case Stephanus had the better part, but yet Cyprian and the bishops of Africa thought themselues to be right: and vpon that opinion of truth how farre they resisted the bishop of Rome, their acts and epistles declare. Phil. Their matter I tell you was naught. Theop. That doth rather fasten than shake my conclusion. For if Cyprian and the bishops of Africa, when their cause was not good resisting the bishops of Rome both in words and deeds, were taken and accounted in the Church of God for Christian and catholike bishops, yea Cyprian the chiefe leader of them, and most earnest against him, for a worthie father and glorious martyr; how much more the in a right and iust cause might the bishops of Rome be lawfully resisted in those dayes?

Flauianus withstood four bishops of Rome though their cause were not much amisse. *Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 3.*

The which I may likewise conclude by the next example, where the bishops of Rome were not onely resisted, but at length forced to yeeld to Flauianus, although their strife with him at the first seemed to carry some reason. Phil. Did they not well to reiect him, that was made bishop against his oth? Flauianus was one of those that were sworne neither to seeke, nor to accept the bishoprike of Antioch, if they were chosen, till Miletius and Paulinus were both dead; that thereby the Church of Antioch, which before was diuided in two parts vnder two bishops, might be ioyned togither and vnited in one: and he vpon the death of Miletius, whiles Paulinus yet liued, not respecting his oth, was content to take the place. Theoph. I sayd there was some cause for the bishops of Rome to refuse him, and yet notwithstanding the goodnesse of their quarell, and sharpnesse of contention, which Damasus, Syricius, Anastasius and Innocentius maintained against him, all the Churches of the east, of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyricum tooke part with Flauianus, defended his election and receiued his communion, though the bishops of Rome would do neither.

Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 23. Who tooke part with Flauianus against the bishops of Rome.

And

And Theodosius the elder, a very religious emperor, having the courage and wisedom of Flauianus in admiration, and seeing the number of Churches that did communicate with him, willed him to returne and feed the Church [or flocke] committed to his charge. Against whom when the bishop of Rome made a long accusation, the godly prince vndertooke his defence, pleaded his cause, and exhorted them to knit their Churches togither, and to leaue striuing and extinguish those foolish brabbles. And so was the bishop of Rome glad to giue ouer the quarell which he and thæ of his predecessors had for the space of seuentæn peeres egerly followed against Flauianus.

The prince willeth Flauianus to keepe his Church, though foure popes for 17. yeeres togither impugned him. *Ibidem.* *Ibidem.* *Nice. lib. 14. cap. 27.*

How little Cyrillus esteemed the communion of the bishop of Rome doth well appeare by his answer to Atticus, where he vehemently disswadeth that Chrysostoms name after his death should be put in the catalogue of bishops, notwithstanding Innocentius, and the west bishops, would not communicate with Egypt or the east parts, till that were obteined. Philan. It was a fault in Cyrill to be so vehement against Chrysostom in fauor of his vncle Theophilus the chiefe doer of all this, and that ouersight he after corrected by yeelding to that which before he refused. Theop. What moued Cyrill at the first to withstand; and after to yeeld, I need not care, you may not iudge; were the cause good or bad, to my purpose all is one; this is it that I vrge, neither Cyrill nor Atticus, nor the Churches with them were reputed schismaticall for lacking or neglecting so long time the communion of the bishop of Rome, though the matter they stood on, were stant sound.

Cyrill esteemed not the communion of the bishop of Rome. *Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 34.*

Phil. You should bring vs an example where the bishop of Rome was withstood by a councell: the facts of priuate men carry not so great credite, as when they be done in a publike synode. Theop. The men that I haue named vnto you, were no such obscure persons, that you need doubt of their credit. They were for their calling and function, bishops and patriarks: for their learning and holinesse, lights in the Church of Christ, and are so taken to this day. Neither, as you suppose, were they alone in these actions, but had the bishops and Churches adioining to take their parts, and did these things which I spake

Those resistances were offered not by Priuate persons but by councels and countries.

of, in open councell. Polycrates had with him a counsell in Asia, when he resisted Victor, and Irenæus had likewise an other in Fraunce, when he reproued him. Cyprian and 84. Africane bishops ioined togither in the councell of Carthage, against Stephanus. With Flauianus, as Sozomene writeth, were the bishops of Syria, Phenica, Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia: as Theodoret saith, all the churches of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, Illyricum, besides all the east Churches. That which Cyrill defended was done by two councels and allowed by the three patriarkes of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioche and their prouinces. And therfore these are no priuate men nor matters, as you pretend, but things done in open synodes by no meane bishops. And yet to content your minde, you shall see where the bishop of Rome, claiming far lesse authoritie than he doth at this day, was openly resisted in a councell of 217. bishops to his immortal shame, and your bitter ouerthrow in this cause.

Euseb. lib. 5. Cap. 24 & 25. Ibidem. ca. 26. Concil. Cartha. de hæret. baptisandis inter opera Cypriani Sozom. lib. 7. Cap. 11. Theodor. lib. 5. Cap. 23. Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 18.

The sixt councell of Carthage stoutly resisted the bishop of Rome, and conuinced him of forgerie.

Sozimus bishop of Rome, sending his legats Faustinus, Philippus & Asellus to the sixt councell of Carthage, in fauor of Apiarius a priest, that fled to Rome for aide against Vrbanus his Diœcesane, which had taken both his function, and the cõmunion from him for his lewdnes; amongst other things gaue them in charge, to claime this prerogatiue for him and his see, that if any bishops were accused or deposed, and appealed to Rome, the bishop of Rome might either write to the next prouince to determine the matter, or send some from his side to represent his person, and to sit in iudgement with the bishops. And to proue this lawfull, he cited in writing vnder his hande a canon of the councel of Nice tending to that effect. The godly fathers assembling themselues out of all Africa, to the number of 217. and finding no such canon in their bookes either Greeke or Latine, wrate to the patriarkes of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch for true and authentike copies of the Nicene councell: and seeing their owne copies agree worde for worde with those that were brought, and no such thing to be found in any canon there; first by their decree cut off appeales to Rome, & secondly by their letters traduced the bishop of Rome, as well for his ambition, as forgerie.

Vide concilii Carthaginense sextum. cap. 3.

Phil.

The councell of Africa resisted the bishop of Rome. *The first part.*

Phil. An olde broken matter, often alleadged, and often answered. Theop. You could doe little if you coulde not crake, but that will not serue your turnes: you must spare vs a better answere. Indeede Bonifacius the seconde doth answere the matter in this sort: *Aurelius præfatæ Carthaginensis ecclesiæ olim Episcopus cum collegis suis instigante diabolo superbire temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum Bonifacy & Cælestini contra Romanam ecclesiam cepit: Aurelius* once bishop of Carthage with his collegues (amongst whom was S. Augustine with many other learned and godly fathers) in the time of Bonifacius and Cælestinus our predecessors, began through the instigation of the deuill to be malepart with the Church of Rome. If you take this for an answere, so is it: other I know none, that your friends haue made.

Bonifacius saith, the diuell led Saint Augustine & the rest to be sawcie with the bishop of Rome. *Bonifacius secundus ad Eulalium de reconcil. Carthaginens. Eccl. Concilio. tomo. 1.*

Phil. The bishops of Africa, you know were deceiued in the number of the Nicene canons. Theop. I knowe they were not; but grant they were, this sufficeth me that they resisted three bishops of Rome, Sozimus, Bonifacius and Cælestinus one after another, both by their decrees and their leters. For vpon occasiõ of Apiarius flight to Rome, they decreed that priests, deacons, and other inferior clerks, if they complained of the iudgments of their Diocesanes, should be heard by the bishops adioining. *Quod si & ab eis prouocandum putauerint, non prouocent nisi ad Africana Concilia, vel ad primates prouinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putauerit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam ad communionem suscipiatur:* And if they think good to appeale from them also, let them not appeale but to the councels of Africa, or the primates of their owne prouince. And he that ventureth to appeale ouer the seas [to Rome] let him be receiued of no man within Africa vnto the communion. Phil. This decree barreth priests & inferior clerks from appealing to Rome, but not bishops. Theo. The canon was fitted to the matter in question. Appiarius that ran to Rome, was a priest and no bishop: and yet touching appeales of bishops to Rome, what answere they made, followeth in their letters first to Bonifacius, before they sent for authentike copies to the chiefe places of Christendome: to whom they signifie, that concerning appeales of bishops to the priests of Rome, they would suffer that to be kept for a while, till they could get the canons of the Nicene councell; and after they

Afric. concil. cap. 92. Appeales to Rome condemned by S. Augustine and his collegues.

Afric. concil. cap. 101.

The first part. The councell of Africa resisted the bishop of Rome.

had receiued the same from Cyrillus and Atticus, they framed their answere to Cælestinus on this wise.

Afric. concil. cap. 105. Our due salutations remembred and done: we entreat and earnestly pray you that hereafter you will not lightly giue audience to those, that come from hence to you, neither any more receiue such to the communion as are excommunicate; bicause your reuerence shall easily perceiue that order taken by the Nicene councell. For if there appeere a prouiso for inferior clarks, and lay men, how much more would the synode haue the same obserued in bishops; that being excommunicated in their owne prouince, they should not be suddenly, hastily, or vnduly restored to the communion by your holines? And likewise your holines must repell these wicked refuges of priests and other clergie men [to Rome] as becommeth you: for that by no determination of the fathers this is derogated from the Church of Africa: and the Nicene canons do most euidently commit both inferior clergie men, and the bishops themselues to their owne metropolitanes. No doubt they most wisely and rightly prouide, that all matters should be ended in the places where they first arose; neither shall the grace of the holie Ghost be wanting to any prouince, by the which equitie may be grauely weighed, and stoutly followed by the priests of Christ; especially, where as euery man hath libertie, if he mislike the iudgement of those that heare his cause, to appeale to the councels of his own prouince, or to a generall councell. Or how shall the iudgement ouer the seas [at Rome] be good, wherto the necessarie persons of the witnesses either for sex or for age, or sundrie other impediments, can not be brought? For that any should be sent [as legats] from your holines side, we finde decreed by no synod of the fathers. That which you sent vs hither by Faustinus, as a part of the Nicene councell: in the truer copies, which we haue receiued from holy Cyril bishop of Alexandria, and reuerent Atticus bishop of Constantinople taken out of the originals themselues (which also we sent to Bonifacius your predecessor:) in them, we say, we could finde no such thing. And as for your agents or messengers, send them not, grant them not at euery mans request, least we seeme to bring the smokie pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which proposeth the light of simplicitie and humilitie to those

The fathers neuer heard of Christs vicar general.

Where then are appeales to Rome?

The holie Ghost as wel in one prouince as in another.

Legates *à latere* denied.

The councell of Nice corrupted by the bishop of Rome.

The popes claime called the smokie pride of the world.

that

that desire to see God, &c.

Doth your eie sight serue you Philander, to marke in this olde broken matter, as you call it, how many waies the bishops of Africa withstood the bishop of Rome? Appeales to Rome, which Sozimus claimed by the councell of Nice, they confute by the same councell, & impugne with other graue & pithy reasons: Legates *a latere*, which he chalenged, they reiect as neuer spoken of in any councell: Running to Rome, which you make lawfull, they call a wicked refuge; & sending of messengers from Rome, a smokie pride of the world. The corrupting the Nicene canons by Sozimus, they disproue by copies that were true and authentike; and Apiarius whom the bishop of Rome harbored and restored the second time to the communion, they vtterly banished from the Church of Christ; and not therwith content, they set downe a rule that if any priest afterward did appeale to Rome, no man in Aphrica should receiue him to the communion. What think you would these men haue done, if Sozimus had claimed to be head of the vniuersall Church, vicar generall to Christ, supreme and infallible iudge of all men and matters ecclesiasticall, and that not by consent of synods, but by grant from Christ? What could they haue said to your vntidie vanities, that the popes [seat is the native home of all true beleeuers] himselfe [the rocke of refuge in doubtfull daies & doctrines,] and the whole world [his fold and familie?]

What the councell of Africa denied to the bishop of Rome.

Was this resisted or no?

You must frame vs some better answere to this geare than Bonifacius your holy father did. I trust in these daies you dare not say, the diuel led S. Austen and al the bishops of Aphrica, to be pagent and sautie with Cælestinus, as he said. For if the diuell led them that in defence of themselues and their right searched and auouched the true canons of the Nicene councell, what spirit led Sozimus, that began a strange and new claime; & to bolster vp his pride, wilfully corrupted the councell of Nice?

Phil. He did not corrupt the councell of Nice, but rather their bishops of Africa that withstood him were beguiled in the number of the Nicene canons. Theo. He did corrupt the councell of Nice, and the bishops that detected his falshode were not beguiled. Phil. They had but twentie canons, where the councell of Nice made

Epist. Aegyptiorū ad Marcum pro exemplo. Niceni concilij tomo concilio-rum 1.

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 17. & Beda dist. 16. sexta.

were made: Againe, though all men did not allow the decrees of the Nicene councell, yet whiles Constantine liued, no man, saith Sozomene durst openly and plainly refuse them, much lesse burne them in a furious and publike tumult.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Athanasius not neere Egypt when this letter was written thence in his name. Rescriptum Marci Athanasio & Aegyptijs. Vide Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 25. & 28. Concil. Afric. cap. 102.

And what if Athanasius were not then neere Egypt when Marcus wrote this solemne epistle, will you neuer be weaned from these foolish forgeries? Marcus letter beareth date, *decimo calendas Nouembris, Nepotiano & Secundo Consulibus*: the 21. of October, *Nepotianus* and *Secundus* being Consuls; which was the latter end of the 30. yeere of Constantines raigne. Now all that yeere was Athanasius kept from Egypt at the councell of Tyrus, and without returning home, fled to Constantinople, where he staied till he was banished into France. Neither was there any such persecution in Egypt that yeere, or any time before vnder Constantine, as this epistle doth specifie, but a great while after vnder Constantius, when Marcus was dead and rotten. And to conclude, if the copy which Athanasius brought with him from Nice, were burnt by the Arians in his time, as his letter to Marcus importeth; how could Cyrill that came long after him finde an authentike copie in the same Church, as his words inferre to the councell of Africa?

Another forgerie vnder Iulius name woorse than the former. Rescrip. Julij ad Orientales cap. 29. The papists haue forged a decretall in Iulius name, whereas his true letter is extant in Athanasius apologie.

Phil. Marcus epistle might be suspected if Iulius letter did not affirme the same. Theop. Iulius epistle is a right paterne of your Romish records. For there besides impudent forgerie, you shall find wilfull periurie. Phil. Why so? Theop. Your counterfeit Iulius is not content to forge canons, but he bindeth them also with an oth. *Verum me dixisse testis est diuinitas*: God is my witnes, that I speake truth. Phil. You should the rather beleeue him. Theop. Beleeue him? As though the right and true rescript of Iulius to the synode of Antioch were not set downe by Athanasius himselfe in his second apologie to the manifest detection of your shamelesse forging and forswearing? Compare that letter with this, and you will blush to see the Church of Rome so fowlely ouershot. And yet were there no such thing extant, this blind decretall doth conuict it selfe. For it beareth date the first of Nouember, Felicianus [and his fellow] being Consuls: which was the very yeere that

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 40.

Constantine

The counсel of Ephesus threatning the legates of Rome. Constantine the great died. Now the councell of Antioch that deposed Athanasius, to the which Iulius wrate, was gathered by Constantius the fift yeere after Constantines death: and so this answer to the councell of Antioch was written 5. yeers before there was any such councel assembled. Againe, Iulius himselfe saith in his epistle to those of Antioch, that Athanas. [staied at Rome] with him one whole yeere and sixe moneths, expecting their presence, after they were cited by his first letters to shew the reason of their proceeding against Athanasius: and these two decretals of Iulius which you bring vs, beare date iust 31. daies asunder, in which time you cannot goe from Rome to Antioch, and returne with an answer, except you get you wings. And so notwithstanding your shifts and deuises to cloke and hide the matter, if it would be; your holy father falsified the councell of Nice to serue his ambition, and the bishops of Africa by common consent both stoutly, and rightly withstood him. Philan. Well Theophilus, the truth of these things God knoweth, I will defend no more than I may with honestie. Theop. You were not best. God be thanked mens eyes are open, you can not blind them with such canuisadoes. But I will goe forward.

The first part.

A man may feele this forgery with his fingers.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 5.

Athan. Apologia 2.

The first dated *Calend. Octobris*, the second *calend Nouembris*, the same yeere.

Theodoret is the next, who was one of those that tooke part with Iohn of Antioch against Cyrill in the first counсel of Ephesus, and both charged him with heresie, and deposed him notwithstanding he supplied the place of Cælestinus bishop of Rome. Philan. Theodoret did this in a faction to serue other mens humors. Theoph. I grant it was a priuate grudge betweene the two patriarks, and that the bishop of Antioch with whom Theodoret came, sought vnlawfull meanes to be reuenged of Cyrill; but yet this Theodoret and the rest did.

Euagr. lib. 1. cap. 4. Theodoret against the popes deputie.

Philan. It skilleth not what they did, so long as their doings were condemned by two generall counсels, and themselues glad to reuoke their owne actes. Theo. In that they deposed Cyrillus and Memnon against all order, and without iust cause, and vpon stomacke defamed the chapters, as hereticall, which the councell of Ephesus by Cyrils direction proposed against Nestorius, they were worthily reproued: and when choler was a little digested

digested, both sides did wisely to relent, and remit all former offences: but what councell did euer obiect this to them as a fault, that they resisted the popes deputie.

May rather the rest of the bishops that held with Cyrill (when the letters of Theodosius came, wherein he appointed the deposition as well of Cyrill and Memnon, as of Nestorius) not onely prescribed and limited the popes legate & others that were sent in embassage to the prince what they should do, but added this threatning: *Scire autem volumus vestram sanctitatem, quod si quid horum a vobis contemptum fuerit, ne q; sancta Synodus acta habebit rata, neque vos communionis sinet esse participes.* We giue your holines to vnderstand, that if any of these things (which we haue appointed you) be omitted by you, neither will this holie synode ratifie your acts, nor receiue you to the communion. If you respect not those that impugned Cyrill, I shewe you that the popes legate was both commanded & menaced by those which assisted Cyrill, whom you can not chose but allow. By the which it is euident that the lawfull and generall councel of Ephesus thought they might, and said they would, not onely controle, but euen excommunicate the popes vicegerent if he did not that which was inioined him by the synode.

The legates of Rome threatened by the first Ephesine Councell. *In Apologet. Cyril. mandatum Synod. Ephes.*

The great councel of Calcedon gaue the bishop of Constantinople equall priuileges with the bishop of Rome: and when those that represented the person of Leo, the next day desired of the noble men that sat there as iudges and moderators, that the matter might be brought about again and put to voices, pretending that it was not orderly past that councell that in the absence of the popes legats had made this decree, in their presence confirmed the same they contradicting & doing what they could for their liues to withstand it. Phil. If they were not present, the decree was not good. Theo. There you beguile your selfe. If the bishop of Rome were not called, the councell was not generall; but though neither he nor his legats were present the decree might be good.

Vide concilij Chalcedonens. actionem. 16. The great councell of Chalcedon ouerruleth the bishop of Rome.

Phil. How proue you they were absent? Theo. Their owne words to the iudges be so. Paschasinus and Lucentius vicegerents to the see apostolike said: If it please your highnes we haue somwhat to say to you. The most glorious iudge

Actio. 16. concil. Chalcedon.

iudges anſwered; ſay what you will. Paſchaſinus & Lucentius aid, yeſterday after your H. were riſen, and we followed your ſteps, there were certain things decreed as we heare; which we thinke were done beſides the order and canons of the Church. We beſeech you therefore that your excellencies would command the ſame to be read againe, that the whole [councel or] company may ſee whether it were rightly or diſorderly don. The moſt glorious iudges anſwered: if any thing were decreed after our departure, let it be read againe. And before the reading, Aetius the archdeacon of Conſtantinople ſaid: The maner is in ſynods, after the chiefeſt points are concluded, to diſpatch ſuch other things as be needfull. We had ſomewhat to do, for the Church of Conſtantinople. We praied the biſhops [that came] from Rome, that they would ſtay &] communicate with vs. They refuſed, ſaying, we may not, we are otherwiſe charged. We acquainted your honors with it, and you willed that this holie councell ſhould conſider of it. Your highnes then departing, the biſhops that are here, conferring of a cómon cauſe, required this to be done. And here they are. It was not done in ſecret, nor by ſtealth, but orderly and lawfully. They were abſent as you ſee, and becauſe they were required & refuſed, the councell proceeded in their abſence and decreed without them on this wiſe.

The popes legates could not then command in generall councels.

The counceil of Chalcedon proceeding without the Romiſh legates.

Following euery where the ſteps of the ſacred fathers, we determine and decree the ſelfe-ſame thing [which they did] for the priuileges of the moſt holy church of Conſtantinople being new Rome. Our fathers not without good aduiſe gaue to the throne of elder Rome the chiefeſt place of honor, becauſe that citie raigned [or was the ſeat of the kingdome.] And the hundred and fiftie biſhops which were gathered vnder Theodoſius the elder in the royall citie of Conſtantinople, mooued with the ſame conſideration; beſtowed equal [& like] priuileges on the moſt holy throne of new Rome: hauing great reaſon to determine that the citie which is now honored with the empire & ſenate ſhould enioy equal priuileges with the elder royall citie of Rome, and in eccleſiaſticall affaires be aduanced as the other, being the ſecond after her.

Chalcedo. concil. canon. 28. actio. 15. reperitur actio. 16.

For what cauſe Rome had the ſupremacie giuen her.

Phil. Neither Leo nor his legats would euer conſent to this decree. Theoph. I care not for that. First the iudgement

digested, both sides did wisely to relent, and remit all former offences: but what councell did euer obiect this to thi as a fault, that they resisted the popes deputie.

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Actio 16. concil. Chalcedon.

iudges

iudges anſwered; ſay what you will. Paſchaſinus & Lucentius ſaid, yeſterday after your H. were riſen, and we followed your ſteps, there were certain things decreed as we heare; which we thinke were done beſides the order and canons of the Church. We beſeech you therefore that your excellencies would command the ſame to be read againe, that the whole [counceI or] company may ſee whether it were rightly or diſorderly don. The moſt glorious iudges anſwered: if any thing were decreed after our departure, let it be read againe. And before the reading, Aetius the archdeacon of Conſtantinople ſaid: The maner is in ſynods, after the chiefeſt points are concluded, to diſpatch ſuch other things as be needfull. We had ſomewhat to do, for the Church of Conſtantinople. We praied the biſhops [that came] from Rome, that they would [ſtay &] communicate with vs. They refuſed, ſaying, we may not, we are otherwiſe charged. We acquainted your honors with it, and you willed that this holie councell ſhould conſider of it. Your highnes then departing, the biſhops that are here, conferring of a cómon cauſe, required this to be done. And here they are. It was not done in ſecret, nor by ſtealth, but orderly and lawfully. **They were abſent as you ſee, and becauſe they were required & refuſed, the councell proceeded in their abſence and decreed without them on this wiſe.**

The popes legates could not then command in generall councels.

The counceil of Chalcedon proceeding without the Romiſh legates.

Following euery where the ſteps of the ſacred fathers, we determine and decree the ſelfe-ſame thing [which they did] for the priuileges of the moſt holy church of Conſtantinople being new Rome. Our fathers not without good aduiſe gaue to the throne of elder Rome the chiefeſt place of honor, becauſe that citie raigned [or was the ſeat of the kingdome.] And the hundred and fiftie biſhops which were gathered vnder Theodoſius the elder in the royall citie of Conſtantinople, mooued with the ſame conſideration, beſtowed equal [& like] priuileges on the moſt holy throne of new Rome: hauing great reaſon to determine that the citie which is now honored with the empire & ſenate ſhould enioy equal priuileges with the elder royall citie of Rome, and in eccleſiaticall affaires be aduanced as the other, being the ſecond after her.

Chalcedo. concil. canon. 28. actio. 15. reperitur actio. 16.

For what cauſe Rome had the ſupremacie giuen her.

Phil. **Neither Leo nor his legats would euer conſent to this decree.** Theoph. **I care not for that. Firſt the iudgement**

iudgement and opinion of the councell of Chalcedon is cleare with vs, that the chiefest honor and highest place was alotted the bishop of Rome, not as Christs vicar, nor as Peters successor, but in regard of his citie, that was imperiall. Next the same consideration now serving them, to aduance Constantinople, which moued their fathers to prefer Rome, they thought it lawfull for them to make the bishop of Constantinople equall with the bishop of Rome: and so they did, notwithstanding the legats of Leo labored tooth and naile to preuent the same.

Phil. They placed the bishop of Constantinople next after the bishop of Rome, not in equall degree with him.

Theo. The bishop of Rome kept his place, which was first in order among the patriarkes when they went in councell; and next after him was the bishop of Constantinople to sit before the patriarkes of Alexandria and Antioch: but in plaine termes the councell of Chalcedon gaue the see of Constantinople, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι; equall priuileges with elder Rome, and in causes ecclesiastical to be aduanced as far foorth as Rome.

Why Leo was so earnest against this canon.

Against the councell of Chalcedon if you oppose the legats or letters of Leo, you make but a slender match. In this councel were sixe hundred and thirtie bishops, double the number of the Nicene synode; and Leo was led with priuate respects to crosse this canon, as loth to see the bishop of Constantinople rise too fast, for feare least at length he should offer to prick before the bishop of Rome, which in deede came to passe not long after in the daies of Gregorie the first; and therefore the fathers lightly reiected al that his legats could say, when the matter came the second time to voices, as appeareth in the sixteenth action of the saide councell, where the iudges, after either side had proposed what they could, resolued on this wise: By these things that haue beene done and alleaged we perceiue the first and chiefest honor, according to the canons is reserued to the archbishop of ancient Rome: and moreouer that the archbishop of the royall citie of Constantinople, which is newe Rome, must enioy the selfesame prerogatiues and priuileges, &c. Thus we conceiue you. Now let the sacred & œcumenicall councels speake their minds.

The Romish legates and their allegations reiected the second time in the councell of Chalcedon.

The

The reuerend biſhops anſwered: This is a right iudgement; we all ſay the ſame; euerie one of vs is well contented therewith; this is a good decree; let this determination ſtande in force: all this is orderly concluded: we pray you demiſſe vs; we all continue in the ſame minde. Lucentius vicegerent to the biſhop of Rome replied: The ſee apoſtolike, which gaue vs this in charge, muſt not be abaſed by this decree. And therefore whatſoeuer was yeſterday concluded in our abſence to the preiudice of the canons, we pray your excellencies to command that it may be put againe to voices. If not, that our proteſtation againſt it may be ſet downe in record, that we may know what to informe the pope of the vniuerſall Church. The iudges anſwered: That which we pronounced, the whole councell hath approoued. *Eiuſdem concilij actio 16.* The ſelfe-ſame priuileges that Rome had, giuen to Conſtantinople.

Phil. The ſynode approoued it, but the biſhop of Rome reſiſted it. Theoph. You confeſſe that which I would infer. Phil. What do I confeſſe? Theo. That the councell made this canon, the legats of Leo gainſaying it. Phil. The more to blame they that did it. Theoph. So you reuerence generall councels when you be diſpoſed: yet this is apparant that the councell of Chalcedon ouerruled the biſhop of Rome, and mauger his legats that were preſent and earneſt againſt it, they concluded without them that which they moſt miſliked. Neither could Leo for all his eger and ſharpe reſiſtance preuaile with them or againſt them; the chriſtian emperors ſtill fauoring, and the firſt generall councell againe confirming that which their fathers before them had enacted at Chalcedon. Renuing the decrees of the 150. fathers that met in this royall citie of Conſtantinople, and of the 630. biſhops which aſſembled at Chalcedon, we likewiſe determine, that the ſee of Conſtantinople ſhall haue equall priuileges and honors with the ſeate of elder Rome, and in eccleſiaſticall matters be aduanced as far foorth as it, being next vnto it. The pope had no negatiue in councels. Canons made in councels mauger the biſhop of Rome & his legates. *Liberatus cap.13.* *Concilij ſexti Conſtantinop. cap.36.*

Which words are falſely reported or rather lewdly corrupted in your canon lawe, by putting a negatiue to the latter part of them that draweth the whole to a contrarie ſenſe; *Non tamen in eccleſiaſticis rebus magnificetur vt illa, ſed ſecunda poſt illam exiſtens,* And yet for all that, ſhall not [the ſee How the popes law vſeth ancient cuſtoms. *Diſtinct.22. Renouantes.*

A monsterous corruption of a councell turning an affirmatiue into a negatiue.

see of Constantinople] be aduanced in eccleſiaſticall affaires as high as Rome: but be the ſecond after her. And ſo where the councell decreed, that Constantinople ſhould be aduanced in eccleſiaſticall matters as far forth as Rome, you falſifie the words and conclude, that Constantinople ſhall not be aduanced as far forth as Rome, which is no forgerie.

Phil. Let him anſwere for it, that did it. Theo. Be your decrees no more worth now than to be thus ſhaken off, to ſhift for themſelues? Not long ſince they were the faireſt flower in your garland: but if you renounce your canon lawe, we will preſſe you no farther with it. Phil. Not ſo neither. Theop. Then how can you ſalue this shameful corruption? Phil. Perhaps it was miſtaken. Theo. And neuer after perceiued? Phil. I do not ſay ſo. Theo. Why then not amended; but openly ſuffered? Phil. In error it might be, wilfull it was not, I dare ſweare.

Afric. concil. cap. 92. The canon law glozeth the councel of African quite againſt the text.

Cauſ. 2. queſt. 6. placuit. S. Auſten forged to make the popes decretals of equall authoritie with the ſcriptures.

Theo. Is your canon law ſo free from wilfull corruption, that you dare ſweare for it? Phil. As I thinke. Theo. How doth it handle the words of Mileuitane and Africane councell, which I laſt alleaged? *Ad tranſmarina qui putauerint appellandum a nullo intra Africam in communionem ſuſcipiatur.* They that offer to appeale ouer the ſeas, let them be receiued of no man within Africa to the communion. That is true ſaith your lawe, *niſi fortè Romanam ſedem appellauerint*: vnleſſe perhaps they appeale to Rome. And ſo where the councell purpoſely decreed this, to keepe all men from Rome, your law wittingly peruerteth their words, and addeth, except they appeale to Rome; which is both a ridiculous and malicious corruption.

De doctrina Chriſtiana, lib. 2. cap. 8.

The like pranke you play for authoriſing your decretals out of S. Auguſtine, and making them equall in credite with the canonicall ſcriptures. In which words you not onely commit groſſe forgerie, but alſo run into hainous blaſphemie. For where S. Auguſtine ſaith: *In canonicis autem ſcripturis, eccleſiarum Catholicarum quam plurium authoritatem ſequatur, inter quas ſane illæ ſint, quæ Apoſtolicas ſedes habere, & epiſtolas accipere meruerunt.* In [eſteeming] the canonicall ſcriptures, let [a Chriſtian man] follow the authoritie of the greater number of catholike churches; amongſt whom thoſe [Churches] are, which deſerued to haue both the ſeates

of

of the apostles, and to receiue their letters. Your canon law turneth & altereth his words thus: *Inter quas [scripturas canonicas] sane illæ sint quas apostolica sedes habere, & ab ea alij meruerunt accipere epistolas:* In the number of which [canonicall scriptures] let those epistles be, which the apostolike see [meaning Rome] hath, & others haue receiued frō her. And least you should thinke any other epistles are ment than such as the bishops of Rome themselues wrote, in fauored letters before the text these words are placed: *Inter canonicas scripturas, decretales epistolæ connumerantur.* The decretall epistles [of popes] are counted [by S. Austen] for canonicall scriptures. What greater blasphemie can be deuised or uttered against Christ and his spirit than that the popes epistles should be canonicall scriptures, that is of equall authoritie with the word of God? And how farre S. Augustine was from any such thought, the very place which your law so wickedly peruerteth, doth best witnes. First you grossely mistake the antecedent to the relatiue, *Inter quas [scripturas]* for *Inter quas [ecclesias].* Next you change the nominatiue case into the accusatiue, and the accusatiue into the nominatiue, as also the plural number into the singular; saying, *quas apostolica sedes habere,* for *quæ apostolicas sedes habere.* Thirdly, you put in these words of your owne heads; *& ab ea aly:* which are not in S. Augustines text. And so where S. Augustine saith, Among the which those Churches are, that deserued to haue the seates of the apostles, and to receiue their letters, you say plainly: Among which (canonicall scriptures) those epistles are, which the apostolike see (of Rome) hath and (which) others haue deserued to receiue from her. I repose me to your owne conscience Philander, whether this be not a barbarous kind of corrupting the fathers, which is often used in your canon lawe, as I could shew, but that I would make too long a digression. Phil. If it be naught, I accuse it not. Theo. Come you with an if, as though the case were not cleare? Phil. A man may be some ouerseene. Theop. These be shrewd ouersights. But returne to the matter that was first in hand. *Distinct. 19. In canonicis.* *Rubrica Ibidem.* *Glossa Ibidem.*

The Britanes are the last that I named, but not the last that resisted the bishop of Rome; whom Austen the monk that came from Gregorie, could by no meanes get to yeeld him The Britans 1000. yeere ago would yeeld no sub-

iection to the popes legate.

him any subiectiō, though king Edelbert slew twelue hun-
dred of their monkes in one day for refusing obedience to
that Romish legate. Phil. Beda saith so many were slaine
but he saith not for that cause. Theo. Beda confesseth that
seuen bishops of the Britans, *& plures viri doctissimi*, & ma-
ny very learned men vtterly refused Augustine, when they
met him in a councel. His words be: *At ille nihil horum se*
facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant
Conferentes ad inuicem, quia si modo nobis assurgere noluit, quanto
magis, si ei subdi ceperimus, iam nos pro nihilo contemnet? The Bri-
tans answered they would do none of those things [which he
required] neither would they acknowledge him for their
archbishop. Casting thus with themselues, that if now he will
not so much as rise to vs, how little account will he make of
vs, if we become subiect vnto him?

Beda lib. 2. cap. 2.

Bed. hist. gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap. 2.

Galfrid. Monemutens. li. 8. cap. 4.

The ancient British storie, which Galfridus Monemu-
tensis translated, writeth thus of them: In a part of the Bri-
tans, Christianitie yet florished, the which beginning in the
daies of Eleutherius neuer failed among them. After Auste
came, he found seuen bishoprikes & an archbishoprike sup-
plied with very godly gouernors; and abbeis a great number
in which the flocke of Christ was kept in good order. Beside
other cities, in the citie of Bangor there was a most nobl
Church of 2100. monkes, all liuing with the labor of their
hands. Their abbat was named Dinooch, a man marueilous-
ly well learned. Who by diuers arguments made it appeare
when Augustine required the bishops to be subiect to him
that they ought him no subiection. Edelbert therfore the kin
of Kent, as soone as he saw them refuse to yeeld obedience t
Augustine, and despise his preaching, stirred vp Edelfride &
other princes of the Saxons to gather a great armie, & goe t
Bangor to destroy Dinooch and his clergie. Who taking th
citie commanded the swords of his men to be turned first vp
on the monkes, and so twelue hundred of them the same da
decked with martyrdome entred the kingdom of heauen.

2100. monks in one time chose rather to die than to be subiect to the bishop of Rome.

Lower, if I would go, examples are infinite, where th
bishop of Rome hath been not onely staied of his course,
ouerruled, but seuerely repressed and deprined of his pa
pacie. Phil. By some tyrants or schismatiks I warn an
you. For neuer catholike prince or bishop would offer hi
that abuse. Theoph. Fitten not so fast, least you recant
with

with shame. Godly princes and prelates, your owne cardinals and councels haue without any scruple, cited, suspended, and deposed him: which I trust is a plaine kind of resistance. Phil. If they did all that which you speake. Theo. I speake no more than your owne men do witnesse.

Concil. Latera. sub Innocentio 3. cap. 4.

The Grecians I will omit, that neuer obeied; and long since so detesteth both him and his Church, that if at any time the latin priests had celebrated on their altars, they would not offer on the same, except they first washed thē, as (thinking them thereby to be) defiled. Michael Paleologus their emperor they reiected from christian buriall, for that in a councel at Lyons he professed the Greeke Church to be subiect to the Romane see. Phil But after in the councell of Florence they submitted thēselues to the bishop of Rome as to the true vicar of Christ, and head of the whole Church and father and teacher of all Christians. Theop. When the question was first mooued then at Florence, their answer was, We haue no leaue [nor commission from the Greeke Church] to speak these things. And being vrged the second time, *responderunt vt pridie*, they answered as before, *nolentes, vt alia quæstione, præter illam de spiritus sancti processione, in vnionis literis vlla mentio fieret*; not willing that in the letters of vnion any other matter should be contained besides the proceeding of the holy Ghost. And though they were wonne at length to suffer it to passe in the letters of concord, hoping the west princes vpon that perfect agreement, would aid them against the Turke, & two of them were made cardinals, that by their authoritie the Greeke nation might be kept in obedience: yet the whole countrie, saith Platina, *in ita multò post in antiquos mores recidit*, not long after fell to their former bent: but I will not vrge the dislike between the two Churches. The west Church wil serue my turne better, and stop your mouth sooner, in the which we shall find presidents enow for this purpose.

The Grecians detesting the bishop of Rome.

Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 4. Idem Aeneas Syluius, lib. 9. epitomes in decades Blondi. Sessio vltima Florentiæ in literis vnionis. Græcorum responsio in vltima sessione Florentiæ.

Platina in Eugenio 4.

Otho the great called a councell of bishops in Italie, where Iohn the 13. was deposed for his infamous & lewd life: the things be so lothsome that I wil not name them. This fact of the prince and the synode, the Church saw, suffred, and allowed, and receiued Leo the eight, placed by them in his stead.

Luitprand. lib. 6. cap. 10. Ibidem cap. 7.

The Germans against the bishop of Rome.

Henry the second likewise, in a councell draue Benedict

Platina in Gregorio 6.

the ninth, Sylvester the third, and Gregorie the sixt, three most vile monsters, to forgo the popedome, and those Clemens the second to succede them.

About Henry the fourth and Gregorie the seuenth though the stories be diuided, some taking the princes and some the popes part: yet the bishops of Germanie and Italie from Worms, Mentz and Brixia sent him but honnel greetings, as Vrspergensis confesseth. In the yeere of ou Lord 1076. saith he, there was kept a councell at Worms where king Henry being present, almost all the bishops o Germanie, except the Saxons, deposed pope Hildebrand writing him a letter after many crimes recited with this con cluſion: Forsomuch then as thine entrance [into the pope dome] is infected with so great periuries; and the Church o God dangerously tossed by reason of thy nouelties; & thy life stained with so manifold infamies; we let thee vnderstand that as we neuer promised thee obedience, so hereafter wil we yeeld thee none; & because no man amongst vs (as thou openly gauest out) hath been hereto accounted a bishop by thee, thou also from hencefoorth shalt be taken by none o vs for apostolike.

Cronicon Abbatis Vrspergensis.

The bishops and nobles at Brixia concluded against him in these words: Bicause it is certaine that he was not cho sen by God, but by fraud & briberie most shameleſly intru ded himselfe; which also subuerteth the order of the Church, & troubleth the christian empire, which practiseth to kill both the body and soule of our catholike and peaceable king, an maintaineth a periured king which hath sowed discord be tweene those that agreed; strife betweene those that were a peace; offences betweene brethren; diuorces betweene ma and wife; and hath shaken whatsoeuer stood quiet among the godly; we assembled togither in the name of God a gain the said Hildebrand a most impudent person, breathing ou sacrileges and spoiles, defending periuries and murd erers calling in question the catholike and apostolike faith of th body and blood of our Lord, an olde disciple of the heretik Berengarius, an obseruer of diuinations and dreames, manifest coniurer, & vsing familiaritie with diuels, and ther fore fallen from the true faith: adiudge him to be canonicall deposed and expelled. And this toke place three yeeres af ter when the Romans desired a day to be appointed, in th

Ibidem anno 1080. This was he that first ventured to depose princes.

Ibidem anno 1083.

which the pope & al the senators should come before the emperor: but the pope would not come in presence, whereupon the Romans being mooued yeelded to the king, and with one consent reiected pope Hildebrand; who secretly fleeing gat him to Salerna, and there staied till he died.

The Romans reiected him as well as the Germans did.

Phil. Henry did this by force, and the bishops that so reuiled the pope were of his faction: but the stories commend Gregorie the seuenth for a wise, iust and milde man, a fauorer of the poore, of orphanes and widowes, & the onely stout and earnest defender of the Romane Church against the trecheries of heretikes, and power of il disposed princes, seeking to possesse the goodes of the Church by violence.

Platina in Gregorio. 7. The later Italians make Hildebrand a saint for his presumption against the emperor.

Theo. Gregories life I will not examine, it is not incident to this matter. Yet if we beleeue Beno the cardinall that liued at the same time, he deserueth no such praise as you giue him; but I respect not that in this place. Certaine it is the bishops of Germanie and Italie not only refused, but also deposed him; yea thirteene cardinals of the wiser and better sort, the archdeacon and chiefe president, and many of the Laterane clergie [at Rome] seeing his intollerable apostasie, forsooke his communion: and so by the iudgement of the Romans themselues Hildebrand was turned out of his popedome.

Beno Cardin. de vita & gestis Hildebrandi. *Sigibertus in anno* 1084.

Phil. I know they did it, but therein they passed their bounds. Theo. If the crimes by them obiected were true, they did but their duties. Phil. Their accusations were all false. Theo. That is lustily spoken, but faintly proued: and yet if it were so, my first assertion standeth good, that your own cardinals & councels haue often reuoked, & repressed the bishop of Rome. Phil. And my answer standeth as good, that they were schismatiks which did so.

Theo. What say you then to the councell at Pisa, where the whole college of cardinals with one consent depriued Gregorie & Benedict of their popedoms, al nations allowing that strait sentence, besides [a few] that fauored Benedictus: and Alexander the first on his death bed protesting their acts in that councell to be good and lawfull? Will you now reply that all nations, and all the cardinals, yea the pope himself were schismatikes? Or if you care not for that, what say you to the generall councell of Constance, that deposed as many popes as the councell of Pisa, and not onely *de facto* did it, but also expressely and aduisedly decreed, that they

Platina in Gregorio. 12. The generall councell of Pisa deposed two popes. *Idem in Alexandro* 5.

might do it? Dare you thinke the councell of Constan
to be schismaticall? And what if the generall councell
Basill by manifest positions conclude you an heretike, f
holding that a councell may not depose the pope? Will y
rather incur the guilt of heresie, than forsake your ne
found dignitie? You load me with too many allegatio
at once. I cannot tell which to answere first. Theop.
will sever them with a good will, say what you can again
them. The generall councell of Pisa deposed two pope
and chose Alexander the fift; ergo the pope may be both re
sited, and deprived by a councell.

Phil. Was that councell generall? Theop. Read the bu
of Iohn the 23. convocating the councell of Constanc
*Dudum felicis recordationis Alexander Papa quintus, prædeceſſ
noſter in ſacro generali Piſano concilio tunc præſidens, &c.* Not lon
since Alexander the fift of happie memorie, our predeceſſo
then sitting chiefe in the sacred generall councell at Pis
Laziardus a writer of that age saith: Both colleges of ca
dinals, or at least the most part of them, called a genera
councell at Pisa, where they staied from the Annuntiation
the virgine Marie till the xxvj. of Iune, with a great numbe
of prelats and ambassadors of kings, princes, and vniuer
ties. Vpon which day, those [two] which stroue for the pope
dome, being first deprived by sentence, & order of law in a
things observed, they chose Alexander the fift.

Concil. Constantiensis sessio. 1. Their church allowed the councell of Pisa for sacred and generall.

Laziardi historiæ vniuersalis epitom. ca. 267.

Phi. Do all stories agree that they deposed Gregory & Be
nedict? The. See Blondus, Auentinus, Nauclerus, Sabellicus
Paulus Æmylius, or whom you will. The cardinals of Gre
gory & Benedict, saith Nauclerus, meeting & cõsering, reso
ued the city of Pisa to be the fittest place for a general coun
cel to be kept. Wherupon by letters & messengers they calle
al bishops, prelats, princes and communities to come to th
councell, that should be held at Pisa, exhorting them to send
their legats, and to withhold obedience from those [two]
popes, whom they had cited to be present there. In the yeere
of our Lord 1490. at Pisa they began to proceed, and against
both popes Gregory and Benedict, not appearing vpon law
full citation, but wilfully refusing, they pronounced sentence
of deposition and depriuation, as against heretikes & schis
matikes: forbidding all Christians to call either of them
pope, or yeeld either of them obedience as bishop of Rome.

Johannes Nauclerus in ann. 1408.

Two popes condemned by the councell of Pisa for heretikes and schismatikes.

Thus

This done they went to the election of an other, whom they called Alexander the fift.

Phil. Might they call and keepe a councell without any pope? Theop. Looke you to that. Nauclerus addeth, that About the deposition of these two popes there was a great debating in the councell of Pisa; whether (granting that both these popes did scandalize the church by manifest collusion, & periury, &c.) the cardinals might call a councel, and both of them being cited to come to the councell, & not appearing, but persisting in their contumacie, whether they might be deposed, & an other chosen. And after long disputation in the presence of very many doctors of diuinitie, and of both lawes, no man gainsaying, but all consenting, it was cōcluded that it might be lawfully & canonically done. Marke Philander: a generall councell called without a pope, and two popes deposed in the same for not appearing before the councell, and al this good and lawfull by the iudgement of your own cardinals, diuines & canonists, without contradiction, and the pope himselfe accepting this for a sacred and oecumenicall councell. Phil. I maruell they went so far.

Ibidem. The cardinals conclude it lawfull for them to call a councell without the pope, and if need be to depose him.

Theo. Neuer maruell at that. The generall councel of Constance which followed fiue yeares after this, went a great deale farther. For when Iohn the 23. had by his letters called the councell, and sate amongst them in person as president & head of the councell, the first thing they did, they began to sift him; and notwithstanding he fled & left the councell without vicegerent or deputie, yet they proceeded, and not onely suspended but also depriued him for his notorious symonie & detestable and vnhoneſt life & maners. And likewise when by no means they could get Gregory the 13. to resigne or appeare before them, they condemned him for a schismatike and an heretike incorrigible, & cut him off as a withered member. And least you should thinke this rashly or lightly done, they solemnly decreed that the pope was subiect to them, & bound to obey them, and could not without their liking dissolue or remoue the councel, and to that end they did frustrate & reuerse all that was done or might be done by the pope present or absent to the preiudice and disturbance of their synode. Can you wish for plainer examples that a councell may proceede

The councell of Constance deposed three popes. *Constantiensis concilij sessio. 1. Sessione 3. Sessione 10. & 12. Sessione 37.* The pope condemned for an incorrigible heretike & schismatike. *Sessio. 4. & 5. Sessio. 3. Sessio. 4. & 5.*

ceede without & against the bishop of Rome than these be.

Their owne Church hath allowed and honored these councel..

Phil. I confesse they make me stagger; and yet I dare not trust them, vnlesse the Church receiue them. Theoph And doth your Church now mislike the proceedings at Constance and Pisa, which the Church of Rome then & all other nations, by the witnes of your nearest friends, approued & followed as right and syncere? Phil. I refuse not the councels. Theo. But doth your Church allow them for generall? Phil. I thinke she doth. Theoph. Keepe your thoughts to your selfe; my question is whether your church accept them, or no? Phil. She doth not reiect them. Theoph. Answere directly. Doth your Church embrace them, or no? Phi. She doth. Theo. You might haue said so rather; what needed this circumquaque to no purpose? Then I infer; the doctrine of your Church, litle more than 160. yeeres ago, was, that a councell might ouerrule and depose the pope, & the same councel be called & kept without him, if he colluded or refused. This is proued, as well by the deedes of the councels of Constance & Pisa, which are alreadie shewed; as by their decrees, which are extant to this day. What was concluded at Pisa by generall assent, I said before: what the councel of Constance resolued in the like case, their words shall declare.

Constantiensis synodi sessio 4. The pope bound to obey his owne councels.

First this holy synode [of Constance] lawfully congregated in the holy Ghost, being a generall councell, and representing the catholike Church militant, hath power immediate from Christ, the which [power] euery one of what state or dignitie soeuer he be, yea the pope himselfe is bound to obey in those things that concerne the faith and general reformation of the Church of God, in the head and members.

Sessione 5.

Again it declareth that whosoeuer of any condition, state or dignity, yea though he be pope shal stubburnly refuse to obey the statutes, ordinances & precepts which this sacred synod, or any other general councell lawfully gathered, hath already made or shall hereafter make concerning the premisses, or any their appertinents, except he repent he shall be driuen to condigne satisfaction and duely punished, and if need be, other helps and remedies of law and iustice vsed. Item

Ibidem.

this holy synode ordereth, defineth, determineth and declareth, that if our saide lord the pope being required for vnities sake by this sacred councell, doe refuse to forsake his

pope-

popedome, or defer the renouncing thereof longer than he should; as then, so now; and as now, so then; shal be counted by all christian faithful men to be depriued of his popedome, and all obedience withdrawne from him.

And not herewith content after they had cited and expected him, they proceeded first to his suspension, and after to his depriuation in this wise: Because it plainly appeereth to vs, that our lord pope Iohn the 23. from the time that he was chosen to the popedome till this present, hath ill gouerned that office to the publike slander of himselfe and the Church, & with his damnable life & filthy manners hath giuen & yet giueth to others an example of loose life; & moreouer hath by plaine symonicall contracts solde cathedrall churches, monasteries, priories & other ecclesiastical benefices, therfore by this our sentence we pronounce and decree the said lord pope Iohn woorthy to be suspended from al administration of the popedome, both spirituall & temporal, & we do suspend him, & by this writing forbid him the execution therof. And we declare that for and vpon the premisses, as being notorious, we ought & minde to proceed to the finall reiecting him from the popedome. Wherefore we streitly prohibite you and euery one of you by the tenor of these presents in vertue of your obedience, & vnder paine to be counted fauorers of this schisme, whether you be kings, cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops or whatsoeuer, spirituall or secular persons, that you, nor any of you, directly or indirectly hereafter obey, regard or assist the said pope Iohn being iustly suspended by vs from all intermedling with the popes function, &c.

Sessio. 10. Pope Iohn suspended for his popedome.

The very same causes they repeate when they depriue him, adding that his departure from the citie and sacred generall councell of Constance, closely by night, at an vnseasonable houre, in strange and dissembled apparell, was vnlawful and scandalous to the Church & the councel as troubling & hindering the peace and vnion of the Church, nourishing an inueterate schisme, and swaruing from his vowe, promise & oth: **and therefore say they**, the sacred generall councell of Constance by this definitiue sentence here compriſed in writing, pronounceth, adiudgeth & declareth the saide pope Iohn, as vnwoorthy, vnprofitable, and hurtfull, to be remooued, depriued, and deposed from the popedome, and from all

Sessio. 12. Sententia definitiua contra Iohannem papam. 23.

The pope solemnly depriued.

all spirituall and temporall administration therof: & therewithall doth remoue, deprive, and depose him: declaring al Christians of what state, or degree or condition soeuer they be, to stand quiet & discharged from his obedience, and the fidelitie, & oth, which they haue made to him: inhibiting all the faithfull of Christ hereafter so much as to call him pope, being now deposed from his office, or to cleaue to him or any way to obey him as pope.

Phil. You repeate this at large, that the simple might see how solemnly the pope was deposed. Theop. I do indeed, and you must thinke they woke for your answere. Phil. How hastie you be when you haue a little aduantage? Theop. How loth you be to come to that which at length you must? For say Philander, might the councel of Constance do that which they did, or no? You hold a woolfe by the eares, I can tell you. Phil. The truth is, I find my selfe in some strait. If I say they did well, then I confesse that a councell may lawfully resist and deprive the pope, for all this they did; if I say they did euill, then must the councell of Constance be schismaticall in offering Christs vicar so great & open wrong; and the Church of Rome, yea the catholike Church that allowed & honored their acts and decrees, fowly deceiued; and Martin the 5. whom this councel elected, and the christian world obeied, no lawfull successor, but a violent intrudor: which God forbid I should affirme. Theop. Then if you dare not say the synode did euill, you must yeeld they did well, and consequently the point which you first doubted is fully proued; that a councell may lawfully controll, correct and depose the pope, notwithstanding you make him chiefe iudge on earth and head of the whole Church.

Not long since the pope was subiect to councels by the confession of their own Church, and now he wil be Lord ouer them.

Phil. Was pope Iohn lawfully chosen? Theo. You search euery angle, but in truth you can not scape. Phil. Platina saith some such thing. Theoph. So some would shift the matter; but if his entrie to the popedome were not good, his summoning the councell of Constance could not be good, and so this synode neuer lawfully called. Next, the councell did not reiect him as vnorderly chosen, nor disclaim him for no bishop, but remoued him from the function which he had, as vnworthy the same. And their generall decree, by which they define the pope to be subiect

Iohn. 24. it should be 23. To quarrell with pope Iohns election is to no purpose.

to

to the councell, must not be referred to wrongfull inuadors, but wholy restrained to lawful possessors of the Romane see: else, no masterie for the councell to be superior to those that were no popes, but onely vsurpers. And therefore if there were any fault in this election, since the councell did omit the same in his depriuation, and proceeded against him for other crimes, it can doe you small pleasure.

Phil. Did he not submit himselfe to their definitiue sentence, & with his owne mouth ratifie their acts whatsoeuer before they ventured to depose him? Theo. When pope Iohn saw the duke of Austria proscribed and adiudged by the emperor to forfeit all his goods & lands, for helping and receiuing him in his flight, and himselfe now brought back & kept in prison, to abide the determination of the councel; & foule matters obiected against him, and witnesses produced and examined vpon the same: and being already suspended from his popedome by the councel, & then required to say for his defence what he could; & warned against the next day to be present in the councell, to heare the iudgement that should be giuen vpon the premisses: what marueil if he seeing no way to preuent that which the synode would execute, thought better to please them with a forced humilitie, than to prouoke them to farther bitternes with a bold defiance? But did the councel ground themselues vpon that his submissiō, or els did they derine their authoritie from Christ without the pope, and aboue the pope? Phil. I know they chalenged their power immediatly from Christ. Theop. By that you may see they ment to exclude the popes consent & allowance; which also wel appeered by their doings. For they cited, suspended, conuicted, imprisoned, & assigned him a terme to receiue iudgement before euer he came to that submission. And last of all, if you could light on it, there is a great difference betweēn cōfessing the proceſſe, & referring himself to the discretion of the councel, which pope Iohn did at length much against his stomacke, & authorizing the iudges to proceed, which they neither did aske, nor would accept at his hāds.

Pope Iohn when he saw no remedie, submitted himselfe to their wils, but did not autorize them to be his iudges. *Naucleru in anno 1415. Vide Constan. Synodi sessionem 11.*

The councell grounded themselues neither on pope Iohns permission nor submission, but on their owne power and proofes.

And least you should thinke I mistake the councell of Constance, the councel of Basill, which began 14. yeres after, doth not only confirme that which I defend, but also repute

repute you for heretikes that eagerly withstand it. Their words be these: *Veritas de potestate concilij generalis supra papam declarata per constantinense, & hoc Basilense concilia generalia, est veritas fidei catholicæ: veritas hæc; Papa generale consilium actu legitimè congregatum, sine eius consensu nullatenus potest authoritative dissolvere, aut ad aliud tempus prorogare, aut de loco ad locum transferre, veritas est fidei catholicæ. Veritatibus duabus prædictis pertinaciter repugnans, est censendus hæreticus.* This position that a generall councell hath power ouer & aboue the pope, declared in the generall councell of Constance and Basill, is a truth of the catholike faith. Againe, that the pope by no means can dissolue, defer, or translate a general councel lawfully called & once sitting of his own authoritie, without the consent of the said councell, this is likewise a truth of the catholike faith. These two former truths he that stifly denieth, must be taken for an heretike. Now choose whether you will forgo your assertion, or else abide the verdict of your owne councell.

Basilienſis concilij ſeſſio. 33. The councell of Basil against the pope.

Phil. Against the councell of Basill much might be said if time and place did serue. Theo. Time and place do serue, except you relent, by their illation to conclude you an heretike.

Phil. That councell was neither generall nor lawfull. Theo. It is not inough for you to say the word, you must tell vs why. Phil. They bent themselues against Eugenius the fourth, and did what they could to thrust him from his seate. Theo. Perhaps Eugenius deserued no lesse. Phil. No, they did it vpon a faction, in fauor of the duke of Milan, that hated Eugenius. Theo. Contention is no iust exception against a synode. For so you may refuse the best that euer were. But what can you say, why the councell of Basill should not be counted in your Church both lawfull and generall? Was it not orderly summoned as your maner is? Were not all nations called? The bull of Martin the fift is extant, by the which the councell was first indicted; and Eugenius himselfe, that struggled awhile to dissolue the coūcel, was glad at length to change his tune, & to retract al that he had done in derogation of the synod, & with another bull fairely subscribed with the cardinals hands, to confirme & confesse the councell of Basill to be a generall, sacred and lawfull councell. And here you shal see

The cardinals and the bishops began to be so busie with the pope, that the Church of Rome is forced to renounce her owne councels.

a plaine president, that the princes and bishops assembled at Basil not onely resisted Eugenius, laboring what he could to disperse them, but also forced him to yeild and acknowledge the lawfulnes of their synode.

Eugenius, saith Platina, much distressed first with warres on euery side, next for that he saw the councell of Basill began by pope Martins decree, daily increase; the princes of Spaine, France, Germanie and Pannonie, repairing thither, & referring the common cause of christendom to the iudgement of the councell; meaning to shut it vp, translated the same from Basil to Bononia, by the consent of all the cardinals that were about him. But the emperor and the rest of the princes and prelates that were at Basill, were so far from obeying the pope, that they summoned him twise or thrise, to present himselfe with his cardinals at Basil, chosen by pope Martin as a fit place to keepe the councell in; otherwise they would proceed against him as a transgressor and wilfull refusor. Eugenius troubled with this message, confirmeth the councel of Basil with his apostolike letters, licencing all men to go to the councell. *Platina in Eugenio 4.* Eugenius forced to allow the councell of Basil, by reason of the number that tooke part with the synode.

Phil. I grant they resisted Eugenius, but I doubt of the councell whether it were lawfull or no. Theoph. Will you trust Eugenius himselfe? Phil. If he say the word. Theop. Thus he saith: Not long since for certaine causes expressed in our letters, and by the consent and aduise of our brethren the cardinals of the Church of Rome, we dissolued the sacred general councel of Basil lawfully begun by the decrees of the general councels of Constance and Senes, & by commission from Martin the fift, and likewise from vs. Marry seeing great dissention hath risen, & greater may rise by the said dissolution, we determine & declare that the foresaid generall councel of Basil from the first beginning of it, was, and is lawfully continued, & alwaies hath, yet doth, & ought to dure, as if no dissolution had been made. And that our affection & integritie to the sacred generall councell of Basill, may plainly appeere, whatsoeuer hath been done, attempted, or alleaged by vs, or in our name, to the preiudice or derogation of the sacred generall councell of Basill, we vndo, reuoke, frustrate, and annihilate. *Basilienſis concilij seſſio 16.* Eugenius bull for the confirmation of that councell.

If this be enough, Nicolaus the 5. that came next after Eugenius vpon the composing of the schisme betweene the councell The bull of Nicolaus the

fist for the like purpose. *Bulla Nicolai 5. super approbatione actorū & gest. in concil Basilien.*

councel and the pope, gaue out a generall bull for the confirmation of all their doings without exception. *Omnia & singula tam iustitiam, quàm gratiam concernentia per ipsum tunc Basilien se concilium qualitercunque facta, gesta, concessa, data, disposita & ordinata cuiuscunque naturæ existant, motu proprio ex certa scientia & de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, de concilio & assensu venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalium præsentium serie approbamus, ratificamus, & etiam confirmamus, rataq, & firma haberi volumus.* All and euery thing that concerneth either fauor or iustice, done, deuised, granted, giuen, disposed and ordred by the councell of Basill, of what nature so euer, we of our owne motion and certaine knowledge by the fulnesse of our apostolike power, and with the assent and aduise of our brethrē the cardinals of the holy church of Rome, allow, ratifie, and confirme by the tenor of these presents, and will haue to stand sure and firme. So that the councell of Basil hath ill lucke, if after all these buls it be not both a lawfull and generall councell.

Phil. The bishops of Rome that came after, neuer liked the councel of Basil; but we will not striue for that: we shall see what you will inferre. Theo. No newes for popes to mislike that which pared their ambition, and hindered their gaine, as the councel of Basil did: but can you, or they denie that the councel was orderly called? Phil. I doe not stand so much on that. Theoph. Then I conclude, that a councel may lawfully resist, command, correct, and depose the pope; for so did the late councels of Pisa, Constance, and Basill (which your Church then held for sacred and oecumenicall) both determine in words, and practise in deeds. You must confute, or confesse this illation. Phil. I haue said what I could, and all will not helpe. The councels you proue to be generall: and I see they not only resisted and deposed popes, but also concluded it lawfull for them so to do.

A councell might then command, correct, and depose the pope: and now they will be obiected aboue and against councels.

Theop. Then you confesse they did and might resist the pope. Phil. Councels I grant might, and did; but not others. Theo. Why may not others do the like? Phil. They must rather obey than resist. Theo. We dispute not as yet, whether it be lawfull or no for euery man to resist the pope, the cause being iust; and when that commeth in question, you must shew good and apparent reason why they

they may not: that which I first auouched was this: your owne cardinals and councels, your owne friends and fellows, which you may not count schismatikes & heretikes, haue stoutly resisted him, & restrained and limited his dominion, euen in the midst of his pride and iolitie. For councels I haue said sufficient: now for others.

The pope in the midst of his pride resisted by his owne crew.

The famous vniuersitie of Paris, which I thinke you will not condemne; and the whole kingdom of France haue oftentimes opposed themselues against the pope, and withdrawn their obedience from him in part or in all, as occasion required. Phil. For some mony matters it may be they withstood his collectors and officers. Theop. The diuines of Paris openly confuted the conclusions and articles of Iohn the 22. touching the beholding and seeing of God, and gate the same to be condemned before the king of France with the sound of trumpets, as Gerson reporteth. By this, saith he, appeareth the falsitie of [pope] Iohns doctrine, which was condemned with the sound of trumpets before Philip king [of France] by the diuines of Paris, & the king beleeued the diuines of Paris before the [popes] court. And Ioannes Marius, Iohn the second pope that sate at Auinion, fell into suspition of heresie. For he taught and defended certaine articles touching the sight and vision of God, which the diuines of France, king Philip taking their part, very freely contradicted.

The diuines of Paris condemned pope Iohns doctrine with the sound of trumpets. *Gerson serm. in festo paschæ reperitur in 4. parte operum. Iohannes Marius de schism. & conc. ca. 22.*

The peere before the councel of Pisa, which I last spake of, was gathered, when Benedict the 13. would yeld to no reason, for ending the schisme betweene him and Gregorie the 12. Charles the French king, with the aduise of the bishops, princes, and vniuersities of his realme, caused himselfe to be proclaimed adherent [or obedient] to neither of the twaine; & by them all it was decreed, that the whole Church of France should depart from the obedience of Benedict, & by the authoritie of this councell, all the French cardinals forsooke him.

Laziard. epitom. cap. 267. Joan. Marius cap. 22.

The French king dischargeth his realme from the popes obedience.

When the councell of Basill was ended, the Germans, the king of France, the king of England, the prince of Millan, and others fauored the same with all their power, neglecting Eugenius authoritie then sitting in the councel of Florence: and the rather to giue it ful force & effect, in the kingdome of France, Charles the 7. in a parliament at Burges made

Naucler. generatio. 48. circa annum. 1438.

The pragmaticall sanction maintained in France an 100. yeeres against the pope.

made a law called the pragmatical sanction, for the perpetual obseruation of those things, which the councel of Basill had decreed. And this law the bishops of France, and schoole of Paris defended and followed almost an hundred yeres, in spite of al that Pius the 2. Sixtus the 4. Innocentius the 8. and other bishops of Rome could do to the contrary.

Phil. Did the bishops of Rome labor against it so long, and could not preuaile? Theo. First heare how well they did like it; and then how long they did impugne it. The [pragmaticall] constitution made by the authoritie of the councell of Basil, the bishops of Rome, that came after detested as a pernitious heresie; & not one of them, the synode of Basill once dissolued, did euer allow the same. Which well appeareth by the message that Pius the 2. sent to Lewes the 11. for the repealing of this constitution, as the king himselfe reporteth, writing backe to the pope in these words:

Robertus Guaguinus in Caro. 7.

Ludouic. Pio 2 inter epist. Aeneæ Syluij ep. 383.

We haue consented to those things which were aduertised vs in your name [by your legate *à latere*] to wit, that the pragmaticall sanction greeued & iniuried both you and your see, as being made in the time of sedition, & schisme, and subuerting al right, & al law by taking what authoritie they list from you. And this besides, which the same [legate] in the name of your holines affirmed, that wheras by this pragmatical constitution, the authoritie of your supreme seat in the Church is restrained, & a castle of libertie prouided for the prelats of our realme; & vnitie and conformitie towards your seat (as other kingdoms obserue) is refused; the foresaid law is to be remooued and abolished out of our realme, as made by inferior prelats against your see, the mother of all Churches.

Guaguinus in Ludouic. 11. The bishops of France & the Vniuersitie of Paris withstood the pope laboring to abrogate the pragmaticall sanction.

By these persuasions, and with vsing a former promise, pope Pius the 2. (a great fauorer and expresse defender of the councell of Basill before his promotion, though after blinded with ambition, of all others he most detested the pragmaticall sanction, and called it heresie,) wan the kings good will, and had his letters to the senate of Paris for the repealing of this law: but neither the kings attornie, nor the bishops would consent therto. Yea the Schole of Paris feared not to resist the (popes proctor) appealing to the (next) generall councell.

Ibidem.

This wisedom and frœdom the clergie men of France

and

and students of Paris shewed and vsed in maintaining the pragmaticall sanction against diuers popes from the yeare of our Lord, 1438. till the yeare 1516. which Leo the 10. (that in our daies wrested it out of their hands) is forced to confesse. We weigh with our selues how many treaties haue past betweene Pius the 2. Sixtus the 4. Innocentius the 8. Alexander the 6. and Iulius the 2. bishops of Rome, our predecessors, and the most christian kings of France for abolishing a certaine constitution called the pragmaticall, beating great sway in that kingdom: and though Pius the 2. by his legats sent to Lodouike the 11. persuaded him with so many reasons, that the king himselfe by his letters patents, did abrogate the said pragmaticall sanction, as authorized in the time of sedition & diuision; yet neither the said abrogation, nor the apostolike letters of Sextus [the 4.] made vpon concordats with the embassadors of the said Lodouike, were receiued by the prelates and ecclesiastical persons of France; neither would the said prelates and clergie obey him, or giue eare to the admonitions of Innocentius and Iulius afore named, but would needs sticke and cleaue still to the said pragmaticall sanction. And when vpon agreement with Frances the French king, Leo the 10. in a councell at Rome, did abrogate the said constitution, and pronounced it vterly void, the whole vniuersitie of Paris, in the yeare 517. appealed from the pope and his assembly, to a generall and free councell. Their words be worth the hearing.

Lateranensis concil. sub. Leo 10. Sess. 11. in bulla quæ incipit, primitiua. Fiue popes before Leo had labored in vaine against that law.

Because he which is Gods vicar in earth, whom we cal the pope, though he haue authoritie immediatly from God, yet is not thereby free from sinne, neither hath receiued licence to sinne: so that we must not obey him, if he decree any thing against the diuine precepts, but rather may lawfully resist him, &c. And where as the councell of Basil made many good and wholesome decrees for the increase of Gods seruice, and health and peace of others, which Charles the 7. a most religious aduancer, and excellent preseruer of the worship of God, and ecclesiasticall honor, in that famous councel of the Church of France held at Burdeux caused to be recited, and commanded to be kept inuiolable, as euer since they haue been kept and obserued, &c. But now the Romans eager on their owne lusts and gains; & perceiuing by this means siluer & gold not to com out of the kingdom & delphin [of France]

Appellatio Vniuersitatis Parisien. reperitur in fasciculo rerum expetendarum. Paris appealeth from the pope.

The pope may lawfully be resisted.

The French king cõmanded the pragmatical sanction to be obserued in his

realme whether the pope would or no. The diuines of Paris deny the popes assembly to haue the holie Ghost.

as before it did, and as they wish it would; spiting these laws haue often practised to haue them abrogated by the bishop of Rome, which hitherto by Gods help hath been withstood vntil Leo the 10. came, who fauoring the Romans more than he should, in a certaine meeting at Rome, which is we know not how, but surely not in the holy ghost gathered against vs hath decreed we know not vpon what reason, the said whol some statutes to be abolished, & opposing himself against the catholike faith and authoritie of sacred generall councels hath condemned the holy councel of Basil, &c. Therefore in these writings we appeale from our lord the pope, not wel aduised: and from his infringing the sacred councel of Basil and the pragmaticall sanction, to the next councell that shal be lawfully & freely called. **So far your owne fellows, in this very age wherin we liue, durst and did resist your holie father.**

Cronicon. Masei, in anno 1510. The French bishops resolue their king that the pope might be forsaken and his censures neglected.

And least you should thinke that onely scholers and not bishops, were of this opinion: the prelats of France not past 7. yeeres before this appeale, in a councell at Tours, gaue their full resolution to Lodouike the 12. that it was lawful for him to forsake the popes obedience, and to despise the popes curses. An. 1510. the French king gathered a councell at Tours, where he proposed these questions: whether it were lawful for the pope to wage war with a prince for no cause: and whether such a prince defending his owne might inuade the beginner, and withdraw himselfe from his obedience. The councel answered, the pope might not: and the prince might do that which was demanded, and that also the pragmaticall sanction was to be kept throughout the realme of France: neither need the king to care for [the popes] vniust censures, if he cast out his thunderbolts. This answere of the councell the king sent to Iulius, **who when** Peters keies **would not preuaile, drew out** Pauls **sword, and with the shedding of much christian blood, fought an vnchristian reuenge.** The French men, saith Erasmus, which with their blood gat Iulius so many notable triumphs, by his means, with the spilling of a great deale more blood, were thrust out of Italy, & as though that were too little, followed with all kind of reproches: and if death had not preuented Iulius, we had seene that most florishing kingdome vtterly ouerthrowen. Phil. **They gat nothing you see, by with-**

Adagiorum Chiliadis 2. centuria 5. adag. 10.

standing

standing the popes heles. Theo. Christendome hath got-
ten losse by withstanding the Turk, and yet that doth not
make his cause good: but Lodouike the 12. did herein no
more than Philip the faire king of France also did before
him, and put the pope to the worse. Phil. What did he?

Theo. He not onely contemned the popes bulls and cur-
ses, but clapt his legats by the heles, sequestred himselfe
and his whole realme from his obedience, and at length
caught the popes owne person, and kept him in prison till
he died. Phil. Durst he be so bold with his holines? Theo.
How bold the king of France was, a frier, as you be, shall
tell you. Bonifacius the 8. minding to send an armie to Hie-
rusalem, and hoping to get Philip [of France] to furder the
matter, sent the bishop of Apamea to the king: who, when
he perceiued he could do no good, began to threaten king
Philip that he should be depriued of his crowne, if he did not
satisfie the popes request; and was therfore by the comman-
dement of the king cast in prison. Which done, Bonifacius
a man aboue measure arrogant, pretending that Philip had
violated the law of nations would needs be reuenged, and
sending the archdeacon of Narbon into France, forbiddeth
Philip to take any more of the Church reuenues, whereas
before, the king (and that Bonifacius could suffer) had
one yeeres fruit of euery vacant Church which we call the
kings due: farther he denounceth that the crowne of France
is deuolued to the Church of Rome by Philips contumacie,
adding that if Philip refused this, he would pronounce both
him and those that fauored him heretikes: moreouer he ap-
pointed the bishops and certaine abbats with the diuines &
canonists a day to appeere before him at Rome, and with
all declareth the charters & grants bestowed on the French
by the bishop of Rome to be void. This message done by the
archdeacon with pride inough, Philip set the bishop, which
was kept in warde for his lewd words, at libertie; and
charged him with speed to depart the realme; and the next
spring the prince gathered an assembly at Paris, and re-
hearsing the iniuries that he had receiued at Bonifacius
hands, asked first the bishops of whom they held their
lands and reuenewes; then turning himselfe to the no-
bles, and you my lords, saith he, whom do you take for
your king and ruler? (both) answering without stay, that

King Philip of France vsed the pope in his kind. *Lazzardus historie vniuersalis epitom. cap. 247.*

The pope claimed to be the depriuer of princes.

The king refuteth the popes claim.

they held and inioied all those things by his princes lawes, but saith the king, Bonifacius so dealeth, as if you & the whole realme of France were subiect to his see. For the empire of the Almans, which he thrise denied Albert, hath he now giuen him, and also the kingdome of France. But we thanking you for your fidelitie & good will, & trusting to your helpe, do promise to defend the libertie of our land. The councel risen, the king by open proclamation forbad al men to carrie, gold, siluer, or any other thing out of his realme, a paine set for the breakers of this edict; & besides, watch and ward was appointed at euery passage & port to apprehend those that came in, or went out of his countrie. And not long after a (second) councell of bishops & nobles were assembled at Paris, where they discussed Bonifacius claime to the kingdome of France, the fathers affirming that Bonifacius was vnworthy to be bishop, for that he was an homicide, and an heretike, wherof they had witnesses present. Therefore with one consent, they concluded that Bonifacius ought not to be obeied, vnlesse he first cleered himselfe of that he was charged with. After this king Philip taking the pride of Bonifacius in very il part sent some to intimate his appeale against the iniuries of Bonifacius, who (belike meaning to gratifie the king) caught the pope in his fathers house at Anagnia, whence the proud prelate was led to Rome, and cast in prison, where within 24. daies he ended his life, either by violence, or else for griefe of hart. Thus died Bonifacius like a dog, that went about to strike a terror into emperors, kings, princes, countries and common-wealths rather than any religion; & which assaied to giue kingdoms, & take them away, to aduance men, & pull them downe at his pleasure. Wherefore it was truely said of him, he entered like a foxe [craftily] liued like a lion [furiously] and died like a dog [shamefully.]

The French king promiseth to defend the libertie of his land against the pope.

The realme of France conclude the pope ought not to be obeied.

Thomas Walsingham in Edwardo 1. *anno* 1304.

Phil. This was but one mans iudgement. Theo. Yet a man of your owne side: and if our english monks do not deceiue vs, it was the prophesie of Cælestinus his predecessor, who said to him, Thou hast entred like a foxe, thou wilt raigne like a lion, & shalt die like a dog: but the truth of the storie is it that I seeke for, and that in effect, a few circumstances altered, is confessed by the best of your writers: and this they add, which I would haue you marke; that the king not onely withdrew his obedience from the

The French king would suffer none of his land to go or send to Rome.

pope

pope, but also restrained his subiects from sending or going to Rome. So Sabellicus; Philip offended with Bonifacius, by open edict forbad all Frenchmen to go to Rome, or to send any monie thither. So Platina; The king meaning in part to reuenge the wrongs which the pope had done him, made a law, that none of his realme should go to Rome, or send monie thither. So Paulus Æmylius; The bishops and prelats of France were commanded by Bonifacius to appeere at Rome by a certaine day. The king suffered no man to depart out of France: Which you thinke much her maiestie should at this present in a far better cause command within her dominions.

Sabell. Enneadis 9. lib. 7.
Platina in Bonifacio 8.
Æmylius in Philippo 4.

Phil. One swallow maketh no sommer. Theo. One such sommer is able to mar the popes haruest: but herein the king of France is not alone, the kings of England haue done the like. Phil. Which of them? Theop. I could easily name them, but I nœd not. The ancient lawes and liberties of this realme permit no man to go out of this land, or appeale to Rome without the kings consent. Phil. Very ancient I promise you: those lawes were first made by king Henry the 8. about fiftie yeeres since. Is not that great antiquitie? Theo. The lawes that I speake of are 500. yeeres old, and were in full force vnder William Rufus, and Henry the 1. the sonnes of William the conquerour. Phil. Did they restraine their subiect from going to Rome? Theo. Whether they did or no iudge you.

The ancient lawes of this realme are against resorting and appealing to Rome.

When Anselmus archbishop of Canterbury asked leaue of William Rufus to go to Rome; the king replied that no archbishop nor bishop of his realme should be subiect to the pope or court of Rome, especially since he had all those liberties in his kingdome, which the emperor had in the empire. And for this cause was Anselmus conuented by the king as an offendor against the state. And to this accusation did the most of the bishops except the bishop of Rochester giue their consents. And for that he ventured ouer the seas to Rome without leaue, All his goods and chattels were seased to the kings vse, all his acts and proceedings in the Church of England reuersed, and himselfe constrained to liue in banishment during the life of king William. Which Anselmus in his epistle to pope Paschalis complaineth of in this sort.

Matth. Paris in Guielmo 2. anno 1094.
500. yeeres ago no bishop of this land subiect to the pope.
Ibidem.

Anselm. epist. 36. ad Paschalem. Was this land then thinke you, subie & to the pope?

The king requireth of me, that vnder pretence of right, should yeeld to his pleasures, which are repugnant to the la & will of God. For he would not haue the pope receiued, nc appealed vnto in his land, without his commandement; ne ther that I should write to him, or receiue answer from him or that I should obey his decrees. In all these things and suc like, if I demanded aduise, al the bishops of his realme denie to giue me any, but according to the kings pleasure. Afte that I asked licence of him to go to Rome, vnto the see apo stolike, the king answered, that I offended against him for th onely asking of leaue: and offered me, that either I shoul satisfie him for the same, as a trespasse; by assuring him neue to aske this leaue any more, nor to appeale to the pope at a ny time hereafter; or else that I should speedily depart out o his land.

Matt. Paris in Henrico 1. anno 1104. The two archbishops banished for resorting to the pope.

And after in the time of king Henry the 1. when the said archbishop was returning home from Rome, the kings at turnie in his masters name forbad him to enter the land, vn lesse he would faithfully promise him to keepe al the custom both of [William conqueror] his father, and [William Rufus] his brother. And king Henry assoone as he perceiued the pope & the archbishop to continue their former opinion [against his liberties] presently seased the bishoprike into his hands, and arrested all Anselmus goods.

Idem anno 1119.

The like successe had Thurstane elect of Yorke, **who gat leaue of king Henry the 1. to go to the councel of** Rhemes, giuing his faith that he would not receiue consecration from the pope: & comming to the synod, by his liberall gifts as the fashion is, wan the Romans fauor, and by their means obtained to be consecrated at the popes hands: which assoone as the king of England knew, he forbad him to come within his dominion.

Matt. Paris in Henrico 2. anno 1164. The lawes stood in full force an 100. yeeres after the cõquest.

To this & other such liberties of the crown, king Henry the 2. not long after made all his bishops and nobles to be sworne, in a general assembly at Claredon. In the yeere of our Lord 1164. king Henry being at Claredon in the presence of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons and great men of the realme, there was made a rehearsall or acknowledgement of some part of the customs and liberties of his ancestors, to wit of king Henry his grandfather, & others, which ought to be kept in his realme and obserued of all, to

auoid

auoid the dissention & discord that often happened between the clergie and the kings iustices and nobles of the realme. Amongst the which customs, being 16. in number these were two. No archbishop, bishop, nor any other person of the realme may go out of the land without the kings leaue. For appeales, if any be made, they shal come frō the archdeacon to the bishop, & from the bishop, to the archbishop: & if the archbishop faile in doing iustice, it shal be lawfull to come last of all to the king, that by his commandement the matter may be ended in the archbishops court, so that no man shall proceed to appeale any farther, without the kings consent. This acknowledging and recording of the customs & liberties of the crowne, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, [yea] the clergie with the earls, barons & al the nobles sware, and by word of mouth faithfully promised should be kept and obserued to the king and his heires for euer simply without fraud.

Ibidem. The Iesuits departing this realme is against the ancient laws of the same.

Appeales to Rome prohibited by the old lawes of this realme.

An oth taken to obserue the same.

Phil. The selfesame writer, that you bring, dispraiseth those customs, & called them wicked and detestable. Theo. His report is the stronger against you, in that he was a monke & a misliker of those lawes; and his iudgement against vs, the weaker. For these princely dignities had preuailed from the conquest til that time, and were in that age, yelded and sworne vnto by the bishops and clergie of his realme: & are in themselues, if you list to discusse them, agreeable both to the sacred scriptures and ancient councels, notwithstanding some friers and fauorers of the Romish see did then and do now to their power withstand them.

Ibidem.

Phil. S. Thomas of Canterbury withstood them vnto death, and chose rather to lose his life, than to yeld to any such customs. Theoph. Do you make him a Saint for resisting his prince, or else for sauing certaine lewd priests from the due punishment of the princes lawes? Phil. I count him a martyr for spending his blood in defence of the Church liberties. The. Their rage that slew him I do not commend, bicause it was done by priuate violence, not by publike authority: but his stout standing in a peeuish quarrel against his oth, against his prince, to purchase impunity for homicides and other hainous offendors against the common course of law & iustice, I think in these daies

Thomas of Canterburie made a saint for resisting his prince.

you dare not openly defend, for feare least the world cry shame on you. Phil. You charge him with more than you can proue. Theop. I charge him with no more than your friends and his are forced to confesse.

Matth. Paris Ibidem. Thomas Becket the first that impugned the libertie of this realme.

Thomas archbishop of Canterbury when he had granted these [16.] lawes, (which this superstitious monk calleth) wicked and detestable, & promised with an oth to keep them: examining diligently that which he had rashly done, afflicted himselfe grieuously, and sent straightway messengers to the court of Rome to signifie the grief of the Church & his owne, and asked absolution from the band which he had vnwisely entred into, which also he obtained. The same yeere king Henry meaning as he said, to punish with due seueritie the disorders of all sorts, affirmed it to be against reason that he should deliuer to the bishop such clergie men vnpunished, as were conuicted before his iustices of any publike & hainous crime. And therefore he decreed, that whom the bishops found guiltie in the presence of the kings iustice, they should degrade and deliuer to the kings court to be punished. The archbishop held on the contrary, that they ought not to be punished by laymen after they were degraded by the bishop, least they should be twise punished for one thing. The occasion of this strife was giuen by one Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, which being indicted of murder, spake reprochfully to the iudge: which when he could not deny before the archbishop, he was depriued of his prebend, and exiled the land for 2. yeeres. The archbishop seeing the liberties of the Church now troden vnder foote: without the kings knowledge, tooke ship, and intended to go to Rome, but the wind being against him, he was driuen backe to the shore. And immediatly vpon that when he was called to account for the whole receits, that came to his hands whiles he was Chancellor of England, least he should vniustly be condemned, he appealed to the see of Rome, and vnder paine of excommunication forbad as well the bishops as all the nobles to giue sentence against him, that was there both their father and their iudge. The nobles and bishops that were called by the king for this purpose, without conuiction or confession of his, gaue iudgement against him [alleadging and] protesting the priuilege of himselfe and his Church. The archbishop driuen to this extremitie, and forsaken of all the rest of the bishops, hoised

The archbishop standeth against the king in defence of theeues and murtherers.

The fine shift of a rebell to saue himself. The monke fauoreth the rebellion of the bishop.

hoised the crosse which he held in his hand aloft: and marched away from the kings court in the eies of them all, and the next night stale from the place, and gate him ouer to Flanders, and so to the pope. He brake the oth which he tooke, for the keeping of the foresaid lawes and liberties of the crowne: he claimed a freedom for theues and murderers that they should not be subiect to the princes power: he refused the kings court, and appealed to the pope for a matter of debt, lest he should render an account of his temporal office whiles he was chancellor: which of these three points can you now with learning or honestie defend?

The dutifulnes of Thomas Becket.

Phil. The libertie of the holy Church is a iust and good quarel for a man to die in. Theo. If you meane thereby an impunitie for murtherers and such like offendors, then is it a most wicked & irreligious part for a bishop to open his mouth for such libertie; much more to resist his prince for that quarel. Phi. His quarel was better than so. Theo. Neubrigensis a man of that age, and one that honored the person and praised the zeale of Thomas Becket, reporteth thus of the quarell betweene the king and him. The king, saith he, was aduertised by his iudges, that many crimes were committed by clergie men against the lawes of his realme, as thefts, robberies and murders. In so much that in his audience, it was they say, declared; that more then an hundred murders were done in England by clergie men in the time of his raigne. Wherefore the king very much kindled in a vehement spirit, made lawes against malefactors of the clergie: which he thought to make the stronger by the consent of the bishops. Calling therefore the bishops together, he so plied them, (what with faire meanes, what with foule) that they all saue one, thought it best to yeeld and obey the kings will, and set their seales to those new statutes. I say all saue one; for the archbishop of Canterburie would not bow, but stood immooueable. Whereupon the king began to be greatly offended with him, & seeking all occasions to resist him, called him to account for those things which he had done before as Chancellor of the realme. Now must you shew that by Gods lawes, theues & homicides, if they be clerks, may not be punished by the princes sword; or if you dare not plead that in these dais for very shame, thē must you grant that your Canterburie saint resisting his prince where he should

Gulielm. Neubrigensis rerū Angl. lib. 2. cap. 16.

This is the libertie of the Church, which Becket striued for with the king.

Matt. Paris in Henr. 2. eodem anno.

should not, was an arch-rebel against God and the magistrate: one of these twaine you must needs chuse.

Phil. We shall digresse too far, if we discusse these things in this place. Theo. Your stomacke, I see, doth not serue you at this present, and we shall haue some other opportunitie to debate the same: in the meane time learne what lawes king Henry the 2. enacted and executed, in spite of your holy father and his deuout chaplen.

King Henrie the second against the pope.

Appeales to Rome again prohibited.

In quadrilogo.

Treason to bring an interdict from Rome.

The king at the returne of his legates, perceiuing his request [for the confirmation of his ancient liberties] to be repelled by the pope, not a little offended therewith, wrote letters to all his shirifs and lieutenants in England on this wise: I command you that if any clergie man or lay men in your countie, appeale to the court of Rome, you attach him, and hold him in fast ward till our pleasure be known. And to his iudges in this sort: If any man be found to bring letters or mandate from the pope, or from Thomas the archbishop, interdicting the realme of England, let him be taken & kept in prison, till I send word what shall be done with him. The foure that wrate the life and extol the facts of Thomas Becket, adde to this law: Let him be streight way apprehended for a traitor, and execution done vpon him. Also let no clerk, monk, canon, or other religious person go ouer the seas without letters of passport from vs or our officer; if any venture otherwise, let him be taken and cast into prison. Let no man appeale to the pope, or to Thomas the archbishop, neither let any suite surcease at their commandement. If any bishop, abbat, clerke or lay man shall obserue [their] sentence, interdicting our [land,] presently let him be banished the realme and all his kindred with him; and their goods and lands confiscated. Let the bishops of London and Norwich be summoned to appeere before our iustices, and there to answer for interdicting the land, and excommunicating the person of erle Hugh contrary to the statutes of our realme. Thus far the valiant and worthie prince went in defending his lawes and liberties against the bishop of Rome, and how far he would haue gone, but that the time was not yet come, when God would deliuer his Church from the yoke of Antichrist, appeareth by an epistle of his written to the archbishop of Colen in these words.

Mat. Paris vt supra.

Not lawfull to depart the realme without the kings letters.

Banishment to regard the popes bul interdicting this land.

I haue long desired to find a iust occasion to depart from

pope

pope Alexander and his perfidious cardinals, which presume to maintaine my traitor Thomas of Canterbury against me; whereupon by the aduise of my barons and clergie, I meane to send the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of London, the archdeacon of Poictiers, (&c.) to Rome, which shall publikely denounce, and plainly propose this on my behalfe, and all the dominions I haue, to pope Alexander and his cardinals: that they maintaine my traitor no longer, but rid me of him, that I with the aduise of my clergie, may set another in the Church of Canterburie. They shall also require them to frustrate all that Becket had done, and exact an oth of the pope, that he and his successors, as much as in them lieth, shall keep and conserue, inuiolable to me and all mine for euer, the roiall customs of king Henry my grandfather. If they refuse any of these my demaunds, neither I nor my barons, nor my clergie will yeeld them any kind of obedience any longer: yea rather we will openly impugne the pope and all his, and whosoeuer in my land shall be found hereafter to sticke to the pope, shall be banished my realme.

Matt. Paris in Henric. 2. anno 1167.

The pope 400. yeeres ago abetted traitors against the king.

The king voweth openly to impugne the pope and al his.

Phil. The king made amends for all, when the archbishop was slaine, renouncing the liberties which he striued for so long, and honoring him as a martyr whom before he pursued as a traitor. Theoph. The manifold deuises and practises of the late bishop of Rome, (God so punishing the dulnesse and discord of princes, neglecting his truth, and enuying one another) haue weakened and wearied very many both kings and emperors, partly with a false persuasion of religion, partly with a number of fained miracles, but chiefly by drawing their subiects from them, and setting other nations vpon them; yea by stirring and arming their owne blood and bowels against them. And therefore no maruell if king Henry relented somewhat of his former stoutnesse, when the king of France, the erle of Flanders, the king of Scots, the yong king his sonne, and two other of his children, the duke of Aquitane and erle of Britaine, conspired against him; but it is euident, that from the conquest til that time, these lawes and liberties stood in their full force, and were publikely receiued and vsed in this realme.

Matt. Paris in ann 1173.

This was one of the popes common practises.

Phil. Did the pope procure him these enemies? Theop.

What

What packing there was betweene the French king and the pope, though the stories in this place do not confesse, yet we may soone coniecture by the generall drift of your holy father & his blessed adherents in those dates, and specially by the example of king Iohn the sonne of the said king Henry, whom (for refusing the disordered election of Stephen Langton to the Church of Canterbury) Innocentius the 3. so terrified with open inuasion of enemies, and secret defection of subiects, that for safegard of himselfe he was driuen to resigne his kingdome, and take it againe at the popes hands in fee farme vnder the yerely rent of a thousands marks: binding himselfe and his heires for euer to do the like homage and fealtie to the bishops of Rome for the crowne of England. Which shameful seruitude of the prince, & vtter ruine of the realme so much displeased the barons and bishops, that before take the popes part against the king, that in plaine contempt of the popes keies and curses, they chose them an other king, and chased Iohn, the popes farmor, from place to place in despite of all that his new landlord could do or deuise. But this I omit because the quarell touched the right and title to the crowne; I meddle onely with those resistances, which the kings of England made for men and matters ecclesiasticall. Phil. I trust they were not many. Theo. For the first hundred yeres next the conquest, it is cleere the kings of this realme would neuer allow their subiects to run to Rome, nor suffer appeales to be made to the pope without their expresse consent: now shall you see, what they which came after, did.

Matt. Paris in vita Iohannis anno 1212.

Anno 1213.

The Barons of this realm pursued the king in contempt of the pope.

Anno 1216.

Be not these two lawes ancient that be as old as the conquest?

When king Edward the 3. reuiued the statute of Premunire (made by king Edward the 1. in the 35. yeere of his raigne) against such as sought to Rome to prouide them of benefices & other ecclesiasticall promotions within this realme, enacting the same penaltie for those that by processe from thence impugned any iudgement giuen in the kings courts, or brought from Rome any bull, writing or instrument to those and other like effects; Gregory the 11. then bishop of Rome, vnderstanding therof, was very earnest against it, (protesting) this was nothing else but to make a schisme in the Church of Christ, to abolish religion, to subuert right and reason, and infringe all councels; and speedily dealt

Polydorus Virgilius in Edward. 3.

The pope would faine haue preuailed against

dealt with king Edward to abrogate this law. A schisme rising not long after (in the Church of Rome) there was not a pope that had any care of this, till at length Martin the fift wrote more vehement letters to king Henry the 6. But these two bishops of Rome receiued one & the same answer; which was that an act of parleament could not be repealed without the authoritie of a parleament, and that shortly one should be called to that end, which neuer after was performed. Yea the king that came after did not onely cause that law to be kept and put in vre, but increased the terror of it with a rigorous punishment, which is, that the partie so offending shall forfeit his goods, & himselfe be condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This writer an Italian borne, and a man wedded to the see of Rome, confesseth the popes authoritie was abated & restrained by the lawes of this realme, in the time of king Edward the 3. and so continued euer after; and that not onely the popes letters were twise refused, but the sharpnes of the punishment increased to strengthē the statute that pared their power, & limited his iurisdiction within this realme. Phil. Perhaps they withstood him for temporal matters. Theo. The matters were such as your own Church accounteth spirituall; to wit, elections of bishops, gifts of benefices and proceedings in other causes; tending, as the complant of Gregory teacheth you, to the diuision of the Church, extirpation of religion & subuersion of all councels, which you may not thinke to be temporall matters. And this resistance which the bishop of Rome so much repined at, in the daies of king Edward the 3. neuer ceased till king Henry the 8. of famous memory banished the popes vsurped power cleane out of this land.

the statute of premunire, & could not. *Ibidem.*

In loco supra citato.

Phil. So did none of his progenitors before him. Theo. It may be they went not so far as he did; but as Polydor writeth, king Richard the 2. went fairely towards it. In a parleament held the 14. yeere of his raigne the king and his princes were of opinion that it would be very good for the realme of England, if some part of the popes dominion were determined with the see (that is excluded out of this land) for that many were daily vexed for causes, which they thought could not so easily be ended at Rome. Wherefore they made a law that no man euer after should deal with the bishops of Rome, that any person in England should by his authoritie

Polydor. in Richard. 2. anno 1391.

No person might procure or exe-

cute any censure from Rome.

authoritie for any cause be excommunicated, and that none should execute any such precept if it were sent him. If any mā brake this law, the paine appointed was, he should lose all he had, and lie in prison during his life. And where the pope trauailed by all meanes to ouerthrow the statute of prouision and *premunire*, the parliament held in the 13. yeere of Richard the 2. for the better establishing and surer executing of the law, made it death for any man to bring or send bull or other processe from Rome to impugne the same.

Ex Richardo 2. anno 13.

These be the words: Item, it is ordained and established, that if any man bring or send within this realme or the kings power any summons, sentence or excommunication against any person of what condition that he be, for the cause of making motion, assent or execution of the said statute of prouisors (or premunire) he shalbe taken, arested, put in prison, and forfeit all his lands and tenements, goods and cattel for euer: and moreouer incurre the paine of life and member.

Richard the 2. made it death to bring any sommons or sentence from Rome.

So that kingdoms and common weiths, as wel as counсels: and of all others France & England haue frō time to time resisted your holy father in the midst of his terror & tyrannie. Phil. You shew they did it, but you do not shew they did wel in it. The. I need not, you must shew they did ill. The prince by Gods ordinance beareth the sword, and not the pope; therfore the presumption lieth for the prince against the pope, til you proue the contrary: besides if bishops in a synode may lawfully resist him, why may not princes in their parliaments do the like? Thirdly, since the Romane emperors were wont to command him, what reason can you bring why christiā princes should not now restraine him? And last of all, if you forget not your selfe, my promise was to shew, that not in the primatiue Church only, when there was no question of his obedience to religious princes; but in latter times, when the bishop of Rome presumed to be lord ouer all, he was controlled and resisted by those councels & common wealths which your own Church neuer durst reiect as schismatical & heretical.

Princes may resist the pope in their parliaments as well as bishops in their synods.

They resisted him for the regiment of their realme, not for the faith of Christ.

Phil. In some things they withstood him, but not in all things as you do. Theo. That shift is litle worth. If resistance be lawful in part, why not in all, when iust cause requireth? Phil. In matters of faith they neuer resisted. The. That maketh our resistance the more lawful. They withstood

lood him for an earthly policy, we for Chriſts glory; they for external diſcipline, we for apoſtolical doctrine. Therefore if they might lawfully reſiſt, much more may we. But my demand is, onely whether you ſay, that as the biſhop of Rome withſtood others in the regiment of the Church, ſo many councels & countries, princes & prelates withſtood him, as the places which I bring, convince? Phil. What if they did? Theo. Firſt did they that which I ſpeake or no? Phi. Grant they did. Theo. Then your examples conclude nothing againſt vs. For as he reſiſted others in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, ſo did others reſiſt him: & our examples infer againſt you that your owne Church neuer obeied that ſupreme power and infallible iudgement which he now claimeth, & you now weld, to flatter him withall. Phi. They took him for Chriſtes vicar & Peters ſucceſſor. Theo. How they tooke him in latter ages, it greatly ſkilleth not; the learned & ancient fathers call him Peters ſucceſſor, Chriſtes vicar they neuer cal him. And grant he be Peters ſucceſſor, that importeth no ſupremacie. Phil. Doth it not? Theo. No many doth it not. You muſt firſt proue that Peter was ſupreme gouernor of all the Church: which you ſhall neuer do. Next you muſt proue, that this dignitie was not proper to Peters perſon, but commō to Peters ſucceſſor, which we denie. For Peters primacie was giuen him in reſpect of the confeſſion which he made, not in reſpect of the place which he ſhould inioy. Laſtly you muſt ſhew which of Peters chaires muſt haue Peters priuiledge; that is, why Rome rather than Antioch. Theſe three points whē you iuſtly proue, we will ſay more to your vaine pretences and glorious titles: in the mean time, til occaſion ſerue to make farther triall, you may go forward with the reſt of your apologie; which if it be like this, it will do your friends litle good, and your foes leſſe hurt.

Many things to be proued (which are ſtarke falſe) before the ſupremacie will follow.

Phil. You diſgrace that which you cannot diſproue.

Theop. We need no better diſproofe, than the ſober reading of your inſolent & impertinent diſcourſes purpoſely made to commend and aduance your ſelues and your adherents aboue the ſkies. Phil. Where do we ſo? Theoph. Almoſt in euery leafe. For example, this whole chapter is ſpent in flattering your holy father, and praiſing his deuout zitie. The next hath nothing elſe, but the commendation of

They muſt flatter the pope, that liue of his almes, as you do.

of your selues and your Seminaries; as if the proclaiming of his and your vertues, were the chiefest point of his and your faith. Phi. You say not wel, we do not so. Theo. Read the places, you shal find them ful of these & such like flowers. To Rome *Whatsoeuer is learned, wise, vertuous, of al the most famous vniuersities, monasteries, societies & colleges through the world is recuiled as to a continuall mart of all kind of doctrine and prudence.* And againe: *These and such other high experiments with innumerable examples of vertue and deuotion shall this Romane institution giue to our countriemen, vnder the famousest teachers and gouernors of youth in our age, or some worlds before: who otherwise would admire their pettie matters at home, the cause of all error and ignorance.* Are you not liberal in praising your selues? Belike you think with your onely lokes to daunt all the diuines & preachers of England, as if not a few wandring friers and craking Iesuits, but some new Cyprians, or famous Augustines were lately arriued at your Romish Seminarie. But let passe your follies and come to your authorities. To what end alleage you S. Hierom?

Apol. cap. 2.

Iouiens.

Philan. S. Hierom calleth [Rome] the place of greatest faith and deuotion. Theop. What then? Ierusalem was first a faithfull citie, and yet in time became a shameless strumpet. Niniueth was spared for her true repentance, & afterward plagued for her robberies & lies. What Rome was then, doth no way proue what Rome is now. You must send vs better reasons from Rome & for Rome before you shall persuade vs that there is at Rome such store of learning and vertue as you daunt of. If Rome be changed since Hierom wrate, your conclusion halteth, though his words go right. Phil. That change you must proue.

Praefat. lib. 2. in epist. ad Gal. Esai. 1.

Nahum. 3. Rome is not that it was.

Theoph. Alas good sirs, begin you now to doubt whether Rome be changed? Read your owne friers, monks and abbats, and you shall soone be resolued in that doubt. Frier Mantuan saith shortly, but truly:

Rome changed.

Mantuanus Syluarum lib. 1.

Viuere qui sanctè cupitis, discedite Roma,
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.

You that wish to liue godly, depart from Rome; all things are there suffered saue godlines. Mathew Paris a monke of S. Albons, euery where toucheth the vertues of the Church of Rome, and saith they were knowne to the very miscreants. For when the Souldan of Iconium desired to

be

be baptised from Rome, his nobles by reason of so many vices abounding at Rome, said, how can there come sweet & salt water from the same fountaine? Whence Christians should fet the water of righteousnes, there they find a poisoned puddle. And in the yeere of our Lord 1241. he saith: The vnsatiable greedines of the Church of Rome so increased, confounding right and wrong, that without shame as a common and impudent harlot, she lay open for monie to euery man, counting vsurie for a smal fault, and symonie for none.

Matt. Paris in Henrico 2 sub anno 1169.

Idem in Henrico 3. anno 1241.

But no man more liuely describeth the maners and dispositions of the later Romans than Bernard abbot of Claueuallis, and that not priuily behind their backs, but openly to their faces: forewarning Eugenius the pope what to woke for at their hands: *Quid tam notum seculis, quàm proterbia & fastus Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta. Gens immitis & intractabilis, vsque ad huc subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere. Experire paucis, nouerim ne & ego gentis mores. Ante omnia sapientes sunt vt faciant mala, bonum autem facere nesciunt. Impij in deum, temerarij in sancta, seditiosi in inuicem, æmuli in vicinos, inhumani in extraneos. Hij sunt qui subesse non sustinent, præesse non nouunt, superioribus infideles, inferioribus importabiles, inuericundi ad petendum, ad negandum frontosi. Importuni vt accipiant, inquieti donec accipiant, ingrati vbi acceperint. Docuerunt linguam suam grandia loqui, cum operentur exigua, largissimi promissores, & parcissimi exhibitores, blãdissimi adulatores, & mordacissimi detractores, simplicissimi dissimulatores, & malignissimi proditores.* What hath beene so famous for many yeeres, as the frowardnes and hautines of the Romans? A nation not acquainted with peace, accustomed to tumults. A nation fierce & intractable, to this day not able to be ruled, but when it cannot resist Listen a while whether I know the maners of that people or no. [The Romans] are wise to do euill, good they know not how to do. Irreligious toward God, presumpteous against holy things, seditious amõg themselues, enuious to their neighbors, vncurteous to stranders. They will neither obey, nor can tel how to rule; vnfaithfull to their superiors, vntolerable to their inferiors: shameles to aske, and bold to denie. Importune to haue, vnquiet til they haue, & vnthankfull when they haue: great speakers and like doers. Most liberall to promise, most loth to performe, most sweet to flatter, most bitter to backbite; most curious dissem-

Bernards report of the Romans in his time.

Bernardus de consideratione ad Eugenium lib. 4.

What examples of vertue and deuotion the Roman institution hath giuen.

If we should say as Bernard doth I

deeme you would be angrie.

blers, most mischieuous traitors. *Lupi sunt, &c.* They be wolues not sheepe: of such art thou shepheard. If I durst speake all, they be rather pastors of diuels than sheepe.

Phil. If this be true, they be changed in deed. Theo. The truth thereof you may not well doubt, vnlesse you will now returne him for a liar, whom Alexander the 3. 400. yeres since did canonize for a saint: but will you stand to his iudgement whose name you pretend? Phil. What els? Theo. Then gaine you litle for the commendatiō of Rome.

S. Hieroms report of the madnes of Rome.

For Hierom doth attribute no more to the Romans than Paul doth to the Iewes, which is to be naturally zealous. And this as in true religion we count it praise worthy, so when error preuaileth, nothing is more pestilent. Againe, this one vertue of theirs is by and by requited in the very same place with two shrewd vices. *Hieron. præfat. lib. 2. in epist. ad Galatas.* *Rursus facilitatis & superbiæ arguuntur.* Paul noteth the Romans, saith he, to be proud of nature, & easily seduced. What els he found in them, and what he thought of them, you shal soone perceiue, if you list to beleeue him. *Idem in Esaiæ cap. 2.* *Narrant historiæ tam Græcæ quam latinæ, nihil Iudæorum & Romanorum gente esse auarius.* The stories both Greeke and latin confesse, none to be more couetous than the Iewes and the Romans. *Idem ad Principia. Marcellæ epitaph.* *Difficile est in maledicæ ciuitate non aliquam sinistri rumoris fabulā contrahere.* It is an hard matter in this slanderous citie [of Rome] to be free from ill toongs. *Idem aduersus Iouinianum. li. 2.* *Nullane fuit alia in toto orbe prouincia, quæ reciperet præconium voluptatis, nisi quam Petri doctrina super Petram fundauerat Christus?* Was there neuer an other place in all the world to receiue this voluptuous doctrine, but that which Peters preaching had built on the rocke Christ? *Idem præfat. in lib. Dydimi de spiritu sancto.* *Cum Babilone versarer, & purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, & iure Quiritum viuerem, ecce olla illa, quæ in Hieremia cernitur a facie aquilonis cepit ardere, & Pharisæorum conclamauit Senatus, & omnis quasi indicto sibi prælio doctrinarum aduersum me imperitia factio coniurauit.* Whiles I staied at Babilon, and was an inhabitant of that purple whore, and liued amongst the Romans, behold the pot which was seene in Hieremie from the north, began to seeth, and the Senate of Pharisies made an vprore, and the whole faction of rude and ignorant, as it were in defiance of learning, conspired against me. He that saith the Romans be zealous, addeth also that they be couetous, enuious, luxurious and proud pharisies. Lay your one vertue to these foure vices which Hierom saw

saw growing, & Bernard found ripe at Rome, & tel vs what you get by this account. With as great discretion you cite the words of S. Aug. & S. Cypr. for the praise of the see of Rome, drawing S. Aug. words frō their true meaning, & corrupting in Cyprian both the saying & the sense. For S. Augustine saith, Heretikes barke in vain, at the Church, not of Rome, but of Christ. And Cyp. meaneth himself, not the bishop of Rome, when he saith: *Ob hoc ecclesiæ præpositum persequitur, vt gubernatore sublato atrocius atque violentius circa ecclesiæ naufragia grassetur.* The aduersarie for this cause pursueth the bishop of the Church, that the gouernor being made out of the way, the shipwrack of the Church may follow with the greater mischief & violēce. Other words in ỹ epistle which you quote there be none: & these differ much frō the words which you alleage. *They baul against the pastor, the sooner to sease vpon the flock, as* Cypr. *speaketh.* And so with these maimed & misworested authorities you close vp the lokes of your 2. chapter. Phi. S. Aug. surely meaneth the see of Rome, whē he saith, *Quæ ab apostolica sede per successiones episcoporum frustra circumlatrantibus hæreticis culmen autoritatis obtinuit:* Which frō the apostolike see by succession of bishops, (heretiks barking round about in vaine,) hath obtained the highest authoritie. The. Mean what you wil by apostolike see: the word (*frustra hæreticis circūlatrantibus*, heretiks barking on euery side in vain) must be referred either to ỹ chiefest, or els to the neerest substantiue in the sentence, & *sedes apostolica* is neither. The chiefest substātiue is the [catholike] Church; the neerest is, the succession of bishops on one side, the heigth of authoritie on ỹ other side. For thus saith Aug. Shal we doubt to commit our selues to the bosom of that [catholik] Church, which by the confession of all men, from the apostles seat [or time] by [many] succession of bishops, heretiks barking on euery side in vain, hath gotte the chiefest credite or autoritie? By this assertiō heretiks did bark in vain either at ỹ catholike Church it self, or at the succession of bishops, or at the credit & authoritie which the Church of Christ had by the confession of all men. But that they did bark in vain at the see of Rome, I find no such thing in these words of Aug. Phil. The Church receiued her autoritie frō the apostolike see, which is Rome. Theo. The phrase *ab ipsa Petri sede*, from Peters seat, which is vsual in S. Austen, & more effectuall

Cyprian and Augustine forced by the Iesuits to make for Rome.

Cypr. epist. 55. vel 4. 1. epi. 3.

Apol. cap. 2.

August. de vtilitate credendi. cap. 17. From the apostles see, is from the time the apostles sat or taught in the Church.

August. de vtilitate credendi. cap. 17.

than this, doth not signifie from Rome, but from Peters seat. As *Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede*, Number the priests (not from Rome, but) from Peters seat; that is from Peters time. And again, *Tenet me ab ipsa Petri sede successio sacerdotum:* The succession of priests from Peters time staieth me in the Church. And likewise in this place, *Ab apostolica sede*, from the apostles seat, is, euer since the apostle sat: and that the words following confirme. For in Rome you can reckon but one succession of bishops: and Austen saith, *Ab apostolica sede per successiones episcoporum*, by many successions of bishops euen from the apostles time. So that neither the words which you alledge, should be referred to *Sedes Apostolica*, the apostolike seat, nor if they were, doth that phrase infer that the Church had all her credit frō Rome, but that by the confession of al men, the [catholike] Church had been in greatest credit euer since the time that Peter sat, through the successions of [her] bishops, heretikes barking [against her] in vain. Phil. You said there was nothing in our second chapter worthy answering: it hath cost you more pains then you thought. Theo. Your generall & dissolute discourses I told you were to little purpose. For grant that some godly men resorted to Rome, whiles the bishop there was equal with his brethren, and obedient to the magistrate, which is all that you prooue; What doth this help you, to cōclude that you may now run to Rome, the pope claiming & vsurping a new found power repugnant to the scriptures, iniurious to the Church of Christ, and pernicious to the prince, whom God hath annointed ouer you. Phil. The pope claimeth no such power as you speak of. Theo. What power he claimeth & vseth ouer princes, is too well knowne for you to denie. The world hath had long experience of it, this realme hath had late. What authoritie he chalengeth ouer the Church of Christ, if he did keepe secret, you do not. You make him *the rocke of refuge in doubtfull dais & doctrines, the chiefe pastor and bishop of your souls in earth. The vicar generall of Christ*: and he that taketh these titles to himselfe without allowance from God, is an enimie to Christ, and oppresseth his Church. Phil. God hath allowed the bishop of Rome that power which he claimeth. Theo. That if you could proue, the matter were answered; & that til you do proue, your popular persuasions are,

August. in psalmo contra partem Donati.

Idem contra epistolam quā vocant Fundamenti. cap. 4. From, not in the apostles seate.

In our daies the pope claimeth a new found power ouer the Church and prince. Apol. cap. 2.

are, as I said, but iuglaboz, and no way confirm the cause. Phil. That is it shal be proued. Theo. Neuer feed vs with shals, you neuer were, noz euer shall be able to proue it. Phil. Suspend your iudgement till you see the end. Theop. I am content to heare al, mary in the meane time you may not presume that which is but lightly touched by you, to be cleerely proued. Phil. We wil not. Theo. By that which you haue done I gesse what you will do. We haue discussed two chapters of your Apologie: where we found nothing but words. And therfore vnlesse you drawe to some matter, I see no reason why I should stand refelling your phrases. Phil. The third chapter goeth neerer.

Theo. In your third chapter what shall we finde? Phil. The meaning & purpose why both our Seminaries were erected. Theo. Your owne purposes you can best tell. Phil. *First to draw diuers youth who for their conscience liued in the lowe countries, from sole, seuerall and voluntary studie, to a more exact method & course of common conference & publike exercise to be pursued by their superiors appointment rather than their owne choise. Secondly doubting the time of our chastisement might be so long as to weare out either by age, imprisonment, or other miseries, the elder sort of the learned Catholikes both at home and abroad, it was thought a necessarie dutie for the posteritie to prouide for a perpetuall seede and supply of Catholikes, namely of the clergie. Thirdly their purpose was, to draw vnto this college the best wits out of England, that were either catholikely bent, or desirous of more exact education than is in these daies in either of the vniuersities (where through the delicacie of that sect, there is no art holie or prophane throughly studied, and some not touched at all) or that had scruple of conscience, to take the oth of the Queenes supremacie in causes ecclesiasticall, or that misliked to be forced to the ministerie, as the vse is in diuers colleges: a calling contemptible euen in their owne conceit, and very damnable in the iudgement of others, or that were doubtfull whether of the two religions were true, which hath driuen diuers ouer to their great satisfaction, & admiration of the euidence of our part.* These were the chiefe respects that led his holines to found our two Seminaries, the fruits wherof we haue seene to our great comfort. Theo. And this I see, you keepe your old woont. You affirme what you list vpon your owne credit; & disdaining your aduersaries as prophane and vnlearned, you commend your selues for the only minions of the world: set this aside, & what one thing

The intent of the popes Seminaries.

is there in your third chapter worth the speaking to.

Phil. You mislike that Seminaries were appointed for english students beyond the seas. We now prooue the first erection of them to be needfull & healthfull for this realme. Theo. Sir, your liege ladie misliked and had good cause so to do, that her subiects were flocked from her & encouraged against her by your practises & promises, and that her open & sworn enimie kept them in couerts, which you call Seminaries, & trained them vp at his charges to be fit instruments for his secret deuises & purposes. Of this you speake not a word, but arrogantly defacing both vniuersities with lewdnes of life & slacknes of study, you come in with your exact education, & holy conuersation, as if the report of your own vertues frō your own mouthes were enough to auoid and preuent all obiections. Phil. That answere might serue, where nothing was proued, but onely surmised against vs. The. You forget that a prince did obiect it, to whom you were bound with all reuerence and dutie to make your full and sufficient answere. Phil. So haue we done. Theo. Mary that you haue indeed.

What things were misliked in the Seminaries.

The things misliked were these. First, that by your means yong boies were prouoked and allured to forsake their parents, vnstable wits their studies, subiects their prince without asking leaue, no tyrannie nor torment inflicted or offered to cause them to flie. Next, that your Seminaries, as wel for their direction as prouision, do wholy depend on his pleasure & fauor, that hath euer since the beginning professed & shewed himself a mortal enimy to your soueraign; deposing her person, inuading her land, & pulling her subiects from her obedience. Thirdly, that your teachers & learners in either of your colleges, do not onely nourish this traiterous position in their owne breests, that her highnes neither is, nor ought to be taken for lawfull Queene of England longer than the pope shal permit: but also labor to poison her people with that diuelish persuasion, vnder color of religion. These points your patrone cunningly skippeth, and falleth to the commending and preferring the maners, orders, and vertues of your two colleges before our two vniuersities, which comparison is neither seemely to be published, nor easie to be credited.

Phil.

Phil. *Concerning his holines intentions, if they be any other in the institution & intertaiments of those Seminaries, than ours are, they be vnknowen to vs, none being so presumptuous to search further into his secrets than standeth with his good pleasure and wisedome to vtter of himselfe, nor any hauing iuſt cauſe to deeme woorſe or otherwiſe of his doings, than is agreeable to his high calling, approoued good affection to our country, his great vertue, and the euidence of the thing.* Theo. In truth we ſeeke for your founders intentions, not for yours: and therfore this oncly ſentence in all your third chapter maketh toward the matter in queſtion, which you conclude with an *ignoramus*, proteſting *his holines intentions to be vnknowen to you.* Phil. Verily ſo are they. Theop. You may winke at noone daies & ſay you ſee nothing: yet this you know, that ſubiects ſhuld not leaue their prince vpon euery diſlike & flee the country, much leſſe linke & ioine themſelues with the princes foes: leaſt of all take the crowne from the princes head, at the popes becke. His ſecrets though you ſearch not, theſe doings you may ſoone diſcerne. Phil. We be far from any ſuch dealings. Theop. As far as water from the thames.

Apol.cap.3.

The Ieſuits know not the popes intention, and yet they take part with him againſt their prince.

Do none flee the realme to come to your Seminaries? Philan. They may flee that be perſecuted. Theoph. Doth the prince perſecute children in grammar ſchooles? Phil. That in conſcience were too much. Theo. Yet you confeſſe, *Grammar ſcholers from al parts of the realme haue yeelded you many youths, and many (gentlemens ſons ſpecially) aduenture ouer to you without their parents conſent, and ſometimes much againſt their wils.* And thinke you this lawfull to entice children from their parents, & ſubiects from their prince, to be infected by you before they can iudge of you? Phil. We do not entice them to come, but inſtruct them when they come. The. Remember you not, *your third purpoſe was to draw into theſe colleges the beſt wits out of England?* So that your own words conuince you to be drawers, which is al one with enticers of boies from their ſchools, of children from their parents, & this I ween you can hardly defend to be catholike. Beſides, *your purpoſe was to draw* (for this is your terme) *thoſe that were deſirous of exact educatiõ, or had ſcruple of conſcience to take the oth of the Queenes ſupremacie, or that miſliked to be forced to the miniſtery, or that were doubtfull whether of the two religions were true.* So ỳ your ſeminaries be not only receits for ſuch as be lightly touched by

Apol.cap.3. Ieſuits drawers of children from their parents and ſubiects from their prince.

Apol.cap.3.

Apol.cap.3.

the lawes of this realme, but harbors for all that be desirous, scrupulous, dislikers or doubters: that is in effect, baits for all mens appetites, & marts for al mens purposes, that be any way greeued with the state, or affect nouelties.

What is it to be the slaues of men if this be not? Campion in his 2. article.

Next, that you be fed and clothed at the popes expences, and in such thraldome to the popes agent, your superior as you call him, that you will and must accept his voice, as a warrant from heauen & an oracle of Christ, since you proclaime, we neede not proue it. And this is to be right of the popes fold and familie, whose hatred & hostilitie to the prince & this realm how deadly and daily it hath been and is, England, Ireland, yea Rome it selfe can witnes; and if you would dissemble neuer so deeply, you neither are nor can be ignorant.

Campion & Parsons did aske leaue of the pope to agnise her Maiestie for lawfull Queene, vntill the bull might be put in execution: Or if these be not sufficient, the late defence will serue for all. In his 40. motiue.

Lastly, what you thinke and teach of her maiesties right to the crowne since Pius the fift gaue forth his bull to depriue her of the same, if Sanders monarchie, Bristowes motiues, Campions & Parsons dispensation did not fully conuince, the answer of your felowes vpō their examinations & at their arraignments, your refusal to speake when you be required, & ambiguous maner of speaking when you be thereto pressed, do plainly shew you, that you thinke that which you dare not vtter, and teach more than you would haue known. Or if that which is past be not proof inough, for your better discharge let vs haue your answer at this present: is her maiestie right and lawful Queene of this realm notwithstanding the pope did or do depose her? Phi. You now digresse from our purpose. Theop. Then belike obedience to the magistrat doth not stand with your purpose. Phil. Your question is very dangerous. Theop. No danger at al if you be good subiects. Phil. As good subiects as you for your liues. Theop. And, as Bristow saith, better; saue that crakes be common with Iesuits. But this is a shrewd sign of an il subiect, to refuse to confesse your rightful prince. Phil. We be no iudges between the pope and the Queene. Theo. So said Campion at the kings bench, but till you make vs some directer answer, giue vs leaue to take your Seminaries, if not for schools of treason, yet at least for nouceries of disobedience. Your opinion in this point if it be good, why do you not confesse it? If it be naught, why do you not reuoke it? Your Apology should haue

haue either defied it as no part of your meaning, or else defended it as honest & lawful. You do neither in this place; but flattering the pope you beleeue it, & fearing the prince you conceale it. And least your dissembling should be suspected, you fill this chapter with needlesse bagaries, from your selues to your aduersaries, from doctrine to maners, from England to Scotland, auouching what you list, defaming whom you can, presuming al that you dreame to be true without care, without cause, without shame, without sense. And that your defence of English Catholikes expressely doth.

Phil. You raile Theophilus. Theo. And what do you Philander; when you say, *The fruits of the protestants doctrine, their prophane life & maners, their restles contentions, debates, & dissentiõs among themselues, their scandals mo in those few daies of their felicitie, than was giuen of the true clergie in a thousand yeers before, though al the aduersaries slanderous reports of them were Gospell, as many of them be more false than Esops fables.* And againe of Scotland you say, *The Caluinists horrible infamous murdering of his highnes father, & more than barbarous vilany & misuse of his deerest mother whiles she was among them, & the sundry detestable treasons contriued against his royal person when he was yet in his mothers wombe, as often since, as wel otherwise by woonted treachries, as by infecting his tender age both with their damnable heresie, & with ill affection towards his deerest parents.* What call you this, if it be not railing? What libel could be more lewd and infamous than this? Happie men are you that may thus disdaine, reproch, belie, and reuile others, and not be counted railers. Apol. cap. 3. Apol. cap. 3.

Touching our liues, we wil say litle, we refer the iudgmẽt therof to such as be sober; neither do we deny, but that among so great a number as this realme yeldeth, it is easie to find som that serue not God but their bellies, & seeke not Christ but their owne. And yet I see no cause why you should ouerlash so much in excusing your selues & accusing others, as if our scandals (so it pleaseth you to speake) were mo in these few dais, than yours in a thousand yeeres before, for if those things be true which not our fauorers, but your owne fellowes haue reported and lamented in no worse than the fountaines of your faith, & heads of your Church; I will not say the refues of England, but euen the priests of Baal and Bacchus, were saints in comparison of so lewd and intollerable monsters. Experiments of popes and their clergie out of the reports of their own friends.

Stephanus

Martin. Pol. in ann. 898. 907. Platina in Stephan. 6. & Sergio 3. Liutprand. Ticinensis lib. 6. cap. 6. & 7. Martin. Polon. in anno 986. Platina in Bonifacio 7.

Stephanus the 6. and Sergius the 3. pulled Formosus their predecessor out of his graue, the one cutting off his fingers, the other his head, & cast his carkas into Tybris. Iohn the 12. gaue orders in a stable among his horses, abused his fathers concubine, made his pallace a stewes, put out his ghostly fathers eies, gelded one of his cardinals, ran about in armes to set houses on fire, drank to the diuell, & at dice called for help of Iupiter and Venus.

Boniface the 7. getting the popedom by ill means, robbed S. Peters Church of al the iewels & pretious things he could finde, and ran his waies; and returning not long after, caught one of his cardinals and put out his eies.

Platina in Sylucstro 2.

Sylueſter the 2. leauing his monasterie, betooke himselfe wholly to the diuel, by whose helpe he gat to be pope; on this condition, that after his death he should be the diuels both body & soule.

Platina in Benedicto 9.

Benedict the 9. sold his popedome to Gregory the 6. & was therfore woorthily blamed of al men, & by Gods iudgement condemned.

Martin. Polon. in anno 1042.

For it is certaine that after his death he appeared in an vgly shape, (with the head and taile of an asse, and the body of a beare) and being asked what that horrible sight ment, because saith he, whiles I was pope, I liued like a beast, without law, without reason, defiling the chaire of Peter with al kind of lewdnes.

Beno cardinalis de vita & gestis Hildebrand.

Of Gregory the 7. & his adherents Beno the cardinal writeth thus: Let these hypocrites hold their peace, that haue disgraced & almost drowned the name of blessed Peter, by cloking the flames of their malice, vnder a colour of catholicisme & petence of iustice. Let these false prophets be astonished that are curteous in shew, scorpions in sting, wolues vnder lambs skins, killing the bodies and deuouring the souls of men with the sword of their mouth, whose religion sauoreth nothing but of traiterousnes & couetousnes, entring the houses of widows, they lead women captiues that be loden with sins; & by reason of our troublesome times giue eare to spirits of error and doctrines of diuels, which Hildebrand their captain learned of his masters Benedict the 9. & Gregory the 6.

Abbas Vrspergensis in anno 1228.

Gregory the 9. as Vrspergensis complaineth, taking occasion by the emperors absence (that was fighting against the Turke,) sent a great armie into Apulia, and inuaded and subdued the emperors dominions being then in the seruice of Christ; a fact most hainous: & did his best both in Apulia and

nd Lumbardie to hinder such as were going that viage from
assing the sea, (seeking therby to betray the christian em-
eror and his army to the Turke:) yea the men of Verona & *Ibidem.*
Millan would suffer none to passe by their coasts, spoyling
he very soldiers that were sent to fight against the Turke,
nd that by the commandement of the pope as they affir-
ned: which alas is horrible to be spoken. Who rightly consi-
ering, wil not lament and detest these things, as portending
nd foreshewing the ruine of the Church?

Mathew Paris giueth Innocentius the 3. this commen- *Mat. Paris in*
ation. King Iohn saith he, knew and by often experience *anno 1213.*
ad tried, that the pope aboue all mortal men was ambitious
nd proud, an vnsatiable thirster after money, and easie to be
rawen & induced to al wickednes by gifts or promises.

Sixtus the 4. made his playfellow cardinal, who was *Baptist. fulgo. lib. 9.*
oont to weare cloth of gold at home in his house, to ease na- *Agrippa de*
ure in stooles of siluer, and to decke his harlot Tiresia with *Lenocinio & orat. ad Lo-*
hooes couered with pearle: as Agrippa reporteth, he built a *uanienses.*
mptuous stewes in Rome, appointing it to be both mas-
uline and feminine, and making a game of that beastly
rade: as Vuesselus Gronnigensis saith, he gaue the whole *Vuesselus Gronnigensis tract. de indulgentijs.*
amily of the cardinal of S. Luce, free leaue in Iune, Iuly, and
August, to vse that which nature abhorreth, and God in So-
ome reuenged with fire and brimston. One of your owne
de perceiuing the lothsomnes of his life, maketh the di-
ell giue him this entertainment in hell:

Baptist. Mant. Alphon. lib. 4.

At tu implume caput, cui tanta licentia quondam,
Femineos fuit in coitus; tua furta putabas
Hic quoque prætextu mitræ impunita relinqui?
Sic meruit tua fœda venus, sic prodiga in omnem
Nequitiam, ad virtutis opus tua auara libido.

But thou, thou bauld pate, which hast so licentiously desi-
ed thy selfe with women, didst thou thinke thy secret sins by
eason of thy myter should here go vnpunished? Receiue the
eward of thy filthy pastimes, so hath thine outragious lust to
ll lewdnes, & void of all goodnes, deserued.

It is too shameful that Iohannes Iouianus Pontanus *Pontan. tumulorum lib. 2. in tumulo Lucretiæ Alexan. 6. filiæ.*
writeth of Lucretia the daughter of Alexander the sixt.

Hoc tumulo dormit Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.

Here lieth Lucretia in name, in deed a shameless whoore;
the

the daughter of [pope] Alexander, her fathers and brothers harlot. The fact so horrible, that it were not credible, if others did not confirme the same.

Aeti Sannazar. epigram. lib. 1. & 2.

I will trouble thast eares no longer with this vnsauorie repetition. These disorders of popes if you weigh them well be more than scandalous, and giue you small cause to vaunt of your vertues. Phil. These be the things that we told you, were *more false than Esops fables*. Theo. It were reason you should proue them false, before you reiect them as fables: men of your owne sect & side laying them down for truths in their writings, you may not take vpon you to pronounce them fables, least your credit be called in question, & your selues reputed to be worse than liars. These things, be they true, be they false, we report them as we find them in your owne stories; not your aduersaries, but your welwillers were the authors of them. And vnlesse we se some surer ground than your bare deniall, we may better charge you with open flatterie, than you may them with wilful forgerie. Phi. The number is not great though the matters were true. Theop. The rest of their outrages if I would reckon; namely, their schismes, contentions & tumults for the popedome, their ambition, presumption, oppression: briberie, periurie, tyranne, pride, craft, hypocrisie; to conclude, their garboiles, battels and bloodshed; a whole volume would not suffice.

And where you make your clergie so free from scandals, heare what men of former times and of your owne side haue spoken and written of your bishops, priests, monks, and others. Bernard of his age. * Behold, saith he, these times very much defiled with the worke that walketh in darknes. Wo be to this generation because of the leauen of Pharisies, which is hypocrisie; if it may be called hypocrisie, which is now so rife, that it cannot; and so shameless, that it seeketh not to be kept secret. A rotten contagion creepeth at this day through the whole body of the Church, the wider, the desperater; the more inward, the more deadly. All friends; and al enemies: al familiar, and none peacemakers; they be the ministers of Christ, and serue antichrist. Thence is it, as thou maist daily see, that they be trimmed like whoores, attired like plaiers, serued like princes. Thence is it, that they weare gold in their bridles, sadles, and spurs; yea

* *Bern supra Cant. serm. 33.* The Iesuits promise high experiments of their Roman institution; the paterns wherof if any man will see, let him read these complaints of their owne fellowes.

their

their spurs shine brighter, than the altars: thence are their bankets & drunkennes; thence their musice & instruments; thence their wine presses running ouer, and storehouses stuffed with all varietie; thence their barrels of ointments to paint themselues; thence their bags and bugets full. For these things are they, and seeke they to be rulers of Churches, deanes, archdeacons, bishops, archbishops. The wound of the Church is inward and incureable. Rest from infidels, rest from heretikes, but not from children. They haue despised and defiled [her] with their filthy life, with their filthy gaine, with their filthy trade. Ye be called pastors, when indeed ye be spoilers, and would God the milke and fleese did suffice ye, ye thirst for blood. The archpriest visiteth his charge to fill his purse; he betraieth innocent blood, he selleth murders, adulteries, incests, fornicatiõs, sacrileges, periuries, & filleth his pouch to the brim. And as for the ornament of chastitie, how keepe they that, which being deliuered into a reprobate sense, do that which is not fit? It is a shame to name those things, which the bishops do in secret. But why should I be ashamed to speake that which they are not ashamed to do? Yea the apostle is not ashamed to write, men vpon men worke filthines, receiuing the reward of their error. With the patrimony of the crosse of Christ you feed whoores in your chãbers, you fat your flesh, you furnish your horses with pectorals & headstals of gold. For this you claw princes and prowers of darknes, both men and diuels. He that list to read more of your scandals, may in that place whence this is taken, haue enough.

Sermo ad Clerum in concil. Rhemensi congregatum inter opera Bernardi.

Idem sermo ad pastores in Synodo congregatos.

Albertus Magnus of his time giueth this testimonie: Those which now rule in the Church, be for the most part theeues & murderers, rather oppressors than feeders, rather spoilers than tutors, rather killers than keepers, rather peruerters than teachers, rather seducers than leaders. These be the messengers of antichrist, and vnderminers of the flock of Christ.

Albert. in Iob. cap. 10.

The tripartite worke that standeth next to the councel of Lateran vnder Innocentius the 3. long since complained of your clergie in this sort: So great is the notorious vncleannes, of lecherie in many parts of the world, not in clerks onely, but in priests also, & that (which is horrible to heare) in the prelats themselues. Againe, they spend the goods of

Opusculi tripartiti parte 3. cap. 7. repetitur in tomo conciliorum 2.

of the Church so badly, in vanities, superfluities, setting vp & aduancing their kinsmen, and in many other riots and sins; yea there is such a number, and those no small ones, that do no good in the Church, but spend their daies in pleasures by reason of the wealth of the Church, that it is much to be feared, least God for these and other hainous offences [of the clergie] passing great, very many, and now inueterate; do ouerthrow, or cause the ecclesiastical state to be ouerthrowen, as it came to passe in the Iewes first exalted by God, and after destroied for euer.

Holcot. in lib. Sapientiæ lectio. 182.

Holcot 20. **yeres since.** The priests of our age, **saith he,** be like the priests of Baal: they are wicked angels: they resemble the priests of Dagon: they are priests of Priapus, and angels of hell.

Platina in vita Marcellini.

And least you should dreame that neerer our time your clergie began to be better reformed, Platina saith, What shall we thinke will become of our age, wherein our vices are growen to that heigth, that they skant haue left vs place with God for mercie? How great the couetousnes of priests is, and especially of the rulers among them, how great their lecherie of all sorts, how great their ambition & pompe, how great their pride and slouth, how grosse their ignorance both of themselues and of christian doctrine, how smal their deuotion, and that rather fained than true, how corrupt their maners, I need not speake.

Mantuan. Calamitatum lib. 3.

Frier Mantuan **not long after him, in that point agreeth with him.**

Petrique domus polluta fluenti
Marcescit luxu, nulla hic arcana reuelo,
Non ignota loquor: liceat vulgata referre.
Sic vrbes populique ferunt, ea fama per omnem
Iam vetus Europam mores extirpat honestos.
Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cynedis
Seruit, honorandæ diuum Ganimedibus edes.
Quid miramur opes reciduáque surgere tecta?
Venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ.
Ignes, thura, preces, cælum est venale deúsque.

The house of Peter defiled with excessiue riot, is quite decaied; I reueale here no secrets, neither speake I things vnknown: I may vtter that which is in euery mans mouth. Cities

ties and countries talke of it, and the very bruit thereof scattred long since ouer all Europe, hath quenched all care of vertue. The Church lands are giuen to common iesters: the sacred altar allotted to wantons: the temples of saints to boyes prouided for filthie lust. Why wonder we to see wealth flow, & houses that were fallen to be stately built? We sel temples, priests, altars, sacrifices, garlands, fire, frankécense, praiers, we sel heauen & God himself. Of your priests he saith,

Ibidem.

Inuisi superis fædáque libidine olentes
Heu frustra incestis iterant sacra orgia dextris.
Irritant, iráque mouent, non numina flectunt.
Nil adiutoribus istis
Auxilij sperate, nouis date templa ministris;
Sacrilegum genus ex adytis templisque Deorum
Pellite, nec longos scelera hæc vertantur in vsus.

Hatefull to heauen, and lothsome with vncleane lust, alas in vaine attempt they sacred rites with incestuous hands. They rather kindle and prouoke God, than appease him: neuer hope for helpe as long as such pray for you: giue the Churches to new ministers, and chase this sacrilegious generation from the diuine places; neither let their hainous sins grow to a custome. By him we may learne what fruits to looke for of your Romish Seminarie.

Mantuan. ecloga 5.

Heu Romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat,
Exilium virtus patitur.
** Vrbs est iam tota lupanar.*
** Roma quid insanis toties? quid sanguine gaudes?*
Quid geris imbelli spicula tanta manu?
Si foris arma tacent, tu bella domestica tentas,
Nec feritas requiem ferre superba potest.
Tu fratres in bella vocas, in pignora patres,
Et scelus omne audes, & parit omne nefas.
Fas & iura negas, homines & numina fallis,
Nec Iouis imperium, nec Phlegethonta times.

** Idem fastorum lib. 2. de carnis priuij consuetud.*
** Idem Syluarum, lib. 1.*

Alas at Rome now nothing but money doth raigne, vertue is quite banished: the whole citie is a stewes. Rome why art thou so often mad? why delitest thou in blood? Why with weake hands dost thou assay so mightie weapons? If peace be abroad, thou makest warre at home; neither can thy fierce pride away with rest. Thou settest brother against brother, father against sonne, thou ventures on all mischief, & hatchest

all

all villanie: thou regardeſt neither right nor law: thou beguileſt both God and man: thou feareſt neither heauen nor hel.

Auentinus annalium Boiorum lib.6. præfat.

Auentinus a man likewiſe of your ſide and not long ſince aliue complaineth not without cauſe. Since [the biſhop of Rome] hath ſo great power, why doth he not vſe it? ſince the harueſt is ſo great, why doth he not reape? why doth he not feed, when he ſeeth ſo many ſheepe die for hunger? Why doth he ſet ouer the flocke, goats, wolues, libidinous, adulterous perſons, abuſers of virgins & nunnes, cookes, mulettors, theeues, bankers, vſurers, drones, hunters after gaine, luxurious, perfidious, forſworne, ignorant aſſes? I ſpeake not by heareſay; I write that I ſee with theſe eies. Why doth he commit ſheepe to wolues? why doth he ſuffer his flocke to be in ſubiection to moſt pernitious hypocrites, prouiding onely for their owne bellies? nay why doth he let boies and wantons rule his lambs? I am aſhamed to ſay what maner of biſhops we haue. With the reuenues of the poore they feede hounds, horſes, I need not ſay whoores; they quaffe, they make loue, & flee al learning as infection. Such is the miſerie of theſe times, we may not ſpeake that we thinke, nor thinke that we ſpeake. As for the ſheepe cõmitted to their charge; to ſheare them, ſtrip them, and kill them, as euery man liſt, vnder a pretence of deuotion, is now an ancient cuſtome.

If one witnes be not ſufficient, you ſhall haue more, & thoſe of your not our religion, to cõfeſſe the ſame. Palingenius an Italiã ſuppliant to the church of Rome deſcribeth at large the monſtrous corruptiõ of your Roman clergie.

Marcel. Palin. Zodiaci vitæ lib. 5. in Leone.

Sed tua præcipue non intres limina quiſquam
Frater vel Monachus, vel quauis lege ſacerdos.
Hos fuge, peſtis enim nulla hac immanior. Hi ſunt
Fæx hominum, fons ſtultitiæ, ſentina malorum.
Agnorum ſub pelle lupi, mercede colentes,
Non pietate Deum: falſa ſub imagine recti
Decipiunt ſtolidos, ac religionis in vmbra,
Mille actus vetitos, & mille piacula condunt.
Raptores, mœchi, puerorum corruptores
Luxuriæ atque gulæ famuli cæleſtia vendunt.
Hos impoſtores igitur, vulpéſque doloſas
Pelle procul.

Idem lib. 6. in Virgine.

Myſtæ vaſtique cuculli
Quos caſtos decet eſſe, palam cum pellicibus vel

Furtim

Furtim cum pueris, matronis, virginibúsque
Nocte dieque fubant: sunt qui consanguinearum
Inguinibus gaudent: ineunt pecudes quoque multi:
Prò pudor, hos tolerare potest ecclesia porcos *Idem lib. 9. in Sagittario.*
Duntaxat ventri, veneri, somnóque vacantes?

Let no frier, monke or any prieſt come within thy dores. Take heede of them; no greater miſchiefe. Theſe are the dregges of men, the fountaines of follie, the ſinks of ſinne, wolues vnder lambes ſkinnes, ſeruing God for reward, not deuotion; deceiuing the ſimple with a falſe ſhew of honeſtie; and vnder the ſhadow of religion hyding a thouſand vnlawfull acts, a thouſand haynous offences: committers of rapes, fornicators, abuſers of boyes, ſlaues of gluttonie and luxurie, they ſel heauenly things. Theſe impoſters and craftie foxes chaſe far from thee. The prieſts and monkes that ſhould be chaſt, ſpend night & day either openly with whoors or cloſely with boyes, matrones & maides. Some ſpare neither blood, nor beaſt. O ſhame! can the Church endure ſuch hogs giuen only to feed their bellies, ſatiſfie their luſts, & take their eaſe?

Cornelius one of the biſhops that were preſent at your late councel of Trent in the midſt of your aſſemblie doth acknowledge that to be true which Auentinus & Palingenius before complayned of. With what monſters of filthines, ſaith he, with what canel of vncleannes, with what peſtiferous contagion are not both people & prieſts defiled & corrupted in the holy Church of God? I make your ſelues iudges and begin at the ſanctuarie of God; if there were any ſhamefaſtnes, any chaſtitie, any hope or helpe of honeſt conuerſation left: if there were not luſt vnbridled and vntamed, ſingular boldnes, and incredible wickednes. For thoſe two bloodſuckers, which alwaies crie bring, bring; one the mother, the other the nource of all euill; I meane couetouſnes and ambition, either a ſecrete and ſubtil miſchiefe, poyſon, plague, and monſter of the world (whiles learning and vertue are deſpiſed, and in their places ignorance and vice highly aduanced by thoſe whom we ſhould take for quicke & liuing lawes) haue brought to paſſe that edification is changed to deſtruction, examples to offences, cuſtome to corruption, regard of lawes to contempt thereof, ſeueritie to ſlacknes, mercie to impunitie, pietie to hypocriſie, preaching to contentiõ, ſolemne daies to filthy martes, & that which is moſt vnhappy, the

Oratio Cornelij Epi. Bitonti. 3. Dominica aduent. in concil. Triden. habita.

Experiments confeſſed in the late councel of Trent.

the sauor of life to the sauor of death. Would God they were not fallen with one consent from religiō to superstition, from faith to infidelitie, from Christ to Antichrist, yea from God to Epicurisme, saying with their wicked harts and shameles faces, there is no God. The Turks proud with the victories, & rich with the spoiles that they haue gotten from Christians; grew not by their owne strength, but by our corrupt maners; they were not so much enemies, as scourges from God; their weapons assaulted vs, but our sinnes preuailed against vs; they shewed their fiercenes, we suffered for our iniquities. And would God we alone had suffred, and that the sacred and admirable name of Christ Iesu had not been a ieast and fable among the faithles Iewes and Gentiles by reason of vs, whose slothfulnes and wickednes is bruted ouer all the world with a most shameful report.

Phil. You need not reproch vs so bitterly, your selues be not free from all faults. Theo. I neuer said we were. I know these be the latter times, when iniquitie shal abound, and the charitie of many waxe cold, yea when men shall be louers of themselues, couetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, vngratefull, vnholy, vnkind, vnfaithful, slanderers, intemperate, fierce, headie, high minded, preferring their plesures before God, as ꝓ holy Ghost foretold vs they should. Of this soile many no doubt on either side, yours & ours, haue a tast at this day: but in vnshamefastnes you passe all others; that the wide world crying shame on the manifold corruption of your clergie and that citie, you onely step forth without any blushing to deny that which your nereest frends haue confessed, and with insolent words to promise this land *high experiments and innumerable examples of vertue and deuotion*, as if that sinke of sinne were lately become a fountaine of grace, or the famous whore of Babylon newly changed into chast Ierusalem.

Matt. 24. 2. Tim. 3.

Apol. cap. 2.

The maine drift of their Apologie was to flatter the pope, to magnifie themselues, & to dissemble their wickednes against the prince with colourable

But you must be borne with; your purpose was to lift and extoll Gregory the 13. aboue the skies, thereby to kindle his loue and deuotion towards your colleges, as very zealous for his highnes and holines, which you could not wel do, but by detecting and disgracing those that vtterly refused him, as lewd and light persons. And this maketh you so fally without al truth, so boldly without al shame, so desperately without all feare, to belie both England

and

and Scotland, as if our disorders in twentie yeres, were more than yours in a thousand: and the * *treacheries, treasons, murders & villanies* done in Scotland, were the protestants doings: which virulent and impudent reproches uttered against two christian common-weales, without any maner or colour of truth, shew what liquor boileth in your harts, and what humor raigneth in your heads.

pretences & speeches, which they haue fully performed.

* Apol. cap. 3.

Phil. And what salt seaseneth your mouth, when you raile at Rome so fast as you do? Theoph. If I report any thing of Rome which your own felows do not witnes, let it go for a slander: but what proofe bring you, that in Scotland the professors of the gospell murdered the kings father, or sought to destroy their prince when he was yet in his mothers womb? Phil. Sure it is, the kings father was horribly murdered amongst them. Theo. Can you tell by whom? Phil. I cannot tel: but he lost his life. Theop. No doubt of that, but who did the deed? Phil. It was secretly done in the night season, we know not by whom, of likelyhood by enemies. The. It could be no friendship to murder him in his bed: neuer heard you, A mans enemies shall be they of his own household? But since you know not the doer is it not meere malice in you to charge your enemies, & not his with it; especially those that did hazard their liues to reuenge his death? Phil. I faire reuenge, to displace their Queen for other mens faults. The. If ỹ nobles of Scotland did any thing against their Queen, which the lawes of that land did not warrant, we defend thē not: you were best obiect it to thē, they can answer for thēselues. Yet are you not ignorant whō they deeply charge with ỹ death of that erle: but I wil not meddle with other mēs matters: I returne to this land, where you say you haue wrought *great alteration of minds throughout the whole realme, and woonderfull increase of courage in all sorts, not onely to thinke well in hart, but openly and boldly to professe their faith and religion, and refuse all acts contrarie to the same.*

The Iesuits haue a commission to beelie whom they list without controlment.

Matt. 10.

Apol. cap. 3.

Phil. *And this haue we done only by the power of priesthood in spirituall, silent & peaceable maner, & not with riots, tumults or warlike cōcourse: we haue done it as the apostles & other holy mē did in the primitiue Church, by trauels, watchings, fastings, perils at the ports, perils in the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enimies, perils of false brethren, fears of the lawes, fears of hurting our friends, fears for scandalising the*

Apol. cap. 3.

weake: by contumelies, disgraces, powerties, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths. And this the omnipotent God, because it is his owne worke, enterprised by order & authority of his chiefe minister in earth, hath prospered exceedingly: though it seemed at the beginning a thing hard or impossible, you hauing so many yeeres, the lawes, the sword, the pulpits, and all humane helps for you.

An ignorant boy with a whispering report might soone worke this conuersion.

Theop. Neuer vaunt of your victories, vnlesse they were greater. Papists that before dissembled are now by your meanes encouraged to professe your religion against a day: this was no such conquest. The priuie report of a forraine power to be landed in this realme was enough to turne them all. For they which twentie yeeres together perished their consciences to saue their goods, would they now rather hazard their lands and life, which you threatned; and hinder that action, which they long desired; than shew themselues? The rest of your conuerts be fearefull women, hungrie craftesmen, idle prentices, scelie wenches, and peeuish boyes, for the most part voyd of all reason and sense, desirous of nouelties by nature, and soone enticed to any thing: and all the religion you haue taught them, is to name the catholike Church as parats, and to pretend their consciences when they lacke all vnderstanding of God and godlines. Such in some places for want of good order, haue bin of late inueigled by you; to mislike those with whom they liue, and to fansie that they neuer saw: which was no masterie, considering the mildnes of our discipline, the maner of your whispering, and the rudenes of those simple soules whom you peruerted.

Such teachers such conuerts.

Phil. We did nothing but in *spirituall, silent & peaceable maner, as the apostles and other holy men did in the primatiue Church.*

Theop. We know you can commend your selues: but a man may soone discerne the firebrands of Rome, from the disciples of Christ. Throckmortons kalender was the chiefest end of your running ouer, which was to sound, whether your pretended catholiks would not back any such force as should be sent, to inuade the land. This no apostle nor any other holy man in the primatiue Church did: they neuer made religion a cloake for rebellion. Phil. God is our witnes we knew no such thing when we were sent ouer.

See Throckmortons cõfession.

Theop. But they which sent you, knew what they did.

Phil. That was counsell to vs: we are bound to obey our superior

superior that sent vs. Theo. To rebell against your prince, and to procure others to do the like, if the pope command you? Phil. We say not so. Theop. But you must do so. Phil. Can you proue that? We neede no plainer proofe than your silence. For how say you, will you take her maiestie for lawfull and rightfull Queene of this realme, notwithstanding the pope depriue her? Phil. You still aske me that question. Theop. We must still aske it till you answere it. One word of your mouth would suffice vs and discharge you from all suspition: which you would neuer refraine if it were not against you.

By their own doctrine they must rebell if their superior bid them, for his voice is an oracle from heauen to them.

Phil. Remoue the danger of your lawes, & I will quickly tell you what I thinke. Theop. That speech is enough to bewray your affection. Our lawes be not dangerous vnlesse you say the pope may take the crowne frō the princes head, and licence her subiects to rebel against her, which is the treason we charge you with. Ph. Is that so traiterous a position that popes may depose princes? The. That point you should either freely defend or flatly deny. By that we shall see what the bent and drift was of your late persuading & reconciling so many to the church of Rome. For if this be your doctrine, that such as wil be Catholikes must obey the pope deposing the prince, then is it euident, that you sow religion, but intend to reape treason; and make your first entrance with preaching, that afterward you may prepare the people to rebelling. Phil. This is your false surmise, not our meaning. Theo. Then answere me, What if the pope publish a bull to depriue the Queene, which part will you teach the people to follow? The popes or the Queenes? Phil. We will tell you that, when the pope doth attempt it. Theop. Well said Philander, you play sure to muster no men till your captaine be readie, least you lose your labor as the rebels of the north did. Is this the faith and alleageance your soueraigne Ladie shall looke for at your hands, when strangers inuade, then to resolue which side you will take? Go to masters; if this be subiection, I maruell what is rebellion.

These two points they openly maintaine in their late defence of English Catholikes.

Their defence maketh it a point of their faith that the pope may depose the prince.

Phil. *His holines doth the like things, for almost euery other nation in distresse, & none so ill, so suspicious, or so vngratefull as to misstruft his benefits to be their destruction, not the Germanes, not the Hungarians, not the Greekes, not any other prouinces, for all which his holines*

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hath erected colleges euen as for our countrie, of which though all take not so much good as they might do, yet none feare hurt nor make lawes against his holy and charitable actions but we.

Depose the king of Spain or the french king, and see whether they wil take it at your hands.

Theo. Offer that wrong to other princes euen of your owne religion, which your holy father hath done to her maiestie, and se which of them will doubt to make sharper and surer lawes against you than her highnes hath yet made. Pronounce them no princes, inuade their lands, cõtriue hostilities abroad and at home to thrust them from their seates, and then tell vs how they will reward you. These wicked & diuelish attempts against your soueraign you call *holy and charitable actions*, and such is your madnes, that you blame the state for preuenting and repelling this hainous iniurie with wholesome lawes.

The Iesuits will be innocents though they teach it to be lawfull for subiects to resist and murder their princes.

Phil. Call you that preuenting of iniurie to put innocents to death? Theo. You refuse to confesse that her highnes is rightfull Quene of this realme, and yet would be counted innocents? Phil. You say not well. We confesse her maiestie to be true Quene of this realme. Theo. And ought to be so taken of all her subiects, though the pope depose her? Phil. Why do you pose vs with the popes authoritie? That which we spake was plaine enough. Theo. Not so. You be licenced from Rome to agnise her grace for true Quen of England for a time, vntil the bul of Pius the 5. may be put in publike execution, that is, vntill she may by force of armes be violently driuen from the crown. Phi. Is it not strange that you report these things of vs, and can not proue them? Theo. Is it not stranger that you know these thinges to be true, and yet deny them? Phil. I protest for my part, I know them not. Theo. We wil reason farther therof in an other place. I hasten now to your fourth chapter.

The dispensation of Campion and Parsons hath those expresse words.

Phil. Will you leaue S. Hierom vnanswered? Theoph. This whole chapter hath neither scripture nor father with you nor against vs, but onely one poore allegation, & therefore we may not skip that in any case; but what saith S. Hierom? Phil. This one thing I thinke good of charitable pietie and affection to forewarn thee, that thou hold fast the faith of holie Innocentius who is successor and sonne of the apostolike chaire, and of the forenamed Anastasius, and that thou receiue not a strange doctrine, though thou seeme

Epist. 8. ad Demetriadem.

to

to thy selfe neuer so wise and subtill. Theo. This proueth that Innocentius and Anastasius in the daies of S. Hierom held the true christian faith; and that the Romanes, (for Demetriades, to whom S. Hierom gaue this counsell, dwelt in Rome) should rather follow the bishop of their own citie teaching sound and apostolike doctrin, than embrace strange errors vpon presumption of wit: What doth this helpe you?

Phil. Gregory *the* 13. that lately liued was *their successor and sonne in seat and beliefe.* Theo. Doth S. Hierom say so? Phil. May we say so. Theop. Proue that and set vp your masse. Phil. In seat you grant. Theop. Scant enough. Phi. What not in seat? Theo. No not in seat. Phil. Why so?

Theo. First, atheists, heretikes, sorcerers, and women haue bene popes, and that interrupteth your succession. Next, the plenty of popes during the two and twentie schismes in the Church of Rome, whereof the last dured 40. yeeres, it was so doubtfull, that the best learned & most religious of your side, could not tell which to cleaue to. I say, this plurality of popes at one time confoundeth your reckoning. Thirdly, discontinuance shaketh your seat in peeces; as when Peters chaire was emptie three score and fourteene yeeres, sixe popes sitting one after an other, not at Rome, but in Auinion in France. Last of all the most part of your popes for the 600. yeeres entred not by lawful and canonicall election, neither expected the consent of the Romane prince and people, as they should & were wont to do; but by violence, sedition, corruption and briberie inuaded the seat of Peter. Which fault was so common, that your best friends could not chuse, but finde it. The popedome, saith Platina, was come to that passe, (500. yeers ago) that he which could do most with ambition and briberie, he onely obtained the papall dignitie, good men oppressed & reiected: which maner would God our times had not kept: but this is nothing; we shal see woorse, if God preuent it not. In the daies of Damasus the second he saith, This fashion was now so rife, that euery ambitious marchant might catch vp Peters seat. And an hundred yeeres before that in the time of Benedict the fourth. Assoone as the Church, saith he, was indued with riches, and waxed lasciuious; the worshippers of God turning from seueritie to

Their succession interrupted.

Platina in Syluestro 3.

Idem in Damaso 2.

Idem in Benedicto 4.

The first part. The pope succeedeth not his ancestors in beleefe. wantonnes; the great impuntie of sinne, no prince then repressing the lewdnes of men, bred vs these monsters & mischiefs, who by corruption and ambition rather inuaded than *Idem in Ioan. 10.* possessed the most holie seat of Peter. And for a conclusion he saith, The popes were cleane departed from Peters steps.

Phil. These be trifles, they bar not succession. Theoph. They be iust and true exceptions, but for this present I say with S. Hierom, They be not the sonnes of the saints *Distinct. 40. c. Non est facile.* that occupie their places, but that exercise their works. If Gregorie the 13 taught Peters faith, let him be Peters successor: if he did set forth any other doctrine, he succeded S. Peter at Rome, no more than the Turke doth Saint Iames at Ierusalem, or the Scribes and Pharises did Moses, in whose chaire they sat, when they crucified the sonne of God. But we spend time, which might be better imploied. Phil. Then go to the fourth chapter, which I looked for all this while, that the light of our proofes, and sound of our places, which here we bring against the princes supremacie, might euen discredit and confound your new doctrine. Theop. The impertinent bagaries and plausible colours of your Apologie do but hinder the seriousnes of the matter, and fulnes of the proofe that in this case were requisite; since therfore we be come to the maine foundation of all your doings, omit your florishing, and fall to a stricter and exacter kinde of reasoning.

Phil. Agreed.

PROOVETH THE PRINCES SVPREME power to command for truth within her realme: and the pope to haue been a dutifull subiect to the Romane emperors ecclesiasticall lawes for 800. yeeres and vpward: answereth the Iesuits authorities and absurdities heaped against the princes regiment: searcheth the safest way for the Princes direction in matters of religion, and concludeth the pope in doubts of doctrine to be no sufficient nor superior iudge.

Phil. IVST then whereas in the proclamation we be charged to liue *contrarie to the lawes of God & the realm, &c.* Apol.cap.4. Sect.1.

We answer, that if the lawes of God and the lawes of the realme did alwaies consent and concur in deed, as in this clause and other common writings and speeches proceeding from authoritie, they be lightly in words couched together against vs: hardly could we defend our doctrines and doings from error and vndutifulnes towards our prince. But seeing the lawes of kings and countries are not euer consonant, but may be contrarie to Gods commandements, we may iustly mislike the one without disloialtie to the other. When emperors (*saith* Augustine) be in error, they make lawes for their error against the truth, by which iust men are tried and crowned, for not doing that which they command, because God forbiddeth it. *Aug.epist.166*

Theop. That some princes haue made lawes against God & his truth is a case so clere that it needed no proofe; as also that we must rather obey God than men, when their lawes do swarue from his: and againe on the other side that princes haue made lawes for the true seruice and worship of God, and did rightly iudge it to be a part of their charge: and that all they which resist those lawes shall be greeuously punished at Gods hands, though you craftily dissemble, you cannot denie. S. Austen in this very place, which you bring for your defence, & the very next words will tell you so much. *Quando autem imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipsa veritate contra errorem iubent, quod quisquis contempserit, ipse sibi iudicium acquirit.* When emperors hold the truth, they command for truth against error, which [cõmandement] *Aug.epist.166*

dement] whosoeuer despiseth, he purchaseth to himselfe iudgement. For he shal be punished by men, & haue no part with God, for not doing that, which truth it selfe by the kings hart commanded him. These words you did wel to cut off, they were enough to mar your market. Phil. Not ours. Theop. Wil you then confesse that princes may command for truth & against error, and that whosoeuer despiseth their commandement in those cases shall incur iudgement. So saith S. Austen in plaine words.

Princes commanding for truth must be obeied.

Phil. They may command, marry the Church must appoint them what they shal cōmand. The. What meane you by the Church? Phil. What should I mean by the Church but the Church? Theo. You loue to play with words. Meane you laymen or priests, or both? Phil. Euer heard you the Church taken for laymen? Theo. When S. Paul sent for the elders of Ephesus, & willed them to take heed to themselues and the whole flocke, ouer which the holy Ghost had placed them to rule, or feed the Church of God, what meant he by the Church; the priests to whom he spake, or the people? Phil. There you see the priests are to rule the Church. Theoph. There also you may see, the Church is not to rule the prince. Phil. How doth that follow? Theoph. The church is there taken for the people, which must not rule, but onely the prince.

The Iesuits play with the name of the Church.

Acts. 20. The Church of God is the people of God.

Phil. By the Church in my first answere I meant the priests and not the people. Theo. Can you shew where the Church in al the scriptures is taken for the priests without the people? Phil. We call them only churchmen. Theo. We respect not your abuse, but the right vse of the word. The Church is neuer taken in the new or old Testament for the priests alone, but generally for the whole congregatiō of the faithful. And therfore when you say the prince must be ruled by the Church, you dally with a doubtfull word, & put a faire color vpon a foule cause; but you must distinctly tell vs what persons you meane, when you say the Church must appoint, what the prince shal command. Phil. I mean churchmen, that is, priests, and bishops. Theo. And what if churchmen do not agree which is truth, as in our daies they do not; may princes make their choise what churchmen they will follow? Phil. No: the chiefe ruler of the church & head bishop on earth must appoint the, what

The Church neuer taken in the scriptures for the priest alone.

The Iesuits steales from the Church to Churchmen, & from them to the pope.

faith they shall imbrace. Theoph. That chiefe ruler of the Church you take to be the pope. Phil. We do.

Theo. We like you wel for your plainnes. Then princes may command that which the Church, you mean churchmen; or if they agree not, the chiefe churchman which is the pope shall appoint. This is your assertion, is it not? Phil. It is. Theo. What you say princes must do for the pope, we say princes may do for Christ: that is, they may plant and establish the Christian faith in their realmes by their princely power though the pope say nay. This is our doctrine, can you reprooue it? *By the Iesuits diuinitie the prince shall command what pleaseth the pope.*

Phil. Who shall be iudge, which is the true christian faith? Theop. You slip now to another question. It is one thing, who may command for truth, & another who shall direct vnto truth. We say, princes may command for truth & punish the refusers; this no bishop may chalenge, but onely the prince that beareth the sword. This is the first part of our question: And touching the second, which is the safest way for princes to be guided vnto the truth, though we differ about the means: you reserving it as a speciall priuilege to the pope, we referring it as a common dutie to the preacher; yet this is euident that princes must be directed vnto truth the same way that all other Christians are, to wit, by persuasion & not by coaction. For no prelate, nor pope hath authoritie from Christ to compell priuate men, much lesse princes to the profession of faith, but only to teach & instruct them. These be the two points we stand on, disproue them if you can. *They be two distinct questions who shall command for truth, and who shall direct vnto truth.*

Phil. This is not all. You would haue *Our faith and saluation so to hang on the princes will & lawes, that there could be imagined no neerer way to religion, than to beleeue what our temporall lord & master list.* Theo. It is a cunning, when you cannot confute your aduersaries, at least to beely them, that you may seeme to say somewhat against them. Indeed your fourth chapter is wholy spent in refelling this position, which we detest more than you. *The Iesuits would make men beleeue that wee teach the princes will to be the rule of faith.*

Phil. You begin to shrinke from your former teaching. Theo. You wil neuer shrink from your former facing. Did euer any man on our side affirme the princes will to be the rule of faith? Haue we not earnestly written, and openly taught that religion must not depend vpō the pleasures of men? *Neuer man of our side affirmed any such thing.*

men? Haue not thousands of vs here in England & elsewhere giuen our liues for the witnes and confession of Gods truth, against princes lawes and popes decrees? In Spaine, France, Italie, and other places at this day, do we not indure all the tormentes you can deuise, because we will not beleeue what temporall lords and masters list? Your owne conscience knoweth it is true that we saie. Why then do you charge vs with this wicked assertion, from the which we be farther of than you? For you hold opinion of popes, that they cannot erre, we do not of princes. Why do you father your owne fansies vpon vs? Why do you purposely peruert the question, heaping absurdities, and alledging authorities against that which we do not defend?

If the world can witnes thus much for vs, then is this a cold cauill of the Iesuits.

marke how the Iesuits play with the oth.

Phil. The oth, which you take your selues and exact of others, inducth vs thus to thinke of you. For there you make princes the onely supreme gouernors of all persons, in all causes, as well spirituall as temporall: vtterly renouncing all forraine iurisdictions, superiorities and authorities. Vpon which words marke what an horrible confusion of all faith and religion insueth. If princes be the onely gouernors in ecclesiasticall matters, then in vaine did the holie Ghost appoint pastors and bishops to gouerne the Church. If they be supreme, then are they superior to Christ himselfe, and in effect Christs masters. If in all things and causes spirituall, then they may prescribe to the priests and bishops *what to preach*, which *way to worship and serue God, how and in what forme to minister the sacraments, and generally how men shall be gouerned in soule.* If all forraine iurisdiction must be renounced, then Christs and his apostles *(because they were & are forreners)* haue no iurisdiction nor authoritie ouer England. A thousand other absurdities are consequent to this oth which anon you shall heare.

The right extract of the Iesuits absurdities.

Apol. cap. 4.

Apol. cap. 4.

Apol. cap. 4.

Their absurdities are no way consequent to our doctrine.

Theop. Make you or dreame you Philander, that in matters of no lesse weight than your dutie to God and the prince, you fall to these childish and pelting sophismes? What kind of concluding call you this? Princes onely beare the sword to command and punish, *ergo* bishops may not teach & exhort. Princes be not subiect to the pope, *ergo* superiors to Christ. They may by their lawes establish those things that Christ hath commanded, *ergo* they may change

change both scriptures and sacraments. No forrainer at this day hath any iurisdiction ouer this land, *ergo* Christ and his apostles fiftene hundred yeres ago might not preach the Gospell. Phil. We make no such fond reasons. Theo. The former propositions are the true contents of the oth, which we take; the latter are those very absurdities which you infer vpon vs for taking that oth.

Phil. You would slip from your words which we know, to your meaning which we know not; but that you shall not. We grounded our absurdities vpō the words of your oth. For if princes be supreme gouernors in all spirituall things & causes, *ergo* they be supreme iudges of faith, deciders of cōtrouersies, interpreters of scriptures, deuisers of ceremonies, appointers of sacraments, and what not? The. You might euen as wel haue cōcluded: princes be supreme gouernors in al temporal things & causes: *ergo* they be supreme guiders of grammar, moderators of logike, directors of rhetorike, appointers of musike, prescribers of medicines, resoluers of al doubts, & iudges of all matters incident any way to reason, art, or action. If this be lewd and irreuerent iesting, yours is no better. Phil. I promise you we iest not. Theo. The more shame for you, if you be in earnest, to conclude so losely. This is the right supposall of their Apologie.

Phil. Do you make princes supreme gouernors of all spirituall things? Theo. You reason as if we did; but our words, since you will needes rest vpon words, are not so. Phil. What are they then? Theop. We confesse them to be supreme gouernors of their realms & dominions. Phil. And that in al spiritual things & causes. Theo. Not of al spiritual things & causes. Phil. What difference betweene those two speeches? Theoph. Just as much as excludeth your wrangling. We make them not gouernors of the things themselues, but of al their subiects, which I trust you dare not withstand. Phil. I grant they be gouernors of their subiects, but not in ecclesiasticall things or causes. They must leaue those matters for bishops, whom Christ hath appointed to be the rulers of his Church. And therefore your oth yeelding that power to princes, which is proper to bishops; is *repugnant to the lawes of God, the Church & nature:* Yea *it is an euident error reproueable by all humane and diuine learning, that the soueraintie or supremacie in causes ecclesiasticall is by nature*

Princes be supreme gouernors of the persons, not of the things in the Church.

The words of the oth.

The Iesuits lacke neither crakes nor words.

Apol. cap. 4.

nature or by christian lawes implied in the right and title of a temporal king, or that it euer was due, or can be due, to any temporall gouernor, heathen or christian in the world. And if you will but giue care, you shal heare what a number of absurdities we will fasten vpon you. Theoph. This oth is a great cie soze with you, & I remember I promised to discusse the same in this chapter. I wil therfore first examine the chiefe parts of it, and after you shal obiect against it what you can.

The parts of the oth examined.

Where we professe that her highnes is the onely gouernor of this realme, the word gouernor doth seuer the magistrate from the minister, and sheweth a manifest difference betweene their office. For bishops be no gouernors of countries; princes be: that is, bishops beare not the sword to reward and reuenge; princes do: bishops haue no power to command & punish; princes haue. This appeareth by the words of our sauior expressly forbidding his apostles to be rulers of nations, and leauing it to princes. The kings of nations rule ouer [their people] and they that be great ones, exercise authoritie. With you it shall not be so: that is, you shall neither beare rule, nor exercise authoritie ouer your brethren.

What is ment by gouernor.

Matth. 20. & Mark. 10.

Phi. The word is κατακυριεύουσι: they ouer-rule their subiects with iniustice and violence; you shal not do so. Theo. So your new translation ouer-ruleth the word: howbeit Christ in that place doth not traduce the power of princes as vnust or outragious, but distinguisheth the calling of his apostles from the maner of regiment, which God hath allowed the magistrate. Christ saith not, princes be tyrãts, you shall deale more curteously than they do; but he saith, Princes be lords and rulers ouer their people, by Gods ordinance you shal not be so. Again, the word which S. Luke hath, is κυριεύουσι without any composition. They be lords & masters; & S. Paul confesseth of himselfe & other apostles, οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, Not that we be lords or masters of your faith: yea the compound κατακυριεύειν is with power & force to rule mẽ whether they wil or no, not with wrong and iniurie to oppresse them; & therfore the conclusion is ineuitable, that princes may lawfully compell and punish their subiects which bishops may not.

Christ by that word distinguisheth the ministe from the magistrate.

Luk. 22.

Luk. 22.

2. Cor. 1.

Publike gouernment is by correction and compulsion.

This distinction betweene them is euident by their seuerall commissions which God hath signed. The prince, not the

the priest, beareth the sword; *ergo* the prince, not the priest is Gods minister to reuenge malefactors. Peter himselfe was sharply rebuked by Christ for vsing the sword, and in Peter all pastors & bishops are straitly charged not to meddle with it. All that take the sword, shall perish with the sword. And of all men a bishop must be no striker. For if he that should feed his masters household fall to striking, he shall haue his portion with hypocrits. The seruants of God must be gentle towards all, instructing those that resist, with mildnes, not compelling any with sharpnes. Their function is limited to the preaching of the word and dispensing the sacraments, which haue no kind of compulsion in them, but inuite men only by sober persuasions to beleeue & imbrace the promises of God. To conclude, pastors may teach, exhort, & reprooue, not force, cõmand or reuenge: onely princes be gouernors that is publike magistrates to prescribe by their lawes, and punish with the sword such as resist them within their dominions, which bishops may not do: speake we truth or no? Phil. We grant bishops be no magistrates, neither haue they to do with the bodies or goods of men, which God hath permitted to the princes power; but yet they be gouernors of soules which princes be not. Theop. No better reason to warrant our opinion. The bishops charge concerneth the soules of men, but the soul of man can neither be forced nor punished by man; *ergo* bishops be no cõmanders nor punishers, but onely directors & instructors of the flocke of Christ. Phil. That we know. Theop. Then since by gouernors we meane rulers, such as God hath authorized to bear the sword, why do you fondly cauill that the princes power to command & punish, excludeth the bishops vocation to teach and exhort, which is nothing so? Phil. You say princes may command and punish as wel bishops as others. The. If they be subiects no lesse than others, why should they not obey the prince or abide the sword as wel as others? Phil. Do you make them meere subiects? Theo. Not I, but he that said, You must be subiect, not onely for [feare of] wrath, but also for conscience sake. Phil. Doth he speake that of clergie men? Theop. He that speaketh of all, exempteth none. Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, &c. In these words clergie men be not excepted, *ergo* compriſed.

Rom. 13. Matth. 26.

1. Tim. 3. & Titus 1. Matth. 24. 2. Tim. 2.

Bishops forbidden to vse violence.

2. Tim. 3. and 4.

Bishops no magistrates to beare the sword, but only charged with cure of soules, which the sword can not touch.

Princes may command & punish as wel bishops as others.

Rom. 13.

Rom. 13.

Out

Out of this place Bernard reasoneth thus with an archbishop of France: Let euery soule be subiect. If euery, then yours. Who doth except you (that be bishops) from this generall speech? He that bringeth an exception, vseth but a delusion. For these things, saith Chrysostom, are commanded to all, as wel priests & monks as secular men: which appeereth by the first sentence, Let euery soule be subiect to the superior powers; yea though thou be an apostle, an euangelist, a prophet, or whatsoeuer thou be. So Theodoret. Whether he be priest, bishop or monke, let them be subiect to magistrates. This doctrine dured in the Church a thousand yeres before your exemption of clerks from secular powers, as you call them, was known. Paul teacheth euerie soule, saith Theophilact, whether he be priest, monk, or apostle, to be subiect and obey princes. He teacheth euery soule, saith Oecumenius, whether he be priest, monk, or apostle, to submit themselues to magistrates. Gregory the first, perceiued and yelded this exposition to be true. Power, saith he, ouer all men is giuen to my lord [the emperor] from heauen. And least you should thinke priests exempted, in the person of Christ he speaketh thus to Mauritius the emperor. *Sacerdotes meos tuæ manui commisi.* I haue put my priests into thy hands, and dost thou withhold thy soldiers from my seruice? And elsewhere writing of the same prince, Christ hath granted him to be ruler, not ouer soldiers onely but ouer priests also.

Bern. ad Senonensium archiepiscopum ep. 42.

Chrysost. hom. 23. in epist. ad Romanos.

Theod. in cap. 13. epist. ad Romanos.

Theophil. in ca. 13. ad Roman.

Oecumen. in epist. ad Rom.

Greg. epist. lib. 3. cap. 100.

Ibidem.

Greg epist. lib. 3. cap. 103.

This is euident by the whole course of the scripture. Whom did our sauior charge to giue to Cæsar that which was Cæsars? Not Scribes and high priests, as well as others? Christ himselfe was a priest & a prophet, and yet he not only submitted himself to the Roman magistrate, but confessed the presidents power ouer him to be from heauen. S. Paul appealed vnto Cæsar and appeared before Cæsar as his lawfull gouernor. S. Iude detested them for false prophets that despised gouernment or spake euil of rulers. It is no religion, it is rebellion against God & his word for clergie men to exempt themselues from the princes power. The commandement is general: Let euery soule be subiect: the punishment is eternall, Whosoeuer resisteth power resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receiue to themselues damnation.

Luk. 20.

Iohn. 19. Acts. 25.

Iude epist.

Rom. 13.

Phil.

Phil. Yet reason the clergie be fauored aboue the laitie.
Theo. Tush, we talke not what fauor princes may do wel to shew, but whether clergie men by Gods law may challenge an exemption from earthly powers or no? Phil. Not, except princes command against God. Theop. And if they do so, whom must lay men obey? God or man? Phil. No doubt God. Theo. Then the prince commanding against God, all men are bound, be they lay men or clerks, to prefer the will of God before the princes lawes: but when the prince toucheth with God, and commandeth for truth, may the clergie resist the prince more than the people may? Phil. They may not. Theop. You say well. Of the twaine they must rather obey, that they may be teachers of obedience, not in words only, but in deeds also. For if they must admonish others to be subiect to principalities and obedient to magistrates, then must they not hinder their doctrine by their doings, nor lead the rest by their example to contemn or resist powers, which they should reuerence and obey. Phi. By no means. Theo. And in case the prince be repugnant to God, may priests or people be violent withstanders, or must they rather be patient indurers of the sword? Phil. They must not resist, but in patiéce possesse their souls: they that resist, shal receiue iudgement. Theo. *Ergo* whether princes be with God, or against God, priests and bishops must with gladnes obey, or with meeknes abide ỹ sword. Phil. They must. Theop. And he that suffreth is a subiect as well as he that obeieth. For if they be rulers that command and punish: certainly they be subiects that must obey the commandement, or abide the punishment. Phil. I thinke so. Theoph. Then monks, priests and bishops, by Gods law be subiects as well as others, and consequently, princes be gouernors of all persons within their dominions, be they prelates, prophets, apostles, or whatsoeuer they be.

The clergie must be to the people an example of obedience to princes.

Luk. 21. Rom. 13.

He that must suffer is a subiect, as wel as he that must obey.

Princes gouernors of all persons.

Phil. In tempozall things we grant, but not in spirituall. Theop. Where princes may lawfully command, all subiects of dutie must obey. Phil. True: but in ecclesiasticall causes princes may not meddle. Theop. So say you: but if I proue that the princes power & charge, by Gods law reacheth as well vnto matters of religion, as other things, will you bethink your selues better, & acknowledge

your error? Phil. When you proue that we may do this, which will neuer be. Theoph. Harke first what we teach, and next what we proue, that you be not deceiued.

And that in causes ecclesiasticall as well as in temporall.

We teach that God in deliuering the sword to princes, hath giuen them this direct charge to prouide that as well true religion be maintained in their realms, as ciuile iustice ministred: and hath to this end allowed princes full power to forbid, preuent, and punish in all their subiects, be they laymen, clerks, or bishops, not onely murders, thefts, adulteries, periuries, and such like breaches of the second table; but also schismes, heresies, idolatries, and all other offences against the first table pertaining onely to the seruice of God and matters of religion. We do not imagine this of our own heads, we find it annexed to the crowne by God himselfe: Who when he first gaue the children of Israel leaue to chose them a king, with al appointed, that the law truly copied out of the leuites originall (which was kept in the tabernacle) should be deliuered the king sitting on his royall seat with this charge: That booke shall remaine with the king, he shall read in it all the dayes of his life, that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and obserue all the words of the law [there written] & these statutes to do them. This was not done till he was placed in his throne, so saith the text: therefore this touched not the kings priuate conuersation as a man; but his princely function as a magistrate; which will you, nill you, stood in commanding others, not in guiding his own person. For no man is a king in respect of himselfe, but in ruling his subiects. As a man he serued God one way, saith Augustine, as a king another way. As a man by faithfull liuing, as a king in setting forth lawes to command that which is good, and remooue the contrarie. So that kings, as kings serue God in doing that for his seruice, which none but kings can doe. Then if the whole law were committed to the king, as a king at his coronation; that is, to command it others; which none but kings could do within their realms; *ergo* the publishing, preseruing, and executing of the first table touching the sincere worship of God, was the chiefest part of the princes charge.

The prince charged with both tables.

Deut. 17.

August. ep. 50.

To make my conclusion the stronger, let vs see what the godly kings of Israel & Iudah did in matters of religion,

gion, hauing no farther nor other commission from God, than this which I last repeated. The diligent execution of their office wil serue for an euident exposition, what God required at their hands. We can looke for no plainer declaration of Gods meaning in this point, than Gods owne commendation of their acts in this case. The law-maker is the best interpreter: if they by their princely power remooued idols, razed hil-altars, slew false prophets, purged the land from all abominations, not sparing the brasen serpent (made by Moses) when they saw it abused: if again by the same power they caused the temple to be clensed, the law to be red, the couenant to be renewed with God, the passeouer to be kept, the leuites to minister in their courses inuented by Dauid: if to cõclude, the prince deposed the chief bishop, placing a sutter in his stead, and forced all [prophets, priests and people] that were found in Israel (sincerely) to serue the Lord their God; if I say they did al this (as ỹ scripture beareth record they did) & their zealous procedings in these cases were liked, accepted, & praised by Gods own mouth: who besides Iesuits is either so blind ỹ he seeth not, or so froward ỹ he confesseth not, that princes wer charged by God himself to plant & establish his true seruice in their dominions, & with their princely power to prohibit & punish all offences & abuses, be they tẽporal or spiritual, against the second or first part of this heauẽly law? Phil. This charge concerned none but ỹ kings of Israel & Iudah. The. That refuge doth rather manifest your folly, than satisfie my reason: did, I pray you sir, the cõming of Christ abolish ỹ vocation of princes? I trow not. Thẽ their office remaining as before, *per* consequent, both the same precept of God to thẽ stil dureth, & also ỹ like power to force their subiects to serue god & Christ his son, stãdeth in as ful strẽgth vnder ỹ gospel, as euer it did vnder ỹ law. For princes in the new testament be Gods ministers to reuẽge malefactors, as they were in ỹ old, & the greater ỹ wickednes, ỹ rather to be punished, *ergo* ỹ greatest (as heresies, idolatries & blasphemies) ar sonest of al other vices to be repressed by christiã magistrats: whose zeal for christs glory must not decreas, Christes care for their scepters being increased; & those monuments of former kings left writtẽ for their instructiõ. Were not this sufficiẽt, as in truth it is to refute your euasiõ, yet

How the godly kings of Iudah did interpret their charge.

2. King. 23.
2. King. 18.
2. Chron. 34. & 35.

1. King. 2.

The same charge extendeth to the kings of the new testament.

Rom. 13. They be Gods ministers to reuenge all euill.

Rom. 15.

How kings must serue the Lord and Christ his sonne. Psal.2.

king Dauid foreseeing in spirit that heathen kings would band themselues and assemble togither against the Lord and his Christ, extendeth the same charge to the gentils which the kings of Iurie receiued before, & warneth them al at once, Be wise ye kings, vnderstād ye iudges of the world: serue the Lord. Upon which words S. Austen inferreth thus. All men ought to serue God: in one sort, by common condition as men; in an other sort, by seueral gifts (& offices) by the which som do this, some that. No priuate person could command idols to be banished cleane from among men, which was so long before prophesied. Therfore kings (besides their dutie, to serue God common with all other men) haue, in that they be kings, how to serue the Lord in such sort, as none can do which are not kings. For in this kings (in respect they be kings) serue the Lord (as God by Dauid inioineth them) if in their kingdoms they cōmand that which is good, and prohibite that which is ill, not in ciuill affaires onely, but in matters also concerning diuine religion.

Aug. contra literas Petilia. Lib.2.cap.92.

Idem contra Cresconium, li. 8.cap. 51.

With this indeuor of christian princes, God comforteth his Church by the mouth of Esay. Thou shalt suck the brests of princes, kings shall be thy foster fathers, and queenes thy nurcing mothers. What Esay saith princes shall do, that I conclude princes must do, because God would not promise they should usurpe an other mans office but discharge their owne. Then if you from Rhemes, or your brethen from Rome tel vs that the nurcing of Christs church is no part of the princes dutie, we detest your insolent negatiue: God is truth, who saith it, and you be liars. If you take the milke of princes for temporall honors, lands, and goods (which your Church indeede hath greedily swallowed) the very children will laugh you to scorne. The Church of Christ is no wanton, she lusteth for no worldly wealth, which is rather hurtfull poison, than wholsom food: Gods prouision for her, is spirituall, not carnal; her delights are not outward in flesh, but inward in grace: the prophet, good man, had no leasure to think on your farms, demeans and reuenues. This promise must be common to ỹ faithfull, not priuate to your cloisterers, which in earthly things plied the bottle so fast, that they suckt their nurces dry. No remedy, you must needs yeld vs, that christiā princes in respect of their office, not of their riches, haue

The Church shall sucke the brests of kings.

The milke of princes is not temporall wealth.

receiued

receiued an expresse commandement from God to shew themselues nurces to his Church. Now nurces by nature must prouide food for their infants, & defend them frō danger, *ergo* kings, and quœnes in the new Testament are bound to tender the Church of Christ, & by their princely power and publike lawes to defend the same from infection of heresies, inuasion of schismes, and all other apparent corruptions of faith and good maners.

Who saith S. Augustine being in his right wits, will say to (christian) kings, take you no care who defendeth or impugneth in your realms the church of (Christ) your master? Let it not pertain to you, who list to be religious, or sacrilegious within your kingdom? And lest he should seem scant resolued in this opinion he biddeth open defiance to the Donatists in these words: Cry thus if you dare, let murders be punished, let adulteries be punished, let other degrees of lust & sin be punished; only sacrileges (that is contempt of God his truth, or his Church) we will not haue punished by princes laws. And again, Wil (the Donatists) though they were conuinced of a sacrilegious schisme, say that it belongeth not to the princes power to correct or punish such things? Is it because such powers do not stretch to corrupt & false religion? But (christian) emperors persecute the Pagans: doth that displease them? The works of the flesh Paul numbreth these; fornication, vncleannes, strife, dissentiō, heresie, drunkennes, & such other. What think these men, may the crime of idolatry be iustly reuenged by the magistrate? well, if that like thē not, why confesse they that witches be rightly punished by the rigor of (princes) laws & wil not agnise that heretikes & schismatikes may be represt by the same, seeing Paul doth rehearse them togither with other fruits of iniquitie? Will they reply that earthly powers are not to meddle with such matters (of religion.) To what end then beareth he the sword, which is called Gods minister, seruing to punish malefactors? Certainly princes, * &c.

Aug. epist. 50.

Idem contra 2. Gaudentiū epi. lib. 2. cap. 11.

Idem contra epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7.

The prince charged to punish false and corrupt religion.

* Read on the place, *contra epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

If this learned father can not fray you frō reuiuing the frantike error of the Donatists against the princes power in matters of religion, I trust you will somewhat reuerence the precept which our sauior in his Gospell gaue the magistrate, when he bad the first sort of ghestes to be brought to the great supper, the second to be forced: Go,

Compell them to come in; spoken to the magistrates. Luk. 14.

saith he, foorth into the waies and hedges, Compell them to come in, that my house may be filled. We take waies, saith Austen, for heresies, hedges for schismes; because waies in this place signifie the diuersenes, & hedges the peruersenes of opinions. House, God hath none, but his house of prai-er, neither table beside the Lords table. So that this ser-uant is expressely charged to compel them from heresies, & schismes to the confession of truth, consent of praier, and communion of the Lords table. To performe this, Christ hath left no seruant but the minister or the magistrate: no means saue the word or the sword. To compell heretikes & schismatikes, neither is it possible for the preacher if he would, nor lawfull if he could: he lacketh both means and leaue to constraine them. His calling is with patience to teach, not with violence to force; to feed, not to strike; to re-prooue with tong, not to subdue with hand. Onely the prince beareth the sword, which can & may compell recu-sants: & therfore bishops since they be flatly forbidden to raign, must not meddle with the materiall sword being the chiefest part and strength of an earthly kingdome: neither ought any to draw the sword, but he that holdeth it in Gods stead to reward & reuenge. *Ergo*, these words, Cópel them to come in, that mine house may be filled, were spoken to christian princes, and are to them both a warrant and a charge to represse schismes & heresies with their princely power, which they receiued from aboue; chiefly to main-tain Gods glory, by causing the bands of vnitie to be pre-serued in the Church, and the rules of faith obserued.

Aug. contra 2. Gaudent. epist. lib. 2. cap. 17. Matt. 21. 1. Cor. 10. 2. Tim. 2. Matt. 24. Titus 1. Matt. 20. 1. Pet. 5. Luk. 14.

To the same purpose S. Austen in many places allead-geth this parable. The Lord himselfe, saith he, willed the ghests first to be brought, then to be forced. What meaneth he by this, Compel them to come, when as he said of the first bring them? If he ment they should be compelled by terror of miracles, then might the first sort of ghests which saw many diuine woonders be rather thought to be forced: (but) if by the power, which the Church receiued at Gods hand in due time through the religion and faith of kings, those that are found in high waies & hedges, that is in heresies & schismes (must) be compelled to come, let them not mislike that they be forced. This commanding by princely power occasioneth many to be saued, which though they be violently brought

Augustin. ep. 50.

Idem contra 2. Gaudentij ep. lib. 2. cap. 17.

to

to the feast of the great house-holder, & compelled to come, yet being within they find cause to reioice that they did enter: for both [sorts of commers as wel violently forced, as willingly broght] the lord foretold & hath fulfilled. Therfore let earthly princes serue Christ, in making laws for Christ; wherby men [may] be forced to come to the (great and) holie banquet, yea by banishments and other losses let [their subiects] begin to weigh with themselues what & why they suffer, and learne to prefer the scriptures which they read, before the reports and cauils of men. *Idem epist. 48. Idem epist. 50. Idem. epist. 48.*

I thinke it superfluous to stay longer in confirming so manifest a truth. He that is of God, heareth the words of God: he that impugneth them, quarrelleth not with princes, which yet is no small offence, but with him by whom princes raigne, whose wisdom may not easily be neglected, nor will resisted. If you deny that this is the princes charge to see the law of God fully executed, his son rightly serued, his spouse safely nursed, his house timely filled, his enimies duely punished, you must counteruail that which Moses prescribed, Dauid required, Esay prophesied, Paul witnessed, & Christ commanded with som better and sounder authority than theirs is: If you grant so much, we wil aske no more: the princes duty to God once confessed, the rest shal quickly be concluded. Phil. In a sense it is true that you say. Theo. It is simply true that I say: for in your own iudgement may the Christian faith be freely permitted, & publikely receiued in kingdoms & commonwealths? Phil. No doubt. Theo. May godly discipline be likewise planted & preserued amongst men, and the disturbers & neglecters of it repressed and ordered? Phil. It may. Theo. Should corrupt & false religion be displaced & banished, & the spredders of it dispersed and scattered? Phi. In any case. Theo. Ought malefactors against God, as heretikes, blasphemers, sorcerers, idolaters & such other trāsgressors of the first table, to be reuenged & punished, aswel as offendors against men, & the breakers of the 2 table? Phi. What els? Theo. Can any man freely permit, safely defend, generally restrain & externally punish, within a realme but onely the prince? Phil. None. Theo. Then if these things needfully must & lawfully may be done for Christ and his Church, & none can do them but magistrats, it is euident

The princes charge, as the scriptures do expresse it.

All these things must be done in euery christian commō wealth; and who shall do them but the princes?

that the princes power & charge doth stretch vnto things and causes that be spirituall as well as temporall. Or if S. Augustines words do better please you, that princes may command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euil within their kingdoms, not in ciuill affaires onely, but in matters also that concerne diuine religion.

Aug. contra Cresconium, li. 3 cap. 51.

Phil. Did the christian princes in the primatiue Church since the comming of Christ command and punish in matters ecclesiasticall? Theop. If their examples do not concur with my former proofes, good leaue haue you to beleeue neither: if they do, take heed you withstand not a manifest truth. And here you shal choose whether you will haue a short report or a large rehearsall of their doings. Socrates touching them all, saith: We therfore make mention of emperors throughout this historie, for that since they became Christians, ecclesiasticall matters depend on them, and the greatest synods haue been, & are yet called by their appointment. And Alciat a man of your own side: *Nemini dubium est, quin in primatiua ecclesia de rebus & personis ecclesiast. &c.* THERE CAN BE NO DOVBT saith he, but in the primatiue Church emperors had the iurisdiction (that is the ruling and gouerning) of persons and causes ecclesiasticall.

Christian princes from the beginning haue dealt in causes ecclesiasticall.

Socrat. in proœmio lib. 5.

Alciatus in codicem rubr. de sacrosanct. eccles. tomo 3. pag. 198.

Ius dicere referred to princes, is not to decide matters in question by law, for so did iudges and not princes, but to make lawes: and between law-makers and gouernors you can find litle difference: for by publike lawes commanding good and punishing euil princes do chiefly gouerne. Then if christian monarchs in the primatiue Church, guided ecclesiasticall matters and persons by their imperial lawes, as this learned and famous lawyer putteth vs out of doubt they did; you must shew when and how they forfeited this power. If it were then lawfull and vsuall, how can it be now straūge & vsurped? If there be no doubt of this, with what conscience do you, not doubt, but deny this? Perhaps you disdaine the witnes. Alciat in euery respect was well learned, & in his facultie, which was law, deserueth more credit than the best of you: yet least I should seeme to presse you with names and not with proofes, let vs view the proceedings of some christian emperors, and iudge you whether they be not ancient and euident.

What power Constantine claimed and vsed in causes ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical, the foure books of Eusebius & other Church stories describing the lawes, letters & acts of Constantine, beare witnes sufficient. First, he gaue the Christians free libertie to professe their religion, built them places of praier at his own charges, & entreated their bishops *with all possible fauor & honor.* Next he prohibited the gentils their ancient and vsual idolatries, diuinations, oracles, images and sacrifices. Heretiks he debarred not only Churches & secret conuents, but excluded them also frō the priuileges which himselfe had prouided for catholike persons. If Constantines example deserue to be praised & followed, which no man, except he be void of common sense, will gainsay, then may christian princes in the right of their scepter and sword, I mean their publike vocation & charge, without seeking any farther warrant from Rome, forbid wicked and idolatrous superstition, admit & assist to the best of their power the preaching of the truth, sequester heretikes frō the dignities and liberties granted to good & religious subiects: for so did Constantine, whose godly vertues and happie pains, all nations then imbraced, all ages since confessed, all princes now should imitate.

Constantines example. *Euseb. hist. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

Besides this, he did many things both for spreading the faith, and guiding the Church of Christ worthy great commendation. By my ministerie (saith this good emperor) mankind is brought to the keeping and obseruing of the most sacred law: by the seruice which I performe to God, al things euery where (directly speaking of things ecclesiasticall) are setled in order, yea the barbarous nations, which till this time knew not the truth, now praise the name of God sincerely, whom they reuerence for dread of vs. Towards the Church of Christ he shewed an excellent and speciall care: calling councels of bishops when any dissention sprang, as a commō bishop and ouerseer appointed by God, not disdaining to be present and confer with them (the rather) to keep them al in christian peace. For his maner was in their synods not to sit idle, but to mark aduisedly whar euery man said, to helpe their either side disputing, to temper such as kindled too fast, to reason mildly with ech part, & vndertake iointly with them to search out the truth: confirming their decrees with his seale, least other (temporal) iudges & rulers should infringe them. When occasion serued him not to gather a councel, he did

Euseb. de vita constant. lib. 2. cap. 28. Socrat. lib. 10. cap. 34.

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 1. cap. 37.

Ibidem lib. 3. cap. 13.

did by writing aduertise the parties dissenting of his opinion and iudgement, interposing himselfe as an arbiter in their controuersies: som times prescribing the bishops what was profitable for the Church of God, somtimes the people: to which end he wrot many leters, omitting neither rebukes nor threats, when need so required. When the councell of Tyrus was gathered by his edict, he cómanded them first to discusse the truth of such crimes, as were pretended against Athan. who was loth to come before thé, saue that he feared the threatning letters of Const. written to this effect. If any, which I think not, in contempt of our mandate, faile to come before you, we wil send a warrant from our royall authoritie, that he shal be banished, to teach him, what it is (for bishops & clerks) to withstand the precept of the chiefe ruler defending the truth. Atha. & the bishops of his part appeared, but finding the councel verp partial, protested against them & appealed from them in these wozds: Because we see many things spitefully contriued against vs, & much wrong offred the catholike Church vnder our names, we be forced to request, that the debating of our matters may be kept for the princes most excellent person: we cannot beare the drifts & iniuries of our enimies, & therfore require the cause to be referred to the most religious & deuout emperor, before whom we shal be suffered to stand in our own defences, & plead the right of the church. Yet to preuent the worst Athan. himselfe fled to Constant. beseeching him to send for the bishops & examin their acts. Upon whose cõplaint the good prince wrote this to the whole councel: Your synod hath decreed I know not what in a tumult and vprore, whiles you seeke to peruert truth by your pestilent disorder, for hatred against your fellow (bishops:) but the diuine prouidence will (I doubt not) scatter the mischife of your contention, & make it plain in our sight, whether your conuent had any regarde of truth or no. You must therfore all of you resort hither to shew the reason of your doings: for so doth it seem good and expedient to me: to which end I willed this rescript to be sent you, that as many of you, as were present at the councell of Tyrus, without delay repaire to the place of our abode, there to giue account, how sincerely and soundly you haue iudged: & that before me, whom your selues shal not denie to be the sincere minister of God (in these cases.) The prince summoned,

Ibidem lib. 3. cap. 22. *Ibidem lib. 3. cap. 23.* *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 28.* *Euseb. de vita Constan. lib. 4. cap. 42.* *Athan. Apol. 2. cap. Quum multas.* Athanasius and his side appeale from the councell to the prince. *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 34.* The councell of Tyrus cõmanded to come before the prince, & giue account of their doings.

moned, the councell prescribed them what they should handle, gaue charge to the parties accused to come before them, sharply rebuked the bishops assembled in this synode, commanded them to come *coram nobis*, and render a reason of their tumultuous iudgement, assured them that he would in his own person examine their doings whether they were good and substantiall or no. This power he chalenged ouer churchmen and churchmatters, not as a violent vsurper, but as Gods minister ordained to that intent: which the catholike bishops, that tooke part with Athan. confessed to be true by their appeale, the rest that deposed him, neither did nor durst deny. So that Const. was both an orderly refuge for Athan. and a lawfull controler of the councel of Tyrus, notwithstanding the crimes obiected there to Macarius and Athan. were spirituall, to wit, the striking of a priest ouerthrowing the Lords table, dashing in peeces the mistical cup, burning the sacred books, vsing a dead mans hand to sorcerie, with many such hainous offences lewdly deuised by their accusers, not any way proued against them, yet taken by their aduersaries, then iudges, for iust matter to condemne them. What Constantine did in Athanasius his cause. *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 27.*

In restoring Arius, the mildnes of Constantine was somewhat abused by the crafty dissembling of heretikes: yet thereby may well appeare what authoritie this prince claimed to command bishops, and release the rigor of their ecclesiasticall censures. Thus stood the case. The prince was often told that Arius held no such opinion as the world misdoubted in him. If Arius, saith he, consent to the Nicene coūcel, I wil admit him to my sight, & send him home with honor. Arius & his adherents accepting the condition, were willed to put their faith in writing: & with their wily submission so pleased Constan. (very glad to see them yeeld to the Nicene creed) that he sent them with his letters towards Alexandria to be receiued. At their cōming Athanasius the bishop of those parts refused to communicate with thē, aduertising his maiestie by writing, þ heretikes once deposed might not be restored to their former estate. Constantine took this exception in such il part, that he fell to cōmanding Athan. in short & sharp terms. Knowing our pleasure, We chakge yov, that you suffer freely those that will, to returne to the Church. For if I learne that you forbid The restoring of Arius. *Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 25.* *Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 27.* Constantine threateneth Athanasius for not receiuing Arius.

or

or exclude such as would gladly be partakers of the Church, I WILL PRESENTLY SEND ONE, THAT SHALL BY COMMISSION from me DEPOSE YOV.

This, saith Socrates, he wrote minding to profite the Church, and end al dissention: but it fel out otherwise: for the citizens of Alexandria were so troubled with the boldnes of Arius, & lack of Athanasius then banished, that Constantine doubting the peruerse mind of Arius sent for him, & asked him whether he would subscribe to the Nicene faith: which he did there in presence very readily, but slily. The prince musing at it, exacted an oth: that he tooke likewise. Then the chriſtiã emperor finding no cause to suspect him farther COMMANDED ALEXANDER BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO RECEIVE HIM (the next day) TO THE COMMVNION, which God preuented with a sudden & shamfull death in detestation both of his heresie so long defended, & periury then freshly cõmitted. Now chose whether you wil affirm, that Constantine was ouer presumptuous & imperious in the church of Christ against al reason & good order: or els agnise that princes had then authority to require the subscription & othes of such as they suspected in religion, to restore those that were deposed, to their ancient places vpõ their submission, & command the chiefe bishops (for so were both these, the first of Alexandria, the second of Constantinople) to receiue such as had purged themselues, in the princes iudgement, and presence to the communion.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 37. & 38.

Ibidem lib. 1. cap. 38.

The prince cõmandeth the patriarke to receiue Arius to the communion.

Phil. Vengeance from heauen, decided the case with Athanasius against Arius. Theo. No doubt Arius was worthily plagued for his false swearing, & wicked meaning to trouble the Church of God worse with his secret dissembling, than he did before with his open rebelling: but what is this to Constantine, whose zeale to preserue truth was neuer doubted, whose care to procure concord in ꝑ church cannot be blamed, whose diligẽce to sift Arius with an oth could not be bettered? We propose not the lewd fact of Arius blaspheming God, & iugling with man, we detest that monster as much as you: but we lay forth the steps of Constantine seeking and hoping his reformation, and to that end cõmanding the very Patriarks thẽselues, & threatning due punishment if his princely wil were not obeied.

Iustinian

Iustinian in his Code repeateth the lawes of former emperors not only touching the christiã faith, baptism, churches & bishops, but also touching heretikes, apostataes, Iewes and infidels. In his Authentikes he maketh many new constitutions in which he disposeth OF SACRAMENTS, in what places, by what persons, with what lowdnes of voice they shal be ministred: OF SYNODS, when they shall be kept, what things shall be reformed in them according to the sacred canons, & his princely lawes; also what canons of councils shal stand in the same strength with his laws: OF CHVRCHES AND ABBIES, guiding the maner of their erectiõ, the number of their clerks, their expences, suits, & priueleges: OF MONKS, who shal elect their abbat, what time shal suffice for their trial; what rules they shal keepe for praier, diet, rest, & such like duties of life; to whom the correction & ouersight of them shal belong: OF PRIESTS, DEACONS, AND OTHER SERVITORS in the church, limiting their age, condition, learning and good report before they shall be receiued to this charge; their diligent, sober and chast behauior afterward: OF BISHOPS, how they shall be chosen, in what sort their soundnes in faith, skil in cõmon praier, and clearnes from al iust accusations, prohibited by the sacred rules, or lawes imperial, shalbe throughly sifted, before they may be cõfirmed, what causes they shall medle with in their consistories, what superior iudges they themselues shal haue, from whom they shal not appeale; what punishment they shal endure for simonie, non residence, wrongful excõmunication, playing at tables, resorting to spectacles, ordering any clerk without diligent examination, or contrary to the princes ecclesiastical lawes: in which cases Iustinian commandeth them to be SVSPENDED EXCOMMVNICATED DEPOSED, as the fault meriteth, and his edict appointeth. It was then no newes for a prince to say:

Cod. lib. 1. tit. 1. 6. 2. 3. Tit. 5. 7. 9. 11. Nouel. constit. 57. 37. & 42. 123. Nouel. constit. 123. 132. Nouel. constit. 5. & 131. 3. 67. 79. Nouel. constit. 5. 123. 133. Nouel. constit. 6. & 123. Nouel. Constit. 123.

Diuers complaints haue beene brought vs against clerks, monks, and many bishops, that some lead not their liues according to the sacred canons, others can not the publike praiers which should be said at the sacred oblation and baptisme: we therefore recounting the iudgement of God with our selues, HAVE COMMANDED THAT IN EVERY MATTER THVS DETECTED LAWFVL INQVISITION AND CORRECTION PROCEED, com-

Nouel. constit. 123.

The prince receiueth information & cõmandeth correction.

The second part. Iustinian commanding for causes ecclesiasticall.

comprising in this edict those things that were before scattered in sundry constitutions touching the most religious bishops, clerks and monks, with such punishments added, as we thought expedient. And againe, OVR CHIEFEST CARE IS FOR THE TRVTH OF GODS DOCTRINE, AND SEEMLY CONVERSATION OF THE CLERGIE. THE THINGS THEN WHICH WE HAVE DECREED AND MAKE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE SACRED ORDER AND STATE, CONSONANT TO THE TENOR OF HOLY RVLES, LET THE MOST GODLY PATRIARKS OF EVERY DIOCES, THE METROPOLITANS AND RIGHT REVEREND BISHOPS AND CLERKS, KEEP FOR EVER HEREAFTER INVIOLABLE: THE BREAKER OF THEM SHALBE SVRE TO BE SEQVESTRED VTTERLY FROM GOD AND EXCLVDED FROM HIS PRIESTLY FVNCTION: Licencing all men, of what sort or calling so euer they be, that perceiue the least point of these our lawes transgressed, to denounce & informe the same to our highnes, that we, which following the sacred rules and apostolike tradition, haue cõmanded these things, may reuenge such offenders as they well deserue.

Nouel. constitutione 6. The doctrine & discipline of the church must be the princes chiefest care. The bishops & patriarks of euery diocesse commanded and threatened.

Nouel. constitut. 5. Farther he saith, Our purpose in this present law is next after those matters which we haue disposed of the most holy bishops and reuerend clerks, to set a good order in monasticall discipline: for so much as there is no kinde of thing exempted from the princes inquisition, which hath receiued from God a common regiment and soueraignetie ouer all men: and these things which concerne God, must be preserued from corruption by the sacred prelats and [ciuil] magistrates, but most of all by our maiestie, which vse not to neglect any diuine causes, but labor by all means, that our common-wealth (by the fauor of the great God, and our sauior Christ towards men) may reape the fruit of that purenes and integritie, which clerks, monks and bishops, from the highest to the lowest, shall shew foorth in keeping the sacred canons, and our lawes prouided in that behalf: which constitutions, by this our decree, we strengthen a fresh and ratifie. Put on your spectacles, and see whether Iustinian do not take vpon him to gouern the doctrine and discipline of the Church, the conuersation of clerks, monks and priests: and to commaund prelates

Nouel. constitut. 133. The prince soueraigne ouer all men, and that in things concerning God which must be preserued from corruption by the prelates, but most of all by the prince.

lates and patriarks in the celebration of sacraments, conuocation of synods, election and confirmation of bishops, ordering of clerks, and such like functions (except our eye-sight faile vs) wholy spirituall, and in the iudgement of your nexest friends acknowledged for causes ecclesiasticall.

I will omit what Iustinian enacted touching mariages, diuorces, legacies, funerals, incests, adulteries, and such like: then pertinent to the princes power and sword, now clamed by your holy father for a surplussage to causes ecclesiasticall; and with that sillie shift conueied out of princes hands, who first vpon fauor and opinion of holines and wisedom in bishops, gaue them leaue to meddle with such matters: I will omit, I say, that; and descend to the lawes of Charles the great, emperor of the west parts, eight hundred yeeres after Christ, which Ansegisus gathered together within thirteene yeeres of the death of the said Charles. In his preface of those lawes thus speaketh that wise prince.

The things were then in the princes charge, which the pope now tieth to spirituall courts.

Considering the passing goodnes of Christ our Lord towards vs and our people, and how needfull it is, not onely to giue thanks to God incessantly with heart and mouth, but also with good endeuors continually to set forth his (honor and) praise, &c. Therfore (O you pastors of Christs Church, and teachers of his flocke,) Haue we directed commissioners vnto you that shall ioyne with you to redresse those things which need reformation, in our name and by vertue of our authoritie: and (to this end) we haue here annexed certain brief chapters of canonicall (or ecclesiasticall) institutions, such as we thought meeteſt. Let no man iudge this our admonition to godlines to be presumptuous, wherby we seeke to correct things amisse, to cut off superfluities and lead men to that which is right, but rather receiue it with a charitable minde. For in the booke of kings we read what paynes godly Iosias tooke to bring the kingdom giuen him of God to the true worship of the (same) God, by visiting, correcting and instructing them; not that we cõpare our selues with his sanctitie, but that we should alwais imitate such examples of the godly. We see the reason why these lawes were published, & commissioners sent from the prince to put them in execution: now let vs examine the lawes

Caroli præfat. in leges Francie.
The preface of Charles to his lawes directing commissioners to reforme the Church in his name & by vertue of his authority.

lawes themselues, and marke what causes they chiefly concerne. Peruse the booke: you will (on my word) expect no farther proofe, that princes had then to do with persons and causes ecclesiastical. If your leasure serue you not, by these few which I will report, you may coniecture the rest. The first seuen and fiftie canons are borrowed out of such generall and prouinciall councels as Charles best liked: for example.

Legum Francie. lib. 1. cap. 1. 2. 3. That *no man excommunicated in one place shall be taken to the communion in an other place:* That *when any clerke is ordered, his faith and life be first exactly tried:* That *no strange clerke be receiued or ordered without letters of commendation, and licence from his owne bishop:* That *no seruant be made clerke or monke without his masters consent:* That *no man be made priest vnder thirtie yeeres of age: neither then at random, but appointed and fastned to a certaine cure:* That *no bishop meddle with giuing orders in an other mans diocesse:* That *no bishop weele any widowes at all, nor maidens vnder the age of twentie & fiue:* That *the bishop of each prouince, & the metropolitane meete yeerely twise in councell, for causes of the Church:* That *priests when they say their masses shall also communicate:* That *onely the bookes canonicall shalbe read in the Church:* That *the false names of martyrs and vncertaine memories of saints be not obserued:* That *sunday be kept from euening on (saturday) till euening (the next day:)* with other constitutions prescribing a direct order to bishops, priests, and monks, for ecclesiasticall causes.

Cap. 23. cap. 49. 25.

Cap. 11.

Cap 57. 45.

Cap. 13.

Cap. 6.

Cap. 20.

Cap. 41.

Cap. 15.

Phil. These be canons of former councels.

Theoph. True, but selected and deliuered by Charles to those visitors which he sent with his authoritie to reforme the Church: and the rest that follow, to the number of an hundred and fiue chapters, did Charles frame by conference with learned godly men at his discretion. Which yet concerne the regiment of the Church no lesse than these do. You must beare with the length of them, they be matters profitable to be knowen (I speake for the most part of them) and greatly pertinent to this question. You shall thereby resolue your selfe how farre princes then lawfully might, and carefully did meddle with guiding and ruling the Church of God: and see both a worthie memoriall, and a right president of a princes visitation and reformation of all states, as well in matters of faith, as good order and discipline.

These

These be the lawes.

The priests euery man in his calling, shall preach, and teach the people committed to their charge : The bishops shall not suffer any man vnder them, to propose to the people new fangled opinions, or not canonicall, of their owne deuising, not agreeable to the scriptures: *but shall themselues preach fruitfull and good doctrine, tending to life euerlasting, and instruct others to do the like.* And first they *shall teach all men generally to beleeue the father, the sonne & the holy Ghost to be one omnipotent, eternal and inuisible God, creator of heauen and earth, and all things in them, and that there is but one Godhead, substance and maiestie in these three persons, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost.* Cap. 160. Cap. 76.

ITEM *they shall preach, that the sonne of God, through the working of the holy spirit, tooke flesh of Marie (she remaining still a virgine) for the saluation and redemption of mankind, his death, buriall, rising the third day from the dead, his ascending into heauen, and how he shall come againe in diuine glory to iudge all men according to their deserts, the wicked (for their vnrighteousnes) to be cast into perpetual flames of fire with the deuill: the iust to be taken to Christ and his elect angels into [blessed] life for euer.* Cap. 76.

ITEM *they shall diligently set foorth the resurrection of the dead, that men may know and beleeue they shal haue their reward [good or euil] in the same bodies which they now beare about them.* Ibidem.

ITEM *they shall admonish all men with all industrie, for what offences they shalbe condemned to paines euerlasting: Paul telling vs, that the works of the flesh are manifest, which are, fornication, vncleannes, wantonnes, hatred, debate, emulation, wrath, strife, sedition, heresie, sects, spite, murder, drunkennes, gluttonie, and such other, of which I warne you now, as I did before, that they which commit these things shal not inherit the kingdom of God: these things therfore, which the great preacher of the Church of God reckoneth by name, les them be with all care prohibited, remembring how terrible that saying is, They which do these things, shal neuer come to the kingdom of God.* Ibidem.

BESIDES, *you shall earnestly teach them the loue of God, and their neighbor, faith and hope in God, humilitie and patience, charitie and continencie, liberalitie and mercie, to giue almes, to acknowledge their sinnes, and forgiue such as trespasse against them according to the Lords praier: assuring them that they which follow these things, shall enter the kingdome of God.* THIS WE CHARGE AND ENIOINE YOV THE MORE PRECISELY, BECAVSE Ibidem.

WE KNOW THAT FALSE TEACHERS SHALL COME IN THE LATER DAIES, *as the Lord in the Gospell foretolde, and his apostle Paul to Timothy witnesseth.*

Cap.66. ITEM *the bishops shall diligently discusse in euery parish the faith of the priests, their manner of baptizing, and saying masse:* that their faith may be sound, their baptisme catholike, and themselues well conceiue the praiers of their masse, *and sing the psalmes by the distinction of verses.* They must well vnderstand the Lords praier themselues, and teach that all others must vnderstand the same [to this end] that euery man may know what he asketh at Gods hand. *This verse,* Glorie be to the father and the sonne (&c.) shall be song of all with great deuotion: and the priests togither with the people shall sing with one voice, holie, holie, holie (Lord God of hostes) and all the faithful shall

Cap.132. communicate, *and prouide at the time of masse so to do, without any*

Cap.147. *other calling or warning. No priest shall admit an other mans parishioner to the masse, except he be a wayfaring man, or one that is tied there with some matter in lawe.*

Cap.73. ITEM *that false and suspected legends or such as be repugnant to the Catholike faith (as that vile and erronious epistle, which some deceaued themselues, and deceiuing others, pretended a yeere past to fall from heauen) be neither beleeued nor read, but burnt, least the people be seduced by such pamphlets: and onely the canonicall bookes, catholike treaties, and sentences of holie writers be read and taught.*

Cap.155. ITEM *the priests, shall haue alwaies in readines the sacred Eucharist, that when any falleth sicke, or an infant be in danger of death, he may minister the communion to him, least he die without a communion.*

Cap.75. ITEM *we decree, that as God hath commanded, no seruile worke to be taken in hand on the Lords day, as also the prince my father of blessed memorie, gaue charge by his synodall edict, to wit, no kind of husbandry, neither cutting of vines, nor tilling the ground, neither reaping, nor mowing, nor hedging, neither rooting or felling of trees, nor digging in rocks, nor building, nor gardening, no not keeping of courts, or hunting [the women likewise to forbeare all kind of manuall works] but that all people resort to the Church, and praise God for all his blessings. On the Sunday shall no market nor faire be kept in any place.*

Cap.139.

Cap.158. ITEM *the holy dayes, that shall be kept throughout the yeere, are these: the birth of Christ, S. Steuens, S. Iohns, the Innocents day, the Octaues of our Lord, the Epiphanie and octaues therof, the Purification of the virgin Mary, eight dayes of Easter, the time of [the solemne processiõ or] greater Letanie, the Ascension of the Lord, Whitsontide,*

S. Iohn

S. Iohn Baptist, S. Peter and Paul, S. Martine, S. Andrew. The Assumption of our ladie I leaue in doubt.

ITEM *the monks shall perfectly learne the maner of the Romane tunes like as our father king Pipine decreed they should, when he did abrogate the French kind of singing.* Cap. 74.

ITEM *that bishops be chosen by the consent of the clergie & people out of the same dioces, according to the canons, without respect of persons, or rewards: and that they traine vp their priests in sobrietie and chastitie: and see them haue the bookes of their masses and lessons well corrected: and that they repaire their Churches decaied to their abilitie, and instruct the (Church) widowes how they should be conuersant after the apostolike precept,* and roote out the superstitions that are in many places about the exequies of the dead, *and wholy bend themselues to do their duetie: in all things concerning the Church of God: & this that they may the more freely do, we will be readie to assist them by all meanes possible.* Cap. 78. Cap. 103.

ITEM *that in one citie be not two bishops, nor one prouince diuided betweene two Metropolitanes: and that the confirming of bishops be not long differred, neither any bishop remoue from his dioces, without the decree of other bishops. That no lay man presume to place or displace clearks, but by the bishops consent. That excommunications be not ouer vile and for trifling causes. That euery Church haue a priest as soone as the bishop can prouide.* Item *the bishop shall looke that the Church of God haue due honor: no secular businesse, nor vaine iangling shalbe suffred in the Church, because the house of God is the house of prayer, but that all men haue their minds attentiuely bent to God, when they come to masse, & not depart before the priest haue ended his blessing.* Cap. 129. Cap. 128. Cap. 130. Cap. 131. Cap. 141. Cap. 136. Cap. 86. Cap. 67.

Because *canonicall profession partly for ignorance, partly for sloth, was very much defaced, we tooke paines at our sacred session to gather as it were certaine sweete flowers out of the monuments of blessed writers, and proportion a rule both for women and men of canonicall conuersation: which the whole assemblie so well liked of, that they thought it woorthie to be kept without alteration:* and therefore we decree, that all of that sort hold it without failing, *and in any case heerafter obserue the same.* Cap. 79.

How *we haue disposed touching monks, and giuen them leaue to chose an abbot of themselues, and ordered their purpose of life,* we haue caused to be drawen in another schedule, and confirmed it, *that it might stand good and inuiolable with (the princes) our successors, (prouided alwayes) that laymen be neither ouerseers of monks, nor archdeacons.* Cap. 81. Cap. 119.

Cap.71. *We heare say that certaine abbesses against the maner of the Church of God, giue blessing with laying their hands, and making the signe of the crosse on the heads of men.* Know you, sacred fathers, that this must be vtterly forbidden in your dioceſſe.

Cap.62. *We haue a precept in Deutronomie, No man shall consults a soothsaier, obserue dreames or respect diuinations: there shall be no sorcerer, no inchanter, no coniurer.* Therefore we commaund that none *calculate, practise charmes, or take vpon them to propheſie what weather shall come: but whereſoeuer such be found, either to be reformed or condemned. Likewise for trees, rockes, ſprings, where ſome fooles make their obſeruations,* we giue ſtraite charge that this wicked vſe, deteſted of God, be baniſhed euery where and deſtroyed.

Cap.163. *Of mariage your demaund, whether a man may take to wife a maid that is eſpouſed to an other.* In any caſe we forbid it: *becauſe that bleſſing, which the prieſt giueth her that is betrothed, is to the faithfull in maner of a ſacrilege if it any way be violated.*

Cap.116. The prince viſiteth and commaundeth for eccleſiaſticall rules and diſcipline.

THAT our viſitours looke diligently in euery citie, monaſterie and nunrie, *how the buildings and ornaments of the Church be kept,* and make diligent inquirie for the conuerſation of all perſons there, and how that which we commaunded, is reformed in their reading, ſinging, and other diſciplines pertaining to the rules of eccleſiaſticall order.

Cap.104. The prince promiſeth by the aduice of his faithfull determination for ſuch eccleſiaſtical matters as were not expreſſed in his chapters.

Certaine chapters, *as of inceſtuous mariages, Churches that lacke their right honor or haue beene lately ſpoiled,* & if there be any other eccleſiaſticall, or common wealth matters worthy to be redreſſed, which for ſhortnes of time we could not now finiſh, we thinke good to differre them, vntill by Gods helpe, and the aduiſe of our faithfull [counſellers,] oportunity ſerue vs to determine the ſame.

There be ſixe ſcore chapters beſides theſe, recorded by the ſame writer of the lawes, that Charles made touching eccleſiaſtical perſons and cauſes, which I for breuity ſake omit, leauing you to conſider of them when you ſee your time.

Charles by his lawes rectified all eccleſiaſticall things and cauſes.

Charles, by theſe publike lawes, appointed what doctrine ſhould be preached, what abuſes in the Lords ſupper amended, what partes of diuine ſeruice pronounced by the prieſt & the people together with one voice, what bookes ſhould be read in the Church, what holy daies obſerued, what memories of ſaints aboliſhed, what workes on ſun-

day

day prohibited: he prescribed the bishops their duties, the priests their charge, the monckes their rules: he directed the keeping of Synods, electing and translating of bishops, ordering and placing of clerks, paying and employing of tythes: decided what should become of their mariages that were taken awaie by force, or affianced before to others: forbad the burying of dead corses in the Church, banished sorcerie, simonie, vsurie, periurie: last of all vndertooke, that if anie thing were wanting, which needed reformation in causes ecclesiasticall, it should be supplied of him at his leasure. If Charles had the regiment of monasticall profession, episcopall iurisdiction, canonicall conuersation: if he did, I saie, meddle with redressing errors in faith, abuses in sacraments, disorders in diuine seruice, superstition in funerals, othes, charmes, and such other matters, as by the purport of these chapters it is euident he did, what causes can you deuise more spirituall than these? Will you permit these things of most importance to the princes power, and except other of lesse moment? That were notorious follie. You must either inuest them withall, or exclude them first from the weightiest. For if they be gouernours of the greatest ecclesiasticall affaires, much more doth their authoritie stretch to the smallest.

If anie wanted he promised at his leisure to supplie that defect.

Againe, these lawes of Charles, which amount to the number of eight score and three, what do they lacke of a full direction for all matters needing reformation in the Church of God? Any thing or nothing? If nothing, then this prince gouerned and ordered all ecclesiasticall causes. If anie thing, that Charles himselfe assureth vs he would determine, when occasion serued. Chose whether you wil, Charles either way shewed the lawfull power of princes to direct and establish all things requisite to the faith and Church of Christ. For what he promised aduisedlie to do; no doubt, he meant it should, & thought it might, be iustlie performed.

His sonne & his nephew followed his steps and executed his lawes.

So did Lodouike his sonne, and Lotharius his nephew the next emperours after him, whose proceedings declare what account they made of these chapters, and with what diligence they put them in execution. The monuments of so good princes I may not ouerslip with silence,

their deeds did then profit the church of God, their words will now profit vs. Thus did Ludouike, & Lotharius his sonne write to the bishops & magistrats of their empire.

Legũ francię lib. 2. cap. 1.

You haue all I doubt not either seene or heard, that our fathers and our progenitors, after they were chosen by God to this place, MADE THIS THEIR PRINCIPALL STVDIE, *how the honor of Gods holie Church, and the state of their kingdome might be decentlie kept: and we for our part, following their example,* since it hath pleased God to appoint vs that we should haue the care of his holie Church, *and this realme, are verie desirous, so long as we liue, to labour earnestlie for three speciall points, I meane to defend, exalt and honour Gods holie Church and his ministers in such sort as is fit, to preserue peace, and do iustice among the people.*

Cap. 2.

Cap. 3. The chiefe of this ministerie consisteth in the princes person to whom the bishops are coadiutors.

AND THOVGH THE CHIEFE OF THIS MINISTERIE CONSIST IN OVR PERSON, yet by Gods and mans ordinance it is so diuided, that euerie one of you in his order and calling hath a part of our charge, *in so much that I should be your admonisher, and you all my coadiutors. For which respect our intent is by other good means, and by commissioners appointed for this purpose, to learne and trie how well our lieutenants fauour and execute iustice,* and how religiouslie our bishops liue & preach: WILLING YOV ALL VVITHOVT EXCEPTION TO OBSERVE OVR COMMANDEMENT IN ALL THINGS AND HONOVR SVCH AS VVE SEND FOR ANY OCCASION OR BVSINES EITHER ECCLESIASTICALL OR TEMPORALL, AND IN RESPECT OF OVR AVTHORITIE NOT TO FAILE BVT PERFORME THOSE THINGS VVHICH VVE HAVE ENIOINED YOV BY THEM.

Cap. 11. The prince willeth all without exception to obserue his commandements in all things as well ecclesiastical as temporall.

Now the charge that we giue our visitors, is this. First they shall indict assemblies in two or three places, whither all within the limits of their commission shall resort, and there make it knowne to all men what is the summe and effect of their message, to wit, that we haue appointed them for this cause, that IF ANY BISHOP *or Lieutenant* can not do his dutie by reason of any impediment, he should haue recourse to them, *and by their help discharge his dutie:* and if the matter be such as by their industrie can not be redressed, then shall it be brought by them to our knowledge: and againe, IF ANY BISHOP *or Lieutenant* BE FOVND NEGLIGENT IN HIS OFFICE, by their monition, he shall be reformed.

Cap. 26. Bishops to be reformed by the kings visitors.

Cap. 27.

We charge them likewise to make knowne to all men the Chapters or

Lawes,

Lawes, QVAE GENERALITER DE QVIBVSCVNQVE CAVSIS STATVIMVS, WHICH WE HAVE DECREED GENERALLY CONCERNING ALL MANER OF CAVSES, *and do their best* to see them throughlie kept of all men. *And if anie of the things which we haue ordained and commanded be found imperfect by some defect happilie which they can not amend*, then shall they with speed make relation thereof to vs that we may correct that which they can not. The kings decrees touching all things and causes to be obserued of all men.

And because the last yeere our expectation was not satisfied in such sort as we looked for, we will that this present (yeere) our visitors whom we haue allotted to this seruice, haue (better) respect and care how euerie man that we haue preferred to the gouernance of our people in his calling dischargeth his dutie to Gods pleasure, our honor, and the benefit of our subiects: and this shall be the verie course of their inquirie, whether the things contained in our Capitular, *which we deliuered them this yeere past*, be kept & obserued according to Gods will & our commandement. *Therfore about the midst of May next shall they assemble, I meane* our visitors euerie mã in his diuision, with all the Bishops, Abbats, *Lieutenants, our fee men and aduocats (the Abbesses and such as can not come to send their proxies, the lieutenant to bring with him his vnder officers and hundreders)* and in that conuent shal they first confer touching christian religion, and ecclesiasticall order; *next they shall inquire of our officers how they do their duties; last of our people in what concord and peace they liue*. And this inquisition shall they make so diligentlie & exactlie, that we may be truly certified by thé of all these points. And if any such cause be brought before them which needeth their help according to the condition of the causes specified in the short rehearsal of our laws, then our wil is they shal go to the place and redresse it by the warrant of our authoritie. *Cap.* 28. The first part of the princes commission concerned religion and ecclesiastical order.

You can neither be so simple, but you may see, nor so partiall, but you must graunt that Ludouike and Lotharius **behaued themselues as rightfull superuisours of the bishops in their empire**, how they liued and preached: aiding those that were hindered, correcting those that were negligent in their ministeries: and sent visitors to enquire and redresse by their princelie power anie cause that needed reformation in christian religion, or ecclesiasticall order: commanding all men generallie to reuerence & obeie thé as well in ecclesiasticall as cómon wealth matters in respect of their roiall authority. **What more thã this doth that oth impart,** *Legũ Franciæ Cap.* 12. *Cap.* 26. *Cap.* 28. *Cap.* 11. What lacketh this of gouerning all men in all matters both ecclesiastical and ciuill.

which you so much declaime against? Or what lesse than this did Lodouike and Lotharius execute? Can their proceedings please you, and our words expressing the selfesame right offend you? You must either reiect both, or admit both: they be so nere linked, you can not dissever thē.

I now make your selfe iudge, whether these christian and catholike princes were not commanders and punishers (those we call gouernors) of bishops, priests, and monks, in matters and causes ecclesiasticall. Phil. I see they were, but yet not supreme, which is the chiefest thing that we mislike in your oth. Theop. I beleeue you well; for by that word we denie princes to be subiect to the popes consistorie, which is the chiefest thing you respect. Phil. That word maketh them superiors to God himselfe: for supreme is superior to all, neither Christs owne person, nor his Church excepted.

Supreme is not superior to Christ, but not subiect to the pope.

Theop. Can you make such meriments when you be disposed? Phil. Doth not the word infer superior to all, or at least subiect to none? Theop. Was it in question, when this oth was made, whether God should be superior to man, or whether princes should be subiect to the pope? Phil. It skilleth not what was then in question, these be now your words. Theop. By this cunning you may conclude all that euer wrate with pen, or spake with tong, to be wicked blasphemers. Phil. Why so? Theop. Where the superlatiue is vsed, by your rule, God himselfe is not excepted. And so these phrases, a most wise teacher, a most holie bishop, a most mightie prince, and ten thousand such like, which we find in all mens bookes and speeches, be meere impieties. For they import that manie be wiser, holier, and mightier than Christ himselfe, or at least as wise, holie and mightie as he, which is open and inexcusable blasphemie. Name me what father or writer you will, and see by this art of yours whether I proue him not a blasphemer. Phil. That is no right vnderstanding, but a foolish carping at mens words. For when we giue these titles to men, *sanctissimus, potentissimus, beatissimus*, the most holy father, the most puissant king, the most blessed martyr, we mean amongst men; we cōpare them not with God. Theo. And since all men euen your selues speake so, why do you take that foolish aduantage at the word supreme,

The superlatiue includeth not God, because God with man is not compared.

supreme, which we vse; as if we meant not amongst men, but exalted princes aboue God?

Phil. But the Church of Christ is not excepted, & that consisteth of men. Theop. If by the Church of Christ you meane the faithfull liuing on earth, certainly princes be not subiect, but superiors to all christian men. Peter spake to the chosen and elect of God, when he said, Be subiect to the king as to the chiefe; Paul willed Titus to warne not the miscreants, but the beleeuers in Creta, to be subiect to principalities & powers, and wrate himselfe to all the saints at Rome, You must be subiect for conscience sake. If the saints must be subiect to princes, *ergo* the Church; for the Church on earth is nothing else but ꝑ collection of saints. And if euery soule, that is euery man, must be subiect, how can the Church consisting of men be exempted? But if by the Church you meane the precepts and promises, gifts and graces of God preached in the Church, and poured on the Church, princes must humbly obey them, & reuerently receiue them as well as other priuate men. So that prophets, apostles, euangelists, and all other builders of Christs Church, as touching their persons, be subiect to the princes power; mary ꝑ word of truth in their mouths, and the seales of grace in their hands, because they are of God, not of themselues, they be far aboue the princes calling and regiment, and in those cases, kings and queenes, if they will be saued, must submit themselues to Gods euerlasting truth and testament, as well as the meanest of their people: but this neither abateth the power which God hath giuen them ouer all men, nor maketh them thrall to the popes iudiciall processe to be forced and punished at his pleasure: and therefore, this notwithstanding, princes be supreme, that is, superior to all, and subiect to none, but onely to God.

1.Pet.2. Tit.3. Rom.1.cap. & 13.cap.

The saints on earth are subiect to the princes sword, the graces of God are not.

Phil. Who euer taught before you, that princes were subiect onely to God? Theop. The Church of Christ from the beginning, *Colimus imperatorem, vt hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo minorem.* We reuerence the emperor, saith Tertullian, as a man next vnto God, and inferior onely to God. Againe, *Deum esse solum in cuius solius potestate sunt, à quo sumus secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes & super omnes deos & homines.* It is onely God in whose power alone (princes) are: in compa-

The Church confessed princes to be subiect to none but to God. *Tertul. ad Scapulam.* *Idem in Apologetico.*

rison

rison with him they be second, and after him first, afore all and ouer all both gods and men. So likewise Optatus: *Super imperatorem non (est) nisi solus Deus qui fecit imperatorem.* Aboue the emperor is none but onely God, who made the emperor. And Chrysostome: *Parem vllum super terram non habet:* (The emperor) hath no peere on earth, much lesse any superior.

Contra Parmenian. lib. 3. Ad populum Antioch. hom. 2.

And that princes are aboue all, S. Paul is cleare. Let euery soule be subiect to the superior powers. All must be subiect to them, *ergo* they be superior to all; and superior to all, is supreame. Chrysostom calleth the emperor, The highest and head of all men vpon earth. Iustinian saith, the emperor hath receiued a common gouernment and principalitie ouer all men. Ambrose saith of Theodosius, that he had power ouer all men. And Gregorie, as you heard, affirmeth that power is giuen to princes from heauen ouer all men, not onely souldiers, but also priests. And since I before concluded, and you confessed all men, were they monks, priests, bishops, or whatsoeuer, to be subiect to the princes power and authoritie both in causes ecclesiasticall and temporall, why shoulde that nowe be reuoked or doubted?

Superior to all, is subiect to none. *Ad pop. Ant. homil. 2. Nouel. const. 133.*

De obitu Theodos. Greg. epist. lib. 3. cap. 100. & cap. 103.

Phil. I neuer did nor will confesse princes to be supreame. For he that iudgeth on earth in Christs stead is aboue them all. Theop. You come now to the quicke. This very claime was the cause why the word supreame was added to the oth: for that the bishop of Rome taketh vpon him to command and depose princes as their lawfull and superior iudge. To exclude this wicked presumption, we teach that princes be supreame rulers, we meane, subiect to no superior iudge to giue a reason of their doings but onely to God. Phil. This you teach, but this you can not proue. Theop. It forceth not what we can do. The burden in this case to proue is yours and not ours. You say princes be subiect to the popes consistorie, we say they be not. Must we proue the negatiue, or must you rather make good your affirmatiue? Againe, saint Paul auoucheth with vs that euery soule is subiect to their power: you contradict those words, and say the pope is not subiect but superior to princes. The generall in precise termes concludeth for vs; you except

The word supreme was added to set princes at liberte from the pope, and that is it that so much offendeth the Iesuits.

cept the pope: must you not proue your exception?

Phil. You be loth to proue, you know the weakenes of your side. Theop. You crosse the plaine words of the holy Ghost, and would put vs to refute your fansies. Phil. We say Christes vicar is not included in those words. Theop. We say the generall includeth euery particular. Phil. How could Paul make Peter a subiect to princes, when Peter was none? Theop. Why should not Peter be subiect to princes, when God himselfe pronounced by the mouth of Paul that euery soule was subiect to them?

They must proue princes to be subiect to the pope: we need not proue them to be free.

Phil. Who euer construed S. Pauls words so, besides you? Theop. The Church of Christ neuer construed them otherwise. Peter & the bishops of Rome for the first three hundred yeres, did they not patiently submit themselues as subiects to those punishments & torments which heathen princes inflicted on other Christians? Phil. Indeed they were martyred for the most part by the rage of infidels, that knew them not. Theo. And the Christians that knew them, neuer tooke armes to defend them against the rage of infidels, but thought them subiect to higher powers by force of S. Pauls words, as well as all other bishops were. Phil. They might not resist though they were wrongfully vexed. Theop. And why might they not, but because they were subiect by Gods ordinance to the princes power? Unlawfull violence might well be resisted.

Phil. Christian princes were neuer superiors to the bishops of Rome. Theop. Sir, your courage is more than your cunning. The bishops of Rome for eight hundred and fifty yeres after Christ, that we can directly proue, were dutifull and obedient subiects to christian emperors. Phil. Are you not ashamed to tell such a tale? Theop. Will you be ashamed of your error, if I proue it a truth? Phil. Shew me that, and I will yeeld the rest. Theop. The rest is already proued, and this shall be presently shewed. I might alleadge that after the Romane emperors began to professe the name of Christ, Iulius and Liberius were banished by Constantius; Bonifacius the first by Honorius; Syluerius, and Vigilius by Iustinian; Martine the first by Constantine the third; and diuers other popes by sundry princes, but that I will skippe, and come to the

The bishops of Rome for three hundred yeeres endured heathen princes.

Martin. Polon. in Iulio & Liberio. Platina in Bonifacio. 1. Martin. Polon. in Syluer. Vigil. & Martin. 1. Caus. 2. quæst. 7. cap. Nos si.

submission

The popes submission to the emperor.

submission of Leo the fourth made to Lodouike the west emperor, with these words: If we haue done any thing otherwise than well, and not dealt vprightly with those that are vnder vs, we will amend all that is amisse by the iudgement of your highnes, beseeching your excellencie to send, for the better triall of these surmises, such as in the feare of God may narrowly sift not onely the matters informed, but all (our doings) great and small, as well as if your maiestie were present: so that by lawfull examination all may be finished, and nothing left vndiscussed or vndetermined. In all things, great and small, the pope submitteth himselfe to the princes commissioners, and offereth to amend all that is amisse by the princes iudgement. This lowly submission importeth an euident subiection.

Ibidem cap. Petrus.

A lewd elusion of Gratian.

Phil. It was a dispensation of the popes humilitie, not any part of his bounden duty thus to do. Theop. So Gratian the compiler of your decrees, saluteth the matter; which is as much as if you said, the pope by right might haue commanded the prince, but in a merie mood, for once to make sport, he would needs be iudged and ordered by the prince. Is not this a proper kind of diuinitie, when the pope protesteth his obedience to the princes power and lawes, to say the pope speaketh in iest, his words are but a tricke of voluntary, which he may recall or refuse when he will? If such vnlearned, irreligious, and vnsauorie shifts may serue for good answers, you may soone defend what religion you list. It is a very short and easie methode to be rid of all examples and histories, to say they did so: but it was more than needed or should haue beene done.

The prince superior to the pope euen in causes ecclesiasticall.

Phil. In temporall matters it might be the pope was subiect to the princes power, but not in spirituall. Theop. No man can be both a subiect and a superior to the princes power. A subiect is alwaies a subiect, that is at all times to be commanded and punished by the magistrate, neuer to command or punish the magistrate. Againe, Leo referreth himselfe in all things both great and small to the princes pleasure and censure: now a subiect in all things, is superior in nothing: yet, least you should cauill, that ecclesiasticall causes are not expressly mentioned in this place, you shall see that the bishops of Rome for eight hundred

hundred yeres and aboue, were suppliants and seruants not of curtesie, but of dutie to christian emperors, and obeied their ecclesiasticall lawes and edicts, and were commanded and ouer-ruled by them in the regiment of the Church, as the stories that followe shall plainely declare.

Donatus and his fellowes pretending that Cecilianus could not be bishop of Carthage for many crimes falsly surmised, and specially for that Felix, which laid hands on him, had (as they said) betraied or burnt the scriptures: not onely refused his communion, and procured his condemnation in a prouinciall synod by lxx. Africane bishops, but in a tumult erected an other bishop besides him, diuided the people from him, and offering a bill of complaint against him to the proconsull of Africke, made a request to Constantine, that he would giue them iudges to decide the matter. The prince carefull to keepe the Church in peace, did authorize Melciades bishop of Rome, Marcus a clergiman of the saue citie, but as then no bishop, Rheticius, Maternus, and Marinus three bishops of France to consider their allegations and determine the strife: where sentence passing with Cecilianus, the contrary part appealed from the commissioners to the prince. This appeale Constantine might haue iustly reiected as made from his owne delegates; but seeking all meanes to pacifie the schisme, commanded a greater number of their bishops to meete together at Arle in France, there to sit in councell a fresh about the hearing and ending of this quarrell: from whome, for that they likewise concluded Cecilianus to be right bishop of Carthage, the Donatists appealed as they had done from the first: adding now, that if Cecilianus himselfe were cleare, yet so long as Felix was guiltie, which ordered and confirmed him; his election must needs be void. The patient and mild emperour seeing them twise conuicted and not contented, but still murmuring against the bishops as partiall, and dailie molesting his eares with importunate suite, neuer troubled bishop or councell with the clearing of Felix, but appointed Ælianus a ciuill magistrate to search out the truth of these latter accusations in a temporall court, where Felix after diligent examination, was iudiciallie discharged

The quarell betweene Donatus and Cecilian.

discharged and acquited from all suspition of that sacri-
legious abusing the word of God. Then were both sides
called before Constantine to receiue iudgement at his
hands without appeale, who taking paines in his owne
person to sit iudge betweene them, and exactly weighing
what either part could say; gaue sentence with Cecilia-
nus, against Donatus, making therewithall a most sharpe
law to punish the Donatists (if they perusted in their
wilfulnes) as dissentious schismatiks, from the Church
of Christ: which rigor the christian emperors that fol-
lowed, did rather increase than diminish. This I thought
good to report out of Eusebius, Optatus, and Augustine,
somewhat the larger, that the circumstances being ful-
ly knowen, the conclusion might the better be perce-
ued.

Lib. 10. cap. 5. Lib. 1. contra Parmenianum epist. 162. 166. & alibi.

This quarrell was for things and causes spirituall.

I trust you will not denie but the strife betweene Ceci-
lianus and Donatus consisted both of persons and causes
ecclesiasticall. The parties accused and accusing were bi-
shops; the faults obiected, were iust impediments of epis-
copal dignitie; the matters in doubt were the communicating
and partaking of sacrilege, the right election of bishops,
the lawfull deposing of them by synods, the needful com-
munion with them, or schismatical dissention from them.
No causes can possibly touch the regiment of Christes
Church nearer than these: well then in these causes who
was supreme, Meltiades or Constantine? The bishop of
Rome or the emperor? The prince sent commission to the
pope, ioyned other collegues with him, receiued an ap-
peale from him, gaue second iudges after him, and in his
owne person pronounced finall sentence without him:
the least of these facts proueth the prince superiour to the
pope; and all these did that famous emperour, and his do-
ings in this case were verie well liked and accepted in the
Church of Christ.

Constantine superior to Meltiades.

Which of these things will you now encounter? Did
not Constantine authorize Meltiades? His commission is
yet extant to Meltiades bishop of Rome and Marcus with
these words: My pleasure is, that *Cecilianus* with ten bishops
of his accusers, and other ten of his fauorers come to Rome,
there to be heard before you both, ioining with you *Rheticius*,
Maternus, and *Marinus* your collegues, whom purposelie
for

Euseb lib. 10. cap. 5.

The pope with others were autho-

or this matter I haue willed with speede to repaire vnto you. rized by the prince to heare this cause.
S. Austen debating with the Donatists what iust exceptions they could take to so many sentences giuen against them, moueth this doubt and maketh this answere; Should not (think you) Meltiades bishop of Rome with his collegues haue vsurped that iudgement, which lxx. Africane bishops had ended? What, that he did not vsurpe? For the emperour vpon motion made (by you) sent bishops to sit with him as iudges, & to rule that matter in euery point as iustice should lead them. This we prooue by the Donatists supplication and the princes owne words. If Saint Austen defend the bishop of Rome from vsurping in this case, by producing and vsing a commission from the prince, then apparently, both the pope was authorized by the princes power to giue iudgment in a matter ecclesiasticall, and had bin, but for that warrant, an vsurper. *August. epist. 162.*

Phil. S. Austen saith that Constantine durst not be iudge of a bishops cause. Theop. At the first he was loth to sit iudge in his owne person, for that he was not acquainted with the Church canons which were then brought in question: but at length when he saw no remedie, himselfe sate in iudgement both after the pope and after the counceil, and heard the whole matter, and ended it for euer. This inferreth that at the first when he refused he wanted not power to command, but skill to discerne; more requisite in a iudge than the former: yea at the first when he durst not sit iudge himselfe for lacke of experience, he shewed his soueraunty by making delegates to heare & order the cause. So saith S. Austen in the very next words. For that Constantine durst not be iudge himself of a bishops cause, *eam discutiendam atque finiendam Episcopis delegauit:* he made delegates of the bishops to discusse and determine the same. And againe, *causam Ceciliani intunxit eis audiendam,* he gaue foorth a precept (to the bishop of Rome and others) for hearing of Cecilianus his matter. Howe to delegate the bishop of Rome with others, and to giue fresh iudges after them, is an argument of greater authoritie, than if the prince in person had beene iudge in the cause. *Epist. 166.* Constantine himselfe would not at first sit iudge in the cause for want of skill. *August. epist. 166.* *Collatio. 3. dici cum Donatistis*

Did not Constantine receiue that appeale which the Donatists made from Meltiades, and assigne them other iudges? His epistle to Chrestus bishop of Siracusas in Sicile, The prince receiued an appeale from the pope.

Whom

whom he willed to be present at the councel of Arle for the ending of the same matter, is an euident proofe that he did. At the first, saith Constantine, when this schisme began, I wrate my letters, and tooke this order: that certaine bishops comming from France, & the parties in strife called for out of Africke, the bishop of Rome being also there in their presence this quarrell should be throughly considered and pacified. Mary for so much as they will not agree to the sentence there giuen, but go forward in their outragious dissention, I must take care that (the strife) which should haue calmed of it selfe at the first decision, at least may now be composed by the meeting of many. Hauing therefore charged a great number of bishops out of diuers coasts to assemble by the kalends of August at Arle, I thought it not amisse by letters to require you, that you faile not to be with them at the time aud place appointed: that by your vprightnes, with the good aduise & ful consent of the rest, which shall then and there meete you, vpon diligent hearing what either side can say (whom we haue commanded to be likewise present) they may be reduced from the schisme yet during, to religion, faith and brotherly concord, as in duty they be bound.

Euseb. lib. 10. Cap. 5.

When Meltiades and his collegues (saith Austen to the Donatists) had pronounced Cicilianus innocent, & condemned Donatus as author of the schisme raised at Carthage your side came backe to the emperor, and complained of the iudgment of the bishops against them. The most patient and mild emperor the second time gaue them other iudges (namely) the bishops (that met) at Arle in France. Certes the taking of an appeale made from the bishop of Rome and appointing other iudges after him, and besides him strongly concludeth the princes authority to be far about the popes, euen in causes ecclesiasticall, or as you terme them spirituall.

August. epist. 166.

And gaue them other iudges after the pope.

Will you lastly say that Constantine sate not iudge himselfe in this matter, as well after Meltiades, as after the councell of Arle? S. Austen is flat against you. Your men saith he, speaking to the Donatists, appealed (from the bishops at Arle) to the princes owne person, and neuer left till the emperor himselfe tooke the hearing of the cause betweene them both, & pronounced Cecilianus innocent, and those (his accusers) to be malitious wranglers. And againe

August. epist. 166.

The prince sate himselfe in iudgement both after the pope and after the councell.

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the Donatists appealed from ecclesiasticall iudgement, that Constantine might heare the cause. Whither when they came, both parts standing before him, Cecilianus was adiudged to be innocent, and the Donatists ouerthrowne. To proue this, I will bring you (saith Austen) the very words of Constantine taken out of his letters, where he witnesseth that vpon iudiciall hearing of both sides, he found Cecilianus to be cleare. For first declaring how the parties were brought to his iudgement, after two iudgements of bishops (already past,) there (saith Constantine) I fully perceiued, that Cecilianus was a man most innocent, obseruing the duties of his religion, and following the same: neither could any crime be fastened on him, as his aduersaries had in his absence suggested. *Idem epist. 162* *Idem contra Cresconium lib. 3. cap. 17.*

And shewing what followed vpon this iudgement: Then did Constantine saith he, first make a most sharpe law to punish the Donatists. His sons continued the same: read what Valentinian; read, when you will, what Gratian and Theodosius decreed against you. Why wonder you then at the children of Theodosius, as if they should haue followed any other president in this cause than the iudgement of Constantine, which so many christian emperors haue kept inuiolable? Though Constantine be dead, yet the iudgement of Constantine giuen against you liueth. For when emperors command that which is good, it is Christ and no man else that commandeth by them. *August. epist. 166.* The prince made a penall law to confirme his finall decision. *Ibidem.*

Lay these things together, and marke the consequent. First the bishop of Rome and his assessors were appointed by the prince to meddle with this matter as his delegats. Next, vpon complaint of their partiall dealing, the prince commanded others (leauing out the bishop of Rome) to sitte in France to conclude the same cause. Thirdly, the Donatists still appealing, the prince called for both sides, heard them in his owne person, gaue finall iudgement with Cecilianus, and discharged him as innocent, and therewith made a penall edict against the Donatists. Fourthly, these princely proceedings of Constantine, the Church of God receiued with honor, and vsed with gladnes; the christian emperors imbraced as vertuous, and confirmed as religious; S. Austen alleadgeth them as substantiall prookes for the Catholiks, and effec- The prince in these foure facts superior to the pope.

tual iudgements against the Donatists. Now speake vprightly, whether in this case the prince were not superior to the pope, yea supreme gouernor of ecclesiasticall persons and causes.

The prince willeth Flauianus to keepe his Church after foure popes had repelled him for no bishop. *Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 23. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 28.*

To Theodosius the elder, Damasus, Siricius, and Anastasius, as I shewed before, made grieuous complaints one after an other, against Flauianus, for entring and possessing the see of Antioch, contrary to the canons of the Church. The prince sending for Flauianus, heard his answer, and admiring the courage and wisedome of the man, willed him to returne to his countrie, and feede the flocke committed to his charge, notwithstanding the bishops of Rome for the space of seuenteene yeares before would neither acknowledge him for a bishop, nor communicate with him.

Arcadius denied the pope a councell, and punished the bishops that kept his communion.

Of Arcadius his sonne, Innocentius the bishoppe of Rome requested a councell for the triall of Chrysostomes cause, but his petition was denied, his messengers sent away with reproch as troublers of the west empire, Chrysostome banished farther off, and this edict giuen forth by Arcadius the east emperor, against those that taking part with Innocentius, and fauoring Chrysostom, refused to communicate with Theophilus his deposer, and Atticus his successor. If any bishop will not communicate with Theophilus and Atticus, let him be depriued of his Church and his goods: if they be laymen they shall forfeit, the magistrats their dignities, the souldiers their girdle, the common sort let them be fined and exiled.

Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 30.

By Honorius an other of his sonnes, ruling the west parts, Bonifacius and Eulalius, chosen bishops of Rome in a tumult, were both commanded to depart the citie: and Bonifacius, after he was restored, put vp * a supplication to the prince for a decree that no man by suite or other vnlawfull meanes might be made bishop of Rome: to whom Honorius sent backe this rescript, By the mouth of your holines we will haue this knowen to all cleargie men, that when you shall forgo this life, which we wish not, they may learne to surcease from ambition. For if two striuing be chosen, neither of them shall continue bishop, but he onely shall remaine in the see apostolike, whom the diuine iudgement and generall consent shall elect a fresh out of the cleargie. This must therefore be kept, that all may

Ex libro pontif. in vita Bonifacij. Epist. Bonifacij ad Honorium Augustum. Rescripe. Honor. ad Bonifac. tom. con. 1.

* The pope maketh a supplication to the prince for a law to punish ambition in getting the popedome.

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put on quiet and contented minds by our gentle admonition, and not attempt any thing by seditious packing, since we be resolued that neither faction shall preuaile.

It was no strange thing in those daies for the bishop of Rome to be suppliant and subiect in Church matters to christian princes. When Eutiches first broched his error, that the flesh of Christ in substance was not like this of ours; Leo then bishop of Rome made this sute to Theodosius the yonger: If it please (your highnes) to grant my supplication, and to command a councell of bishops to be kept in Italy, speedily by Gods helpe might all things be redressed, which now trouble the whole Church: but he did not obtaine so much. For Theodosius appointed their meeting at Ephesus, and for haste prefixed so short a time, that the bishops of Italy could not be prouided for the iourney: yet Leo sending his deputies, excuseth his absence by writing, in these words: Although to be present at the day which your godlines prescribed for the councell, no possible meanes doe permit, neither by former examples (is my presence required,) and vrgent occasions at this time suffer me not to forsake this citie, specially considering the point of faith (which Eutiches infringeth) is so cleare, that a councell might well haue bene spared: yet haue I done my best, to obey your graces precept in this, by dispatching thither such of my brethren as may suffice for this matter, and shall supplye mine absence.

Leo epist. 9. The pope maketh supplication to the prince for a councell, and missed his sute.

Leo. epist. 12. *Idem epist. 13.* *Idem epist. 17.*

When this councell by the violent threatning and mischieuous packing of Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria there president, had allowed the cursed opinion of Eutiches, and deposed Flauianus bishop of Constantinople, for proceeding against him: Leo becommeth a fresh suter to Theodosius in most earnest and humble manner. For so much as the councell of bishops, which you commanded to be kept at Ephesus, concerning the matter of Flauianus, hath (in sight) hurt the faith, and wounded all Churches: all the Churches of these parts about vs, all the priests make supplication to your maiestie with sighes and teares, that it might please you to command a generall councell to be held within Italy: behold most christian and reuerent emperor, I with the rest of my fellow bishops, beseech you to command

Idem epist. 24. The pope with sighes and teares, sueth for a generall councell to the prince, and was repelled.

that al things may stand in the same state, in which they were before any of these iudgements, vntill a greater number of bishops may be gathered out of the whole world.

Leo epist. 26. The pope desireth a gentlewoman to further his sute to the prince

This request of his he besought the princesse Pulcheria to commend vnto Theodosius hir brother. I haue written to the most glorious and christian prince; that for the calling of a councell within Italy, time might be set, and place appointed; all quarels and iudgements past on either side (for the meane while) suspended: which thing that we may the rather obtaine (I beseech you) let your accustomed deuotion, which neuer failed the Church in her troubles, further our supplication with his maiestie.

Idem epist. 23. The pope praieth others to help him with putting vp a supplication to the prince for a councell.

The same Leo desireth the clergie, nobles, and citizens of Constantinople, where Theodosius lay, to ioine with him, for the better preuailing in his sute. Put vp an humble supplication (I pray you) with good aduise, that the most gratious emperor will vouchsafe to grant our petition which we make for a generall councell to be summoned: yet all the praiers and meanes that Leo could vse notwithstanding Theodosius persuaded to the contrary by Chrysaphius master of his pallace (who was present at the said councel of Ephesus, and greatly fauored the faction of Dioscorus) would neuer incline to grant him any thing, but alwaies refused his request.

If the bishop of Rome might then haue commanded, why did he intreat with teares, and yet misse his purpose?

If the bishop of Rome might haue commanded thus much against the princes will, and without the princes power, what needed such lowly supplications? Why did he make so great friends, fet so deepe sighes, shed so many teares, and all in vaine? What follie was it to waste so much labor and time to no purpose, when the least word of his mouth, as you pretend, might haue commanded both emperor and councell? But if, for restitution of the parties grieued on either side to their first estates, for suspension of all acts and proceedings past in three synods, for indiction of a generall councell to debate their cause: the pope were to sue, the prince to grant; as appeareth by the plaine confession and humble submission of Leo: then you see that in the primitiue Church of Christ the pope was wont to come to the prince with a *supplicamus* for matters ecclesiasticall, and not onely besought him as his superior with all humilitie, but obeied him in such cases

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as his lord and soueraigne with all duetie.

After Theodosius succeeded Martian, who by the perswasiō of the vertuous ladie Pulcheria, ioint empresse with him, was content to call a generall councell: but as touching the time which Leo requested, and the place which he desired, the prince refused the popes petition in them both. I besought your grace (saith Leo) that the councell which we made sute for, and you iudged needfull to pacifie the east Church, might by your commandement be differred till some better opportunitie: but because you led with a deuout respect prefer Gods matters before mans, I labour not against that which your highnes hath disposed: yea rather I did with so great gladnes imbrace your maiesties trauell to call a Synode for reducing the Church to concord, that although my selfe were a suter to haue it kept within Italie, and a fitter time to be chosen that more store of bishops might be sent for from the farthest partes: yet so soone as your graces writ was deliuered me, foorthwith I directed (some) to supplie my roome. *Epist.43.* The pope a fresh suter to the next emperor. *Idem epist.50.*

When this councell was assembled, Leo began to make farther sute to Martian in this wise: [The second councell of Ephesus] cannot rightly be called a councell, which apparantly subuerted the faith, and which your highnes for very loue to truth will make void by your decree, to the contrary, most glorious emperor. I therefore earnestly request and beseech your maiestie by the lord Iesus Christ the founder and guider of your kingdom, that in this councell (of Chalcedon) which is presently to be kept, you will not suffer the faith to be called in question, which our blessed fathers held, deliuered them from the apostles, neither permit such (errours) as haue beene long since condemned by them, to be now reuiued againe: but that you will rather commaund the faith concluded in the first Nicene councell to stand in full force, remouing all the (latter) deuises of heretikes. Which request Martian accomplished, entring the councell in his owne person, and there by word of mouth absolutely forbidding the bishops to defend or auouch any thing of the flesh and birth of our sauiour otherwise than the Nicene creede did containe. *Epist.43.* The pope beseecheth the prince by his royall decree, to void the councell of Ephesus; and to commaund the councell of Chalcedon not to depart from the Nicene faith.

To this councel of Chalcedon, Leo willed by Martian to subscribe, returned his answere in this suppliant and du- *Concil. Chalced. actio. 1.*

Leo Epist. 59. The pope must obeie the princes will in subscribing to the decrees of the Councell.

tifull order: Because I must by all meanes obeie your sacre and religious will I haue set down my consent (in writing) t those synodall constitutions which for the confirmation o the catholike faith, & condemnation of heretiks, pleased m verie well. What better witnes can we produce, that i causes ecclesiasticall the prince was the popes superiou than this, that for repealing the Councell of Ephesus, fo summoning the Councell of Chalcedon, for charging those 600. and 30. fathers not to decline from the Ni cene faith, and requiring the bishop of Rome to subscrib to their acts, Martian commandeth with authoritie, Le with all readinesse obeieth: yea that Leo beseecheth Mar tian to commaund, and protesteth that for his part, he di and must obeie the princes will in those cases?

Nouell. constit. 123. Iustinian commandeth the patriarks, and namely the bishop of Rome for ecclesiasticall affaires.

WE COMMAVND (saith Iustinian the blessed ARCH BISHOPS of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis and Ierusalem, *to receiue for ordering and installing of bishops on lie that which this present law doth allow.* And taxing the char ges of euerie bishop according to the yearlie value of hi Church* If anie man (saith he) presume to take for instal lations or other duties aboue the rate which we prefixe, w commaund that he repay thrise so much of his owne to th Church or bishop in that sort grieued. Neither doth he li mit the popes receits onlie, but also bindeth him with th rest by this generall constitution: If anie man be made bi shop contrarie to the forme which this law prescriberh, th partie confirmed shall loose his bishopricke, and the confir mer stand suspended from his ecclesiasticall function on whole yeare, and besides, forfeit all his goods to the vse of hi owne Church: marie when a bishop is accused of any thin that doth by the (sacred) canons or (our) lawes hinder hi consecration; if anie man order him before diligent exa mination had, as well he that did order him, as he that is or dered, shall for euer be depriued. Thus could auncien princes commaund in causes, and correct for offences ec clesiasticall, euen the chiefest patriarks, and namely, th bishop of Rome, who now taketh on him to depose prin ces, and dispose kingdoms at his pleasure.

* *Ibidem.*

Ibidem.

The prince inflicteth depriuation for the breach of his ecclesiasticall lawes.

This illation is more than euident by the words o Gregorie the first, who writing to the emperour Mauri tius, vseth euerie where this stile: My lord, my most gra cious

cious Lord, I your seruant, and subiect to your commande- Gregories submission to Mauritius in causes ecclesiasticall.
ment; and that not in temporall causes, but in things concerning the rules and orders of Christes Church, as by the speciall circumstances will appeare. Mauritius, perceiuing that manie coueted to be Clergi-men and Monks, some to preuent the danger of their accompts, others to decline the burden of warfare, made this decree, that no souldier, nor officer accountant to the prince for anie summes of money, should be receiued to sacred orders, or monasticall profession: charging the bishop of Rome, to giue notice thereof to the rest of his prouince. Gregorie though verie much amazed and grieued at the strangenesse of this law, yet durst not resist or refuse the same, but first with all diligence put the commandement of Mauritius in execution, and afterward fell to beseeching him to relent some-what from the rigour of this hard and seuere prohibition.

My lord hath giuen forth this edict, saith he, that no man entangled with seruice for the common weale, should enter anie ecclesiasticall function, which I greatlie praised; knowing that he which on the suddaine steppeth from a secular trade to a spirituall charge, doth not meane to leaue, but exchange the world. Where it is added that none such should be suffered in anie monasterie; this I maruelled at, seeing the place doth not hinder the making of his accompts, nor the paiment of his debts. It followeth in the same law; That no man once mustered as a souldier, should conuert (from that calling & become a Monke.) Which constitution, I confesse to my lord, did euen astonish me: because the waie to heauen is thereby shut vp from manie men, and that now prohibited as vnlawfull which hath hitherto beene (frankly) permitted. And what am I that speake to my lord but dust and a verie worme? Yet for that this edict tendeth against God the creator of all things, I can not conceale so much from my lord. I therefore beseech you by the dreadfull iudge, that your holines will either mitigate or abrogate this rigorous proclamation. I for my part as subiect to your commandemẽt, haue sent your precept into sundry coasts: yet because your law doth not stand with Gods glorie, lo by letters I haue acquainted my most glorious lord there-withall. So that I haue either waie done my dutie, which haue both yeelded *Greg. Epi. li. 2. cap. 100.*

Ecclesiasticall lawes made by the prince without the popes knowledge, and against his liking.

How far was this man from deposing princes? The pope subiect to the princes commandement, sendeth the princes precept through out his prouince.

obedi ence to my prince, and in Gods behalfe disburdened my conscie nce. I your vnworthy suppliant waxe not thus bold, either in respect I am a bishop, or in that I am your seruant by publike right, but resting on your (speciall) and priuate fauour, for that most gracious soueraigne, you were my lord (and master) when as yet you were not Lord (& chiefe) ouer all. If it be possible for a subiect to shew more submission and ductie to the princes commaundement, than the bishop of Rome doth to Mauritius, restraining all bishops by his princely power from admission of such monks, and election of such clerks as he disabled; let your apologie be had in some credit: but if greater obedience than these words import, neither Gods law doth exact, nor princes can expect; I trust Gregories owne confession shall be taken without exception.

The pope of ductie yeeldeth obedience to his prince.

The pope the princes seruant by publike right.

He confesseth the prince to be lord ouer all.

Idem epist. lib.4. cap 78.

The like submission vpon like occasion is extant in other his epistles: as when Mauritius willed him to grow to some concord with Iohn bishop of Constantinople, to whom or from whom Gregorie would in no wise send or accept letters of communion and societie, because the said Iohn entituled him vniuersall patriarke. I haue (saith he) receiued letters from my vertuous lord, that I should be at peace with my brother and fellow bishop Iohn. In deed it wel beseemeth a religious prince to commaund bishops in such things: mary this was heauie to me, that my soueraigne lord did not rebuke him for his pride, but indeuor to bow me from my purpose, which in this cause stand with humilitie and sinceritie to defend the gospell and canons. He rather is woorthie to be threatned with your maiesties commaundement which refuseth to be subiect to the canons: he to be repressed, which offreth a wrong to the vniuersall Church. Let my lord (I beseech him) somewhat respect me being his owne, whom he hath alwaies fauoured aboue others, which am also very desirous to yeeld him obedience, & yet am I loth to be conuicted in that last and fearefull iudgement of (ouermuch) negligence. Let my soueraigne lord vouchsafe to sit iudge in this matter himselfe, or els to make him to surcease his intent. I as obedient to my lords precepts haue gently written to my said fellow bishop, and humbly warned him to forgoe that vaine title. As much as in me lieth I am readie to obey the commandement of your maiestie: yet for

Idem epist. lib.4. cap.76.

that

that the cause is not mine, but Gods, and not I alone, but the whole Church is troubled, let my gracious Lord launce the right place where the wound is, and subdue the patient that resisteth him with the strength of his imperiall power. The pope readie to obeie the princes commandement.

Againe, when Maximus was ordered bishop of Salona within Gregories prouince, yet without Gregories knowledge, thus he complaineth of him to Constantia then empresse. The bishop of *Salona* was ordered, neither I, nor my responsarie witting thereof, which thing was neuer attempted vnder anie of the princes your predecessors. As soone as I vnderstood thereof, I sent him word, that he should not presume to celebrate diuine seruice (that he meaneth by the name of Masse) vntill I heard from my soueraigne lords, that it was their pleasure it should be so: but he setting naught thereby, and despising me (goeth on still) and will not resort vnto me according as my lords commanded him. Yet I obeying their graces precept, did from my hart remit vnto the said *Maximus* this his presumption as freelie as if he had beene ordered bishop by my consent. Only other offences of his, as fleshlie wantonnes, entrance by Simonie, ministring the Lords supper after he was put from the communion, these things I can not skip vnexamined for my duties sake to God: and before these things could be tried, my soueraigne lord preuenting me with his precept, commanded that I should receiue (the said *Maximus*) at his coming with all honor. This is a pitifull case that a man accused of so great crimes, should be honored before he be cleared: and if the faults of those bishops which be committed to my charge be borne out with my gracious lords (in this sort) by secret fauorers, vnhappie man that I am, what make I heere in this Church? Well, that mine owne bishops contemne me, and haue a refuge against me to secular iudges, I can not but thanke God, and impute it to my sinnes. *Idem Epist. lib. 4. cap. 78.* The pope submitting himselfe to the princes pleasure in causes ecclesiasticall. The pope ouerruled in his consistorie with the princes precept.

If the bishop of Rome despised and ouerruled in his episcopall iurisdiction, neither plead his owne supremacie, nor once kick at the princes autoritie, but rather submit himselfe as a seruant, and subiect of dutie to the princes pleasure, so far as he might, with a safe conscience to Godward: and besides the man so religious, the matter so serious,

serious, that in this case iesting were not excuseable, lying intollerable, then may you be fully resolued that the primatiue Church neuer heard of this leud & arrogant presumption, which the pope now claimeth and vsurpeth, I meane to be master and deposer of princes, but that contrariwise the bishops of Rome themselues, euen in causes ecclesiasticall, kept the lawes and obeied the precepts of christian emperors, as of their liege lords and soueraigne rulers. The words of Gregorie be so vehement and euident to this effect, that no face can deny them, no cunning auoid them. You must nedes seke farther for a newe distinction. Your first is foolish, your second is false, neither of them coherent with the sacred scriptures or ancient histories. Neither was Gregorie the last bishop of Rome that yelded obedience to the princes power in causes ecclesiasticall. Agatho bishop of ỹ see 680. yeres after Christ when Constantine the 1. sent for certain learned & skilfull men of the west parts to treat & confer with the Grecians in the 6xt generall councell about the truth of religion, returned this dutifull and effectuall answere: Most gratious lord (saith he to Constantine, ioyning with him Heraclius & Tiberius his brethren) your sacred letters incouraging vs to shewe foorth effectually our prompt & diligent seruice for performing that which your edict cõmanded, & for discharge of our duty, to choose the fittest that could be found in this decaied age, and wretched prouince; we haue directed these our fellowe seruants according to the most godly precept of your maiestie in regard of obedience which we did owe, not for presumption of their knowledge, for we waxed not bolde vpon their cunning, but your princely fauor mildly commanding (so much) did incite vs, and our basenes hath obediently fulfilled that which was (by you) commanded.

Sexta synod. act. 4.

The popes obedience to the emperor was no curtesie but dutie.

Sect. synod. act 4. Agathonis epist. 2.

And in his second epistle to the same princes, he saith: Al the bishops of the north & west parts, seruants of your christian empire, giue thanks to God for this your religious intent. The calling of general councels to debate matters of faith, is a point that precisely concerneth the regiment of Christs Church: & in that case, we see the bishop of Rome confesseth himselfe a seruant, & sheweth himselfe obedient to the princes precept: assuring vs by plaine words and agreeable deds that this humility proceded not from any

All the bishops of the north & west parts seruants to the emperor as well as they of the east.

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iesting humor or fained submission, but from the singleness of his hart, & in respect of his bounde duty: which auerreth our assertiō & clearly cōuinceth that the princes authority was then superior to ỹ popes, euen in causes ecclesiastical, which you defend to be no way pertinent to the ciuill magistrate. I wil end with Leo the 4. the selfesame that first submitted himselfe to Ludouike the father, & after confirmed his obedience to Lotharius the son in these words: As touching the chapters & imperiall precepts of your highnes & the princes your predecessors irrefragably to be kept & obeied, as much as in vs did or doth lie; we by al means profes that we wil by Christs help now & for euer obserue the same: & if any man hath or shall informe otherwise your maiestie may right well assure your self it is an vntrue tale. The chapters of Charls, Ludouike, and Lotharius, for persons & causes ecclesiasticall I repeated before: to those the bishop of Rome 850. yeres after Christ promiseth & sweareth not onely present but also perpetuall obedience to the vtmost of his power without all contradiction. It is easie to see which of these twaine was superior: he that had power to make lawes, not he that was bound to keepe them: he that might cōmand, not he that must obey: Lotharius, not Leo.

Distinct. 10. ca. de capitulis. The pope professeth 850. yeeres after Christ that he will inuiolably keepe the princes ecclesiasticall chapters and lawes.

Can you looke for stronger proofes or plainer words that the prince was the popes superior in causes ecclesiastical: If the bishop of Rome were A SERVANT to christiā emperors, then was he not their ruler: If A SVBIECT vnder them, then no superior ouer them: If SVPPLIANT to their persons, and OBEDIENT to their lawes, then no deposer of princes, nor reseruer of their edicts: to be short, if they were correctors and iudges of his demeanor and doings, then his claime to punish and depriue them of their kingdomes is vsurped and wicked: and so princes hauing no superior but onely God, are consequently supreme gouernors ouer all their subiects, be they lay-men or clearkes, to * command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euill, not in ciuill affaires onely, but in matters also concerning diuine religion.

How far the pope was thē from the superioritie which he now claimeth ouer princes.

** Augustin. contra Cresconiū, lib. 3. cap. 51.*

Phil. I confesse places somwhat moue me, neither can I vpon the suddaine answere them; yet are there many both authorities and reasons that make with vs for the contrarie. Theoph. Shewe me but one scripture, father

The Iesuits cauils against the princes soueraigntie.

ther or councell all this while that proueth the pope to be the princes superiour, and I will aske no further answere.

Phil. God saith to Ieremie, I haue appointed thee this day ouer nations and kingdoms to pull vp, to beate downe, to disperse, to ouerthrow, to build and plant. Theop. Was Ieremie euer pope? Phil. I do not say, he was. Theop. Then that which God spake to Ieremie, concludeth nothing for the pope. Phil. If a meane prophet had that power to plant and remoue kingdoms, how much more he, that is head of the vniuersall Church, and iudge ouer the whole earth? Theop. Your antecedent is false, and your consequent foolish. For Ieremie had no such power as you dreame of: he was appointed a prophet to denounce the wrath of God against nations and countries, not a prince, to displace rulers and translate kingdoms. It is a grosse peruerting of the scriptures to wrest them to that sense. Next your consequent supposeth that the pope is head of the vniuersall Church, and iudge ouer the whole earth; which vaine presumption, is no good illation, you must bring vs better conclusions before they will be currant.

Ieremies words conclude nothing for the pope.

Phil. The text is plaine: I haue appointed thee ouer nations and kingdoms. Theop. I haue appointed thee ouer them; not a prince to subdue them, but a prophet to warne them. Phil. How proue you that exposition? Theop. The text it selfe saith so. *Prophetam Gentibus dedi te:* I haue made thee a prophet ouer nations. And the verie next words before yours are these, *Ecce posui verba mea in ore tuo; ecce constitui te hodie super gentes & super regna, &c.* Behold I haue put my words in thy mouth, behold I haue appointed thee ouer nations and kingdoms: that is a prophet with my words in thy mouth, not a magistrate with the materiall sword in thine hand. This we likewise proue by the execution of his office. For he prophesied the captiuitie of the Iewes, the taking of the king and the citie, the destruction of the Ægyptians, Philistins, Moabits, Ammonits, Idumeans, Persians, Damascus, Babylon, and other kingdoms and nations; but he neuer deposed king, nor altered state: *Ergo* his commission was to foreshew the ruins, ouerthrowes, decaies and changes of kingdoms, nations & common-wealths, not to practise them: he was the

Ieremie appointed a prophet ouer nations. Ierem. 1.

Ierem. 2.

the man that foretold them, he was not the meanes to worke them.

Theodoret saith of these words: I haue appointed thee ouer nations and kingdoms, to pull vp, beate downe, disperse, ouerthrow, build and plant:] for he prophesied not onely the Iewes captiuitie, but their deliuerance by Cyrus. He prophesied also to many other nations all kinds of calamities. And likewise Bernard, *Rusticani iudoris quodam schemate labor spiritualis expressus est. Discе sarculo, non sceptro tibi opus esse, vt facias opus prophetæ.* By a certaine resemblance of the husbandmans paines the spirituall labor (of the preacher) is expressed. Learne that thou must haue an hooke to weede, not a scepter (to rule) if thou wilt do the worke of a prophet. Nicolaus de Lyra 1300. yeares after Christ, could hit the right sense of this place. I haue appointed thee [to roote vp] that is, to denounce the inhabitants shalbe remooued out of the land: to build and plant] that is, to denounce that the Iewes shall be builded and planted againe in their owne countrey.

Theodor. in 1. cap. Ierem.

Bernard. consideret. lib. 2.

Lyra in 1. cap. Ier.

This I take to be the right meaning of the text: if that please you not, but you will haue the prophet himselfe to be the workeman, then Ieremy was sent not to plant and pull vp princes, not to build and beat downe kingdoms, but as your owne glose saith, to roote vp vices, to beate downe heresies, to build vp vertues. Euery plant, saith Hierom vpon those words, which the heauenly father hath not planted, shalbe rooted vp; and the building which hath not his foundation on the rocke but in the sand, is vndermined and ouerthrowen by the word of God, And Gregorie: The prophet is first willed to destroie, and after to build; first to root vp, & after to plant; because the foundatiō of truth is neuer well laid, except the frame of error be first subuerted. Yea Manie, saith Hierom, vnderstand this place of the person of Christ, which destroied the kingdom of the diuell. Take which of these senses you like best, so you bestow not that on Ieremy which is proper to Christ, to be King of kings, & Lord of lords, nor allow him y libertie that God reserueth to himselfe, to bear rule ouer the kingdom of men, & to giue it to whom he wil; which no prophet before Christ, no apostle since Christ, no mortall creature euer claimed or vsed, but only y whore of Babilon that raigneth ouer the kings of the earth. Phil. The nations and kings, saith God by Esaie, that will

Lyra in 1. cap. Ierem.

Hieron. in 1. cap. Iere.

Grego. Pastoral part. 3. admonitio 35.

Hieron. in 1. cap. Ierem.

1. Tim. 6. Reuel. 19. Dan. 4. Reuel. 17. Esaie. 60.

Esay maketh not the prince subiect to the pope.

will not serue thee, shall perish. Theop. Whose translation is that? Phil. The Septuagintes. Theop. But the Hebrew is: That nation and kingdome which will not serue thee, shal perish. And so doth S. Hierom translate. Phil. There is no great difference betwixt them. Theop. As much as is betweene the prince and the people. Phil. Both prince and people must serue the Church, or else they shall perish. Theop. We reason not what they must do, but what Esay saith: and he saith, the kingdome must serue, the king must nurce the Church, which is a word of more dignitie than seruice is. Thou shalt sucke the breasts of kings. And again: Kings shall be thy foster fathers, and queenes thy nurcing mothers: but I sticke not on this. Phil. You need not: for in plaine words it is said a little before: *Reges eorum ministrabunt tibi:* Their kings shall serue thee. Theo. Their kings shall attend thee, or minister vnto thee. The word משרת signifieth him that is next about a man to attende on his person. Phil. And they be seruants as well as others. Theo. It may be so: neither do I denie that princes must serue, but whom? Phil. The Church, so saith S. Hierom: The nations & kings, that will not serue the Church, shall perish with that destruction which is prepared for the wicked. Theo. You should shew that princes, which will not serue the pope must loose their crownes. Phil. Grant that princes must serue the Church, & for the rest we will do well enough. Theo. First grant you, that popes were subiects & seruants to christian princes 850. yeeres after Christ, which I haue proued and you haue not answered, and for seruice to be done by princes to the Church of Christ, I wil not long dissent. Phi. How can they serue the Church, and not serue the pope, which is head of the Church?

Esay. 60.

Esay. 49.

Esai. 60.

Hieron. in Esai. cap. 60.

Euerie member of Christs Church hath as good interest in Esaies words as the pope.

Theop. To whom were these words spoken, The kingdome that will not serue thee, shall perish? Phil. To the Church. Theop. To the whole Church, or to some speciall members of the Church? Phil. To the whole. Theop. Then may the poorest member of Christs Church, and euerie parish priest chalenge to be the maister of princes, and to be serued at their hands as well as the pope. That which is spoken to all must be common to all. Againe, your own answere ouerthroweth your owne assertion, for this was spoken, you say, to the Church: but the pope is

not

not the Church *ergo* this was not spoken to the pope.

Phil. You go too far. It was spoken to the whole but not ment of the whole. Theop. Of whom then was it ment? Phil. Of the head, which is a part of the whole. The members of Christs Church are not bound to serue one an other, but all to serue the head. In respect of their head they be seruants, in respect of them selues they be brethren. Theop. Is the head a part of the bodie? Phil. Though the head can not properly be called a member of the bodie, but the head; yet in the whole are contained both the head and the members: as in an armie somtimes the captaine & soldiers; and a kingdom compriseth both the king and his subiects. Theop. Then where Esaie saith to Ierusalem, kingdoms shall serue thee; that is, not euery member of thee, but the chiefest and noblest part of thee, which is the head that all the members serue. Phil. And that head is the pope. Theop. When you proue the pope to be head of the Church, then call for princes to do him seruice: In the meane time let princes heare what Dauid saith: Be wise ye kings, serue the Lord: and what our sauiour alleageth, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him onely shalt thow serue. At the name of Iesus euery knee shall bow, of things in heauen, and of things in earth: Yea let (not onely princes, but) all the Angels of God worship him: he is the head to the Church which is his body. Your holy father must staie for his seruice, till his headship may be found in some better records than in your bare suppositals.

Princes shall serue thee, that is euerie part of thee or the noblest part of thee: neither of which maketh for the pope.

Princes may serue none but Christ. Psalm. 2. Matth. 4. Philip. 2. Heb. 1. Colos. 1.

Phil. You infer this vpon my confession, which I may change vpon better aduisement. The nation and kingdom that will not serue thee shall perish. No doubt these words bind princes to do seruice to the Church if not to the pope. Theop. You bound them before to serue the head, and not the bodie: now you will haue them serue the bodie, and not the head. Well since there is no more hold in your word, I will take surer hold of Esaies words. The text which you bring is allegorical, as the whole chap. besides is: and therfore you may draw no literall conclusion from these words, no more thā from wals, gates, brasse, yron, gold, siluer, sunne, moone, milke, teats, camels, rams, fir trees, and pine-trees, which also be reckoned & promised to Ierusalem

An allegorical text yeeldeth no literall conclusion. Esai. 60.

in

in this place. Phil. Run you to allegories? Theop. You cannot run from them, vnlesse you run from this chapter: read it ouer and see whether I faine or no.

Phil. Shall then the promises of God be frustrate, because the speeches be figuratiue? Theop. Did I say they should? No, they be greater and richer than mans tong can expresse. But if you presse the letter, they be false and absurde. For example: All the sheepe of Kedar shall be gathered vnto thee, the rammes of Nabaioth shall serue thee. For brasse will I bring golde, and for yron siluer; for wood brasse, and for stones yron: Thou shalt haue no more sunne to shine by day, neither shall the brightnes of the moone shine vnto thee: These things be not literally true. Phil. I know they be not. The. The whole chapter goeth after the same sort, expressing by temporall and terrestriall things, the blessings of God vpō his Church which be celestiall & eternall. Phil. I mislike not this. Theop. Euen so the seruice which kings must do to the Church, is not corporall nor externall, such as seruing-men yeeld to their masters, or subiects to their superiours; but an inward deuotion and an humble submission to the graces and mercies of God, proposed and offered in his Church. In effect kings must become religious & faithful members of the Church to serue God in holines and righteousnes all the daies of their life. To beleeue the word that is preached, to frequent the sacraments that be ministred, to feare the Lord that is honored in all and aboue all: this is the seruice which the Church of Christ hartily wisheth and earnestly seeketh at all mens hands: other solemnities with cap and knee she neither liketh nor looketh for.

Esai. 60.

What it is for princes to serue and submit themselues to the Church.

Phil. Kings in respect of their calling must serue the Church, I meane with their princely power. Theop. You say somwhat. In deed kings in that they be kings haue to serue the Lord: so as none can do which are not kings. For their power ought so to serue the Lord, that by their power they which refuse to be subiect to the will of God, should be punished: but this seruice you will not haue them to vse with, and if happily they command against your liking, you not onely discharge them of their seruice, but of their kingdoms also. Phil. Not if they serue the Church as Esaie saith they should. Theop. The seruice that is done to

Aug. contr. lit. Petilian. lib. 2. cap. 92.
Idem contr. 2. Gauden. Epist. lib. 2. cap. 26.

Christ

Christ the Church imbraceth as done to her selfe, because she requireth no more but that Christ her Lord and master be serued: and yet the seruice which I now speake of namelie to preserue subiects in godlines and quietnes, and with wholesome lawes to fraie men from vices and heresies, is done to Christ not in respect of himselfe, but of his Church; and concerneth the profit and welfare of the whole Church, and euerie member there of.

Phil. This is not to serue, but to rule the Church. Theop. Kings as kings, that is as publike magistrates, can not serue the Church, but by defending her members, and repressing her enemies, and this is better seruice to God and his Church, than that which your holie father hath taught kings and emperours, to waite on his trencher, to hold his stirrop, and kisse his feet.

Phil. We would haue princes to serue, that is to obey the Church, and so S. Paul willeth them. Obeie your rulers and be subiect to them, for they watch as being to giue accompt for your soules. This is spoken as well to princes as to priuat men. Theo. You leape from one thing to an other, and neuer resolue certainly anie thing. Can you shew where S. Paul or Esaie, or anie other prophet or apostle teacheth princes to be the popes bedels and bailifs to execute his pleasure? The question betwixt vs is not whether princes as wel as others must be guided and directed by religious and godly pastors the way to eternall life, which is S. Pauls meaning in this place, but whether the pope cloathing himselfe with the name of the Church, may command the swords of princes, and if he like not their doings, take their kingdoms from them. Do the places which you bring proue this that I mention? say yea or no. Phil. Not expressely, but only because the pope is Christs vicar on earth, and head of the Church. Theop. Will you neuer vnderstand how weake your proofes, and how wide they be from your intention?

Heb. 13. Obeie your rulers as well all, as one.

First, you still presume, and we still deny that your holy father is the head of the Church, and Christs vicar general vpon the face of the earth. On that false foundation, what God promiseth to the Church in respect of her head which is Christ, you closely cõuey to the bishop of Rome as heire apparant to that honor & excellency which Christ

The Iesuits windlace to bring the prince in subiection to the pope.

hath in his Church; a frivolous but a blasphemous imagination. Next, what submission & obedience God requireth at al mens, euen at princes hands, for the reuerencing of his word, & obseruing of his law, that you wittinglie confound with the temporal iurisdiction & dominion, that the Church of Rome claimeth ouer princes to command their scepters, and if they resist, to depose their persons, which is a wicked & wilful error. If you loue truth, deale plainly, let this cunning go. Phi. I seek for truth, let truth preuaile. Theop. Would God you were so minded. Phil. I am. Theop. That shall we see by your proceedings.

Heb.13. Phil. What say you by the words of S. Paul, Obey your rulers. Theop. I say the word τοῖς ἡγεμένοις signifieth leaders as wel as rulers, & in this place standeth rather for leaders than rulers, because S. Paul in this very chapter vsing the same word μιμνησκεσθε τῶν ἡγεμένων ὑμῶν Remember your leaders; addeth, Beholding the end of their conuersation, imitate their faith, that is, follow their steps. If we must marke them & imitate them, then surely must they be leaders to direct vs & not rulers to master vs. Secondly by τοῖς ἡγεμένοις whether it be leaders or rulers, are meant not the pope and his cardinals, but all that be christian & godly preachers; this is S. Pauls own construction, Remember your leaders, which haue spoken to you the word of God. We be not bound to their fansies or pleasures, but only to the word of truth proceeding from their mouths. Lastly, obedience here required is no corporall subiection to their persons, but an inward liking and imbracing of their doctrine. For as touching their persons, whom it pleaseth you to cal rulers in this place, S. Paul maketh seruants in other places. We preach not our selues, saith he, but Christ Iesus (to be) the Lord; & our selues your seruãts. And again, Not that we haue dominion (or rule) ouer your faith, but we are helpers of your ioy. And that was our sauiors charge to them all. Kings of nations rule: with you it shall not be so, but whosoeuer wil be chiefe among you, shal be the seruant of all. Their function is, as you see, To SERVE, not to rule their brethren; I meane to feed, not to master the flock of Christ. Phil. The apostle saith, God hath placed them To rule the Church. Attend to your self & to your whole flock ouer which the holy Ghost hath put you to rule the Church.

Heb.13. The words of S. Paul, obeie your rulers, make nothing for the pope.

Heb.13.

2. Cor. 4.

2. Corin. 1.

Mark. 10.

Act. 20.

Theop.

Theop. ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν is not, To rule the Church, but to feed the Church: πάιμενες be no rulers, but Shepheards. Are you not verie desireous of rule, when you thus wrest ỹ scriptures to make your selues rulers? Phil. S. Hieroms translation hath *Regere ecclesiam*, to rule the church. That we follow. Theo. You follow ỹ old corrupt translation where it maketh for you, and where you list you leaue it. S. Hierom vpon the first chapter to Tite, saith, *In quo posuit vos spiritus sanctus episcopos, pascere ecclesiam Dei*, not *regere*: And yet *regere* is to leade & guide with counsel, as well as to rule or force with authoritie, as you may perceiue by *dirigere* the compound, which is to direct any man what way he shall go, what things he shall do, what words he shall speake, & yet these be no rulers, nor haue any iudicial power ouer the parties so directed. The english word that you abuse hath the same sense. In many matters men are ruled by their friends, in sickness they are ruled by their phisition, in trauelling they be ruled by their guides; and yet neither friends, phisitions nor guides haue any iurisdiction ouer the persons that are ruled by thē. Why then do you trouble the world with such ambiguities & perplexities of words? why speake you not distinctly? why conclude you not directly? The bishops of Ephesus were set by the holy Ghost to attend their flock, & feed the Church. If by this you collect that they were placed by God to teach and instruct the faithfull how to walke in his waies, that we graunt and that we know to be most true so long as they do their message from God sincerely, without adding, altering or diminishing: but if by colour of those words to rule the Church, you seeke to giue the pope iudiciall power to compell and punish princes as a superior iudge, which is the point we striue for, see what shamefull violence you offer ye scriptures. First you falsifie the text by putting ruling or feeding the Church: next you draw the word ruling frō instructing and exhorting, which is apostolike; to commanding and forcing, which our sauiour forbiddeth all his disciples: thirdly, that which was spoken to the elders of Ephesus, & is common to all pastours, you present bishop of Rome with, as his peculiar charge, though he either fed, nor led the flock. And so where S. Paul meant ye bishops of Ephesus were set to teach and instruct their

Bishops are set in the Church by the holy Ghost to feed, not to rule.

Regere applied to bishops is to rule and goueme with aduise and councell, not with power & dominion.

S. Pauls words haue no relation to the popes person, nor to that kind of rule which he claimeth.

brethren, you conclude, the pope must ouer-rule princes, and take their crownes from them, if they yeild not the sooner.

Phil. You mistake me, I do not bring these places to that end. Theop. To that end you should bring them; for that is the doubt betwixt vs, and that was my demaund. I required you to shew scripture, father, or councell for 800. yeres that proueth the pope superior to the prince. Bring some-what to that end, or else saie you can not, and I am answered. Phil. I proue the Church superior to the prince, which is enough to confute the supreme power that you giue to princes. Theop. And what for the pope? Shall he be superiour to princes or no? Phil. We wil talke of that another time, we be now reasoning of the Church: which I trust you will grant to be superior to princes. God said to the Church, The nation and kingdom that wil not serue thee shall perish. And, kings shall serue thee.

They pretend the Church when they meane the pope.

Esai. 60. Ibidem.

Theop. This is right the trade of your Apologie, to pretend the Church, and meane the pope. You saw you were neuer able to proue the popes vsurped power ouer princes, and therefore you thought it best to put a visard of the Church vpon the popes face, and to bring him in that sort disguised to the stage; to deceiue the simple with the sound and shew of the Church. And for that cause your fourth chapter neuer nameth the pope, but still begeth The regiment of the Church, The iudgement of the Church, The Churches tribunall, conuerted kingdoms must serue the Church; and euerie where the Church, the Church; and when the Church is confessed to be superiour to princes, you set vp the pope as head of the Church to take from her all the superioritie, power and authoritie, which before you claimed for her: and so you make the Church but a cloke-bag to carrie the popes title after him: but staie your wisedoms, the Church may be superiour, and yet the pope subiect to princes; kings may serue the Church, and yet commaund your holy father and his gymmoes, the parish priests of Rome for their turning and winding euerie way, iustlie called Cardinals.

The cunning of their Apologie. Apolog. cap. 4.

Phil. Can princes be supreme, and the Church their superior? Theop. Why not? Phil. If any thing be superior

prince

nces be not supreme. Theop. That I deny. The scrip-
res be superior to princes, and yet they supreme; the sa-
ments be likewise aboue them, and yet that hindereth
t their supremacie. Truth, grace, faith, praier and o-
r ghostly vertues be higher than all earthly states, and
this notwithstanding, princes may be supreme gouer-
s of their kingdoms and countries. Phil. You ca-
l now, you should compare persons with persons, and
t things with persons; there may be things aboue
nces, and yet they supreme; but if any persons be su-
rior, then can they not be supreme. Theop. No? The
nts in heauen and angels of God be persons superior
princes, and yet may princes be supreme.

The prince is supreme, though the Church be superior.

Phil. Why Theophilus, these be wrangling quiddities,
shame leaue them. The saints be superior in perfec-
n and dignitie, but not in externall vocation and au-
ritie. Theop. I like that you say: but if you looke
cke you shall see Philander, that you giue iudgement a-
inst your selfe. Phil. I gainst my selfe? Why so? Theo.
he Church is superior to princes for those very respects,
hich I now repeated. First, because the saints in hea-
n, which are part of the Church, in happines, perfection
d dignitie, be many degrees aboue worldly states. Se-
ndly, though the members of the Church be subiect and
edient to princes, yet the things contained in the church
d bestowed on the Church by God himselfe, I meane,
e light of his word, the working of his sacraments, the
fts of his grace and fruits of his spirit, be farre superi-
to all princes. Now view your consequent. The church
respect of her members in heauen, and graces on earth,
aboue the prince, *ergo* the prince is not supreme but sub-
t to the pope. This is worse than wrangling. You
nfound things and persons, heauen and earth, God and
an, to beare out the popes pride.

How the Church is superior to the prince.

Phil. You stretch the name of the Church whither you
t. Theop. I may better stretch it to these things which
specifie, than you restraine it to one onely man as you
. But why do I stretch the Church farther than I
ould? The saints in heauen be they not members of
e Church? Phil. They be members of the Church,
hich is in heauen. Theop. And the Church in heauen

The saints in heauen be part of the Church.

is it an other Church from this on earth, or the same w
it? Phil. I thinke it be the same. Theop. You must
go by thoughts. S. Paul saith, You are of the same ci
with the saints, and Ierusalem which is aboue, (is no stra
ger to vs, but) the mother of vs all. *Cum ipsis (angelis)*
mus vna ciuitas Dei, cuius pars in nobis peregrinatur, pars in ill
pitulatur. We, saith Austen, are one and the same citie
God with the (angels) whereof part wandereth (on eart
in vs, part in them assisteth vs. And againe, The true Si
and true Ierusalem is euerlasting in heauen, which is
mother of vs all. She hath begotten vs, she hath nurced
in part a stranger (on earth) in a greater part remaining
heauen. For the soules of the godly that be dead be not
uered from the Church which euen now is the kingdome
Christ. Certainly Christ hath but one body which is
Church, and of that body since the saints be the grea
and worthier part, they must be counted of the sa
Church with vs.

Ephes.2. Galat.4.

August. de ciuit. Dei, lib.10. cap.7.

August. in psal.149.

Idem de ciuit. Dei. lib.20. cap.9. 1.Cor.10.

Phil. I sticke not at that so much as at the next, wh
you make the word and sacraments togither with th
effects and fruits to be parts of the Church. Theop. I
not say they be members of the Church, but things requ
red in the Church, without the which we can neither b
come, nor continue the members of Christ. In a natur
body the spirits and faculties be no members, & yet wit
out them the members haue neither life, motion, sense n
action. So in the mystical body of Christ, the members
men, but the meanes and helpes, to make vs and keepe
the members of Christ, are the word & sacraments, wit
out the which we can neither be planted, quickned, n
nourished in Christ. For the members be dead if they li
not by faith, if they grow not by grace, if they cleaue n
by loue to their head, and moue at his will by obedien
And therefore these things though they be not member
yet they be ioints & sinewes, vaines and vessels that gi
life, growth, strength, & state to the body of Christ, whi
is his Church, and may iustly be called the principal po
ers or parts of his body. Phil. Powers if you will, b
not parts. Theop. As though the powers of the so
were not parts of the soule. Phil. Not properly part
but powers and faculties. Theop. What call you parts

In the name of the church are many things contained.

Ph

hil. Wherof the whole consisteth. Theo. And since with-
ut these there can be no Church, *ergo* these be parts of the
urch. Phil. You take parts very largely. Theop. No
rger than I should. The foundation of the house, is it
ot a part of the house? Phil. Yes a chiefe part. Theop.
ith is the foundation of the Church, why then should not
ith be a part of the Church?

Phil. The Church consisteth of persons, not of things.
en are the Church saith Saint Augustine. Againe, The
hurch, that is, the people of God throughout all nations.
heop. I do not deny the Church to be many times taken
r the faithfull on earth, but I adde that the graces, my-
eries, and word of God be contained in the Church, and
ithout them the persons are no Church. Our bodies
nd soules do not make vs members of Christ, but our
ith and obedience. By baptisme, not by birth do we*
ut on Christ, and grace not meats establish our harts. They
e the sonnes of God that be led by the spirit of God. And if
ny man haue not the spirit of Christ, the same is no member
f his. Phil. All this is true. Theop. The Church then
onsisteth not of men, but of faithfull men; and they be the
Church, not in respect of flesh and blood, which came from
irth, but of truth and grace which came from heauen.
hil. I grant. Theop. *Ergo* the perfection of Gods gifts,
he communion of his graces and direction of his word
re the very life and soule of his Church, and so within
he compasse of the Church are comprised not onely the
ersons that be earthly, but also the things that be hea-
enly: whereby God gathereth, preserueth, and sanctis-
th his Church. Phil. What doth this helpe you? Theo.
hat when we say with S. Ambrose, *Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est:* A good emperor is within the Church, not aboue the Church, you can conclude nothing ut of these words against vs. Phil. Can we not? If ood princes be not aboue the church, *ergo* they be not a-
oue the prelats and pillars of the church. Theop. That s no consequent. Phil. Why not?

Theop. By the church are ment sometimes the places, ometimes the persons, sometime the things, that be chiefly equired in the church. Of the place S. Austen saith, We all the Church the temple; where the people, which are truly

Ambrof. de incarnat. Domini sacra. cap. 5.
Auguſt. queſt. ſuper Leuit. lib. 3. cap. 57.
Idem de catechizan. rudibus cap. 3.
Persons are not the Church with out other things annexed to them.
*Galat. 3.
Heb. 13.
Rom. 8.
Rom. 8.*
Ambrof. epiſt. lib. 5. oratio contra Auxentium.
Auguſt. epiſt. 137.

The Church is sometimes taken for the place. *Idem quæst. sup. Leuit. lib. 3. cap. 57.* *Idem in psal. 137.*

truly called the Church are contained, that by the name o the Church, I meane, the people which is contained; we ma signifie the place which containeth. And againe, The churc is the place where the Church is assembled, for men are th Church.

Sometimes for the persons. *Idem in Enchirid. cap. 56.*

The Church as it is taken for persons hath a triple di stinction. First the Church of glorious and elect angel and men. *Ecclesia deorsum, Ecclesia sursum, Ecclesia deorsum in om nibus fidelibus, Ecclesia sursum in omnibus angelis.* There is Church beneath, there is a Church aboue. The Church be neath in all the faithfull, the Church aboue in all the angel: **And againe,** The right order of confession required that (i our creed) next to the (three persons in) trinitie should stan the Church; as next to the owner his house, to God his tem ple, to the builder his citie: which must here be taken for th whole; not onely that part which is a pilgrime on earth, bu also for that part which abiding in heauen, hath euer since i was created, cleauen vnto God. This part in the holy angel persisteth in blessednes, & helpeth as it ought, her other par wandring in earth. The temple of God therefore is the hol Church, I meane, the vniuersall in heauen and earth.

The Church of all the chosen men and angels. *Ibidem.* *August. de catechiz. rudibus, cap. 3.* *Idem in psal. 62.*

The Church is the number of the faithfull that euer were, are, or shall be. * *Idem in psal. 90. concio. 2.*

Secondly the Church is the people of God throughou all nations, ioining and reckning all the saints, which befor his comming liued in this world. The * whole Church euer where diffused is the body (of Christ) and he is the head o it. Not onely the faithfull which are now, but also they tha were before vs, and they that shall be after vs to the end o the world, they all pertaine to his body. The Church is th body (of Christ) not the Church which is here or there, bu that which is here and euery where throughout the world neither that Church which is at this time, but from Abel vn to those which shall hereafter be borne and beleeue in Chris euen till the end, the whole companie of saints belonging t one citie, which is the body of Christ, and whereof he is th head.

The Church is the number of particular men in seueral times and places.

Thirdly, the Church may be limited by time and place as the particular Churches of Rome, Corinth, Ephe sus, and such like. Behold, saith Austen, in the Church there be Churches, which be members of that one Church, disper sed throughout the world. There be many Churches, and yet one Church, and in that sort many that there is but one.

August. de vnitate eccles. cap. 11. *Idem in psal. 64. & 121.*

Sometimes

Sometimes the Church inporteth, beſides the perſons, the things in which thoſe perſons muſt communicate before they can be members of the Church; as when the Church is called the kingdome, citie and houſe of God: whereby we learne, that it is furniſhed not onely with perſons, but with all thinges nedefull for the ſeruants, citizens and people of God, to the conuerting and ſauing of their ſoules. In that ſenſe ſaith Saint Paul, The kingdome of God is righteouſnes, peace and ioy in the holy Ghoſt, meaning theſe be the fruits and effects of Gods kingdome: which our ſauior threatned to take from the Iewes. The kingdome of God ſhall be taken from you and giuen to a nation that ſhal bring forth the fruits thereof; ſhewing, that when the word of truth and ſeales of grace are taken from vs, we ceaſe to be the people and Church of God. Chriſt raigneth in his Church by his worde and ſpirite, without theſe men are not the Church. An earthly citie muſt haue vnitie, ſocietie, regiment, and ſufficiencie for an earthly ſtate: the number of men doth not make a citie if theſe things want: howe much more muſt the citie of God haue aboundance of all thinges profiting to eternall life? Saint Auguſtine ſaith of the houſe of God, which is the Church, It is founded by beleeuing, erected by hoping, perfected by louing: noting theſe three to be the maine parts in the building of Gods houſe.

Rom. 14.

Mat. 21.

1. Tim. 3.

Auguſt. de verbis Apoſtoli ſerm. 22.

It is plainer than that longer proofe ſhall neede. If we woulde define the Church we muſt comprehend not onely men, but other thinges alſo which may ſeuer the Church from thoſe that are not the Church, and thoſe thinges that are required to the explication, are we ſay contained in the appellation of the Church. The Church is not ſimply a number of men; for infidels, heretikes and hypocrites are not the Church, but of men regenerate by the worde and ſacraments, truely ſeruing God according to the Goſpell of his ſonne, and ſealed by the ſpirite of grace againſt the day of redemption. When thus qualified are the Church, and the gifts and graces of GOD that ſo qualifie them, be not onely the iewels and ornaments wherewith the ſpouſe of Chriſt is decked, but euen the ſeede and milke, whereby like a mother

That which entereth the definition muſt needs be cõtained in the appellation of the Church.

mother she conceiueth and nourceth her children.

August. epist. 38. *Idem de baptis. lib. 1. cap. 10* *Idem in Psal. 57. & 30.* *Idem epist. 203* *Ambrosius psal. 118. sermo. 15.* *Idem in psal. 36.* *1. Tim. 3.*

The Church our mother, saith Augustine, conceiued vs of Christ, and nourished yea nourisheth vs with the milke of faith. Shee conceiueth by the sacraments as by the seede of her husband. Thou wast conceiued, in that thou receiuedst the name of Christ; and the Lorde to make his wisdome milke for vs, came clothed with flesh vnto vs. She is a most true mother which openeth her bosome to all nations when they shall be newe borne, and offereth her teats when they are newe borne. The teeth, cheeks, and lips of (this) spouse we vnderstand, saith Ambrose, to be the vertues of the soule. Yea the Church is life, and as Paul saith, the pillour of truth. These speeches and others that might be alleaged, shewe the Church to be resembled to a woman; and truth, faith, life, grace & such like giftes of God be counted not onely the garments, but euen the bowels and partes of the Church. And therefore the name of the Church sometimes implieth as well the things that be in the Church as the persons that be of the Church, which was the third point that I noted.

Phil. These speeches be figuratiue. Theop. I did not seeke for the propriete, but the vse of the worde; and yet in proper speech persons without these things are not the Church, and in the very definition of the Church, as well things as persons be comprised. Phil. Indeed persons endued with those gifts and graces of God, that be needefull for eternall life; are properly the Church: but things without persons are not the Church. Theo. I doe not exclude persons, but include those thinges which cause the persons to be members of the Church. Phil. I will not much impugne that. Theo. Returne then to the wordes of Ambrose, which occasioned me to make this distinction.

Ambrose oratio contra Auxen. The prince not aboue the Church, though superior to al persons in the Church.

A good emperor is not aboue the Church. Not aboue the Church vniuersall, for that consisteth of men and angels, aboue whome princes be not. Neither aboue the Church militant in earth, for that containeth all the faithfull of all ages and countries, ouer whom there can be no prince but onely Christ. Phil. And what? For the Church dispersed through the Romane empire in the time of Saint Ambrose, was the prince aboue it,

or

or no? Theop. You must here distinguish the things proposed in the Church, from the persons that were members of the Church. The persons both laymen and clerks by gods law were the princes subiects: the things comprised in the Church, and by God himselfe committed to the Church, because they were Gods, could be subiect to the power and will of no mortall creature, pope nor prince. Phil. Say that againe. Theop. In shorter termes the prince was aboue the persons in the Church, but not aboue the things in the Church.

Phil. Aboue the persons, but not aboue the things in the Church? What things meane you? Theoph. Those things which God commaundeth in his Church, and requireth of his Church. Philan. I vnderstand you not. Theoph. Understand you our sauiour when he saith, Giue vnto God the things which be Gods? Philan. He meaneth as I take it, faith, deuotion, holinesse, repentance, patience, obedience, and such like christian ducties and vertues. Theoph. You say well: these be things which princes haue no right to claime, nor power to rule. They belong onely to God. To these I adde the meanes whereby God worketh these things in his Church; to wit, the word and sacraments; ouer these things we graunt princes haue no power. Mat.22.

What things princes haue neither right to cómaund, nor power to rule.

Philan. Saint Ambrose saith, not ouer the Church. Theoph. That is, not ouer the things which God hath setled in his Church, but ouer the persons, princes haue power. Phil. What a shift of descant that is? Theoph. Call you that a shift which I before confirmed, and you confessed to be true? Philan. What did you confirme? Theoph. That princes haue power by Gods appointment ouer all men. I brought you Tertullian, Chrysostome, Iustinian, Gregorie and Ambrose himselfe witnessing that princes had power ouer all men. Saint Paul auoucheth the same, Let euery soule be subiect to their power. It is no shift, it is a truth that our sauiour saith, kings of nations beare rule ouer them, that is, ouer their subiects. You must either take the names of princes and gouernours from them, or else yeld them countries and people to be subiect vnder them. Phil. I doe so. Theoph. Then princes haue power ouer all men, that is ouer all See fol.201. Mat.20.

The second part. Princes haue power ouer the persons of the Church.

Princes are aboue al persons, but not aboue the Church: *ergo* the church is taken for more than for persons.

all persons. Phil. Ouer all persons, but not ouer the Church. Theop. What do you now but make the same distinction your selfe, which before you refused at my hands? Ouer all persons they haue power; ouer the Church they haue not; *ergo* the Church is not here taken for persons. And it must needes be taken either for the persons, or things: for the persons it is not, *ergo* for the things; & so by your confession, mine answere standeth good, that princes haue power ouer the persons, but not ouer the things in the Church.

Ambrose. li. 5. cap 33.

And so saith S. Ambrose, *Ea quæ diuina, imperatoriæ potestati non esse subiecta*; The things that be Gods be not subiect to the emperors power, though the emperor had power ouer all persons, as Ambrose himselfe affirmeth.

Ambros. de obitu Theodos.

Phil. Shall S. Ambrose strike the stroke in this case? Theoph. The stroke is alreadie giuen by the sacred scriptures, by the publike lawes, and ancient histories of the primatiue Church: and yet in this point we reiect not the iudgement of S. Ambrose. Phil. S. Ambrose is cleane against your opinion that princes should be gouernours in causes ecclesiasticall. *To the yonger Valentinian the emperour, thus he answereth: Vexe not thy selfe so far, O emperor, to thinke that thy emperiall right perteineth to diuine things, exalt not thy self aboue thy measure. For it is written, Giue to Cæsar that which is Cæsars, and to God that which belongeth vnto God. The palace for the emperor, but the Churches are for the priest. Again the same holy doctor, When didst thou euer heare, most clement prince, that laymen haue iudged bishops? Shall we bend by flatterie so far, that forgetting the right of our priesthood we should yeeld vp to others that which God hath commended vnto vs? And recounting the whole course of holie scriptures and all times past, who can denie but that in the cause of faith, in the cause of faith I say, bishops haue iudged of emperors & not emperors of bishops?* Theop. Omit the circumstances and causes that moued Ambrose thus to write, which be the words you take most holde of? Phil. These, Thy emperiall right pertaineth not to diuine things. The pallace for the emeperour, but the Churches are for the priest. In a cause of faith bishops haue iudged of emperorurs, and not emperours of bishops.

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 30.

Epist. 33 ad Sororem.

Ibidem.

The Iesuits nip saint

Theop. You helpe the matter forward with false translating and nipping the words, & yet they proue nothing against

against vs. Instead of *vt putes te in ea quæ diuina sunt, imperiale aliquod ius habere*; Do not thinke thy selfe to haue an emperiall right ouer those things which be Gods, (or ouer diuine things) you say cunningly, Do not *thinke thy emperiall right pertaineth to diuine things*. For, *Noli te extollere, sed esto Deo subditus*, exalt not thy self, but be subiect to God, you say, *Exalt not thy selfe aboue thy measure*, & suppresse the rest which should declare when a prince exalteth himselfe aboue his measure; to wit, when he is not subiect to God. The next words which you bring, *When didst thou euer heare, most clement prince, that lay-men haue iudged bishops?* are not found *Ibidem* as you *quote* them, that is, *Epistola* 33. *ad sororem*, but *Epistola* 32. *ad Valentinianum imperatorem*. And *In causa fidei*, In a matter of faith, which Ambrose addeth, you leaue out in the first sentence, though you double it at the latter end. These scapes I will winke at & come to the words themselues. Thinke not thy selfe to haue any emperiall right ouer diuine things. Neither do we say princes haue, for an emperiall right is to commaund, altar and abrogate what they thinke good; which is lawfull neither for men, nor angels in diuine matters. Ambroses words.

Palaces are for princes and Churches for priests, this was truely saide, and if you know not the reason, Churches were first appointed for publike praier and preaching; which belong to the priests & not to the princes function. And for that cause bishops were to teach princes which was the right faith, princes were not to teach the bishops, much lesse to professe themselues iudges of truth, as Valentinian did, when he said, *Ego debeo iudicare*, I ought to be iudge, whether Christ be God or no; for that was the question betweene the Arrians & Ambrose, and that was the word which S. Ambrose stoutly but wisely refused. When we say that princes be iudges of faith, bring S. Ambrose against vs & spare not: but we be farther off frō that impietie to make men iudges ouer God, thā you be. *Ambros. lib. 1. epist. 32.*

Phil. Do you not make the prince iudge of faith? Theop. You knowe we do not. Phil. Produce not vs for witnesses, we knowe no such thing. Theo. Your owne acts shall depose for vs if your mouths will not. If we make princes to be iudges of faith, why were so manie of vs consumed not long since in England with fire and fagot for disliking

liking that which the prince and the pope affirmed to be faith: Why at this day do you kill and murder elsewhere so many thousands of vs for reiecting that as false religion, which the kings and princes of your side professe for true: If we make princes iudges, why do we rather loose our liues than stand to their iudgements: Your stakes that yet be warme, your swords that yet be bloody, do witnesse for vs and against you, that in matters of faith we make neither prince nor pope to be iudge. God is not subiect to the iudgement of man, no more is his truth. Phi. What power then do you giue to princes: Theop. What power so euer we giue them, we giue them no power to pronounce which is truth. Phil. What do you then: Theo. Neuer aske that you know. Haue we spent so many words, and you now to seeke what we defend: But you see S. Ambrose maketh nothing for you. And therefore you picke a quarell to the question.

We make no princes iudge of faith.

Phil. S. Ambrose would not yeild Valentinian the emperor so much as a Church in Millan: & when he was willed to appeare before the emperor in his consistorie, or else depart the citie, he would do neither. Theop. You care not, to fit your purpose, though you make S. Ambrose a sturdie rebell. You would faine find a president to colour your headines against the prince; but in Ambrose you cannot: his answer to Valentinian was stout, but lawful; constant, but christian; as the circumstances of the facts will declare.

Wherein S. Ambrose withstood Valentinian.

Valentinian a yong prince incensed by Iustina his mother and other eunuches about him, willed Ambrose to come and dispute with Auxentius the Arrian in his consistorie before him, and he would be iudge whether of their two religions were truest, and which of them twaine should be bishop of Millan, Auxentius or Ambrose, otherwise to depart whether he would. To this Ambrose made a sober and dutifull answere in defence of himselfe and his cause, and gaue it in writing to Valentinian, shewing him amongst other things that he was yong in yeeres, a nouice in faith not yet baptised, and rather to learne, than to iudge of bishops: that the consistorie was no fit place for a priest to dispute in, where the hearers should be Iewes or Gentiles, and so scoffe at Christ, & the emperour himselfe partiall, as appeered by his law published before ỳ time to impugne

The reasons why S. Ambrose refused Valentinians iudgement, as neither fit nor indifferent.

impugne the truth. As for departing, if he were forced, he would not resist; but with his consent he could not relinquish his Church to sane his life, without great sinne.

And because Auxentius and his companions urged this, that the emperor ought to be iudge in matters of faith, Saint Ambrose followeth and refelleth that word as repugnant not onely to the diuine scriptures, but also to the Romane lawes. *Conclusis vndique ad versutiam patrum suorum confugit, de imperatore vult inuidiam commouere, dicens iudicare debere adolescentem, catechumenum, sacræ lectionis ignarum, & in consistorio iudicare.* Auxentius driuen to his shiftes hath recourse to the craft of his forefathers, seeking to procure vs enuie by the emperors name, and saith the prince ought to be iudge, though he be yong, not yet baptized, and ignorant of the scriptures, and that in the consistorie. *Ambros. lib. 5. orat. contra Auxentium.*

And to the emperor himselfe, Your father, a man of riper yeeres saide; It is not for me to be iudge betweene bishops; doth your clemencie now (at these yeeres) say, I ought to be iudge? And he baptized in Christ, thought himselfe vnable for the weight of so great a iudgement: doth your clemencie, that hath not yet obtayned to the sacrament of baptisme, chalenge the iudgement of faith, whereas yet you know not the misteries of faith? No man should thinke me stubburne, when I stand on this, which your father of famous memorie not onely pronounced in words, but also confirmed by his lawes that in a cause of faith or ecclesiasticall order he should be iudge, that was both like in function, and ruled by the same kind of right. For those be the words of the rescript: his meaning was he would haue priests to be iudges of priests. *Idem lib. 5. epist. 32.*

Then follow the words which you cite. When euer didst thou heare most clement emperor, in a cause of faith that laymen iudged of bishops? Shall we so bend for flatterie, that we should forget the right (or dutie) of priests; and what God hath bequeathed to me, I should commit to others? If a bishop must be taught by a layman what to follow, let a lay man then dispute (or speake in the Church,) and a bishop be an auditor, let the bishop learne of a layman. But surely if we suruey the course of the diuine scriptures or auncient times, who is there, that can deny, but in a cause of faith, in a cause I say of faith, bishops are wont to iudge of christian emperors, not emperors of bishops? *Ibidem.*

And

Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 33. Ambrose would not yeeld his cõsent to let the Arrians haue his Church.

And where Valentinian **required** Ambrose **to yeeld his Church, and depart whither he would; for yeelding his Church, his answere was,** *Nec mihi fas est tradere, nec tibi accipere Imperator expedit. Domum priuati nullo potes iure temerare; domum dei existimas auferendam? Allegatur, imperatori licere omnia, ipsius esse vniuersa. Respondeo.* It is neither lawfull for me to yeeld it, nor expedient for you, O emperor, to take it. The house of a priuat man you can not by right inuade: do you thinke you may take away the house of God by violence? It is alleaged, the emperor may do what he will, all things are his. I answere: Do not burden your selfe O emperor to thinke, you haue any emperiall right ouer those things, which be Gods. Exalt not your selfe (so high) but if you will raigne long, be subiect to God. Palaces pertaine to emperors, Churches to priests. The Church is Gods, it ought not to be yeelded (by me) to Cæsar. The temple of God can not be Cæsars right. I can not deliuer that which I receiued to keepe (in Gods behalfe, to heretiks.) would God it were apparent to me that my Church should not be deliuered to the Arrians. I would willingly offer my selfe to the iudgement of your highnes. Would God it were decreed that no (Arrian) should trouble (my) Churches, and of my person pronounce what sentence you will.

Ibidem. Ibid. epist. 32. Ibidem orat. contra Auxent. Ambrose resisted not the prince but denied his consent to partstakes with the Arrians.

Ibid. epist. 33. He submitted himselfe to the punishment, for that he could not with a good conscience obey the commaundement.

With my consent I will neuer forgo my right, if I be compelled I haue no way to resist. I can sorow, I can weepe, I can sigh, teares are my weapons; priests haue (onely) those defences, by other meanes I neither ought, nor can resist. Flee and forsake my Church I vse not, lest any thinke it done to auoide some sorer punishment. If my goods be sought for, take them; if my body, I will be ready. Will you put me in irons, or lead me to death? You shall do me a pleasure, I will not gard my selfe with multitudes of people, I will not flee to the altar to intreat for life, but will gladly be sacrificed for the alters (of God.)

Ibid. epist. 32.

Ambrose ment to obey the prince but not to flie for feare thereby to saue his life.

Depart Ambrose **would not, thereby to saue himself and leaue his Church to** Arians; **the emperor should banish him, or else he would not forsake his flock.** I could wish you had not sent me word to go whither I would. I came euery day abroad, I had no gard about me. You should haue appointed me whither you would. Now the rest of the priests say to me, there is no difference, whether thou be content to

relinquish

relinquish, or thy selfe yeeld vp the altar of Christ; for when thou dost forsake it thou dost deliuer it. If a strong hand remoue me from my Church, my flesh may be caried thence, my minde shall not. Betray my Church I cannot, but fight I ought not. These answeres be ful of humilitie, and as I thinke, full of that affection (and reuerence) which a bishop shoulde beare to a prince. We see the groundes that Ambrose stoode on, resolued rather to suffer any death, than by his consent or departure to betray the Church of Christ into the handes of Auxentius the Arrian. His meaning was not with violence to resist, or with pride to despise the young prince, but either to die with his flocke, or at least to be remoued from his flocke by the princes power without his owne consent, because it were sinne in him to resigne or leaue the house of God as a pray for heretikes, vnlesse he were thereunto compelled, and forced against his will. Phil. I therby gather that princes may not meddle with Churches without the bishops assent. Theop. You may thereby well collect that bishops were better to giue their liues, than yelde their Churches for Christ to be blasphemed in, except they be constrained. Phil. The bishop refused, though the prince commanded. Theoph. He refused to put his consent to the princes will; but he resisted not the princes power.

Ibidem oratio. contra Auxentium. *Ibidem epi. 33* *Ibidem oratio Contra Auxe*

Phil. No thanks in that he could not. Theo. Yes great thanks in that he would not, when all the citizens of Millan toke part with him, and the soldiers denied to waite on the emperor, to any other Church but onely to that where he was; and greater obedience in that he confessed he should not. *Aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere*, otherwise than by teares and sighes) I neither ought, nor can resist: and likewise he commended the people for saying *Rogamus Auguste, non pugnamus*, we make request O soueraign, we make no tumult. So that Ambrose in these wordes which you bring doth not generally dislike that princes should medle with religion or make lawes for Christ, but first affirmeth, which we confesse, princes be no iudges of faith; and next auoucheth that his refusall to deliuer his church to the hands of Arrians was no stubburnnes against the prince, but obedience to God, whose house it was; and, that he coulde not consent to betray the same to Gods

Ibidem orat. contra Auxe. *Ibidem. ep. 33.*

enimies but he should highly displease & offend God in so doing. By this you may proue, that we must obey God before man, and that all pastors ought rather to giue their liues than their consents, that heretikes should inuade their flocks, but against the princes authoritie to cõmand for truth and punish error by the words or deeds of Ambrose, for ought that I see, you can conclude nothing.

Phil. He reporteth and commendeth the words of Valentinian the elder, the father of this yong Valentinian. *Non est meum iudicare inter episcopos,* It is not for me to judge among bishops. Theoph. He gaue the yong prince to vnderstand what a weightie matter it was, To sit iudge betweene bishops in cases of faith, and not among bishops as you translate it; in that his father a man of ripe yeeres, great wisedome, and good experience refused this as a burden too heauie for him. And what if the question betwixt the christians and Arrians were so intricate that Valentinian durst not take vpon him to discusse or determine the same, is that any reason to proue that princes may not establish truth and abolish falshood by their publike lawes?

Ibidē epist. 32.

Why Valentinian would not iudge betweene the bishops of diuers faiths.

Phil. Was that the matter wherein Valentinian refused to be iudge betweene the bishops? Theoph. Euen that, if you dare beleeue the story of the Church. For, The bishops of Hellespontus and Bithinia, saith Sozomene, and as many as professed the sonne of God to be of the same substãce with his father, sent Hypatianus in a legacie to Valentinian the emperor to request him that he would permit them to meete (in a councell) to correct the doctrine (which troubled the Church.) When Hypatianus came to him, and declared the petition of the bishops, Valentinian answered: For me that am a lay man I thinke it not lawfull to search curiously such (deepe) matters: let the priests that haue charge of these things, meete where they like best among themselues.

Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 7.

Valentinian distrusting his iudgement, suffred the Arrians to do what they would.

This fearefulnes of Valentinian, whiles he could not so much as looke into the contention betwixt the christians and the Arrians, did the Church no good. For though Valentinian were for his owne person well perswaded in religion, yet he suffred the Arrians to do what they would, as Sozomene confesseth. Valentinian being himselfe of the Nicene faith, made much of those that were of the same opinion with him, but molested not any that were of the contrarie

Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 6.

And

Valentinian refuſed to be iudge betweene biſhops. *The ſecond part.*
And that note Socrates giueth him. Valentinian honoured *Socrat. lib. 4.*
thoſe that were of his faith, but in the meane time he let the *cap. 1.*
Arrians do what they would. And though himſelfe very reli- *Sozom. lib. 6.*
ouſly embraced the Godhead of Chriſt, yet would he com- *cap. 21.*
maund nothing to the biſhops (in that behalfe) neither
thought he good to change other eccleſiaſticall lawes into
better or worſe. For he tooke them to be aboue his reach,
though he were (otherwiſe) a very good emperor and fit to
rule, as appeared by his doings.

Phil. Miſlike you this in Valentinian? Theop. Doe you
ſee that he ſuffered Arrians to haue their faith, and nei-
ther moleſted nor reſiſted them? Phil. We like not that.
Theop. Then you miſlike the timerouſnes or remiſſenes,
call it what you will, in the Church affaires as well as we
do: for what commendation could it be for him neither to
meddle nor make with eccleſiaſticall matters, but to per-
mit all ſorts and ſects to follow their appetites?

Phil. The ſtories commend him as excelling in wiſe- *Theodor. lib. 4.*
dome, moderation and iuſtice. Theoph. The beſt men haue *cap. 5.*
their faults and are ſometimes led with priuate fanſies. *Sozom. lib. 6.*
Valentinian was a good man & worthie the empire, and yet *cap. 6.*
made a law that euery man that would, might haue two Valentinian maried two wiues, and gaue all men leaue to do the like.
wiues, and himſelfe gaue the firſt example in taking two.
Phil. What he did not? Theop. Meaning to marrie Iuſtina
the report of her beautie, he made a law and publiſhed the
ſame in euery citie, that it ſhould be lawfull for all men to *Socrat. lib. 4.*
haue two wiues at once. And after the law ſo made, he tooke *cap. 31.*
Iuſtina to wife, by whom he had Valentinian the yonger, and
three daughters, not diuorcing Seuera the mother of Grati-
an (his elder ſonne) whom he a litle before had created em-
perour.

Phil. That was a fault in deed. The. And this was an o- *Socrat. lib. 4.*
ther, that he gaue himſelf to quietnes, & moleſted no ſect of *cap. 29.*
heretikes: vpon this opinion that it paſſed his capacitie to
iudge betweene the biſhops in matters of faith. Phil. But
Ambroſe doth commend it. Theoph. Ambroſe doth al-
low it to ſtay the young prince from raſhly preſuming to
iudge of their matters, before he knew the firſt principles
of religion, becauſe his father when he was aged, *Inhabi-* *Ambroſ. lib. 5. epiſt. 32.*
le ſe ponderi tanti putabat eſſe iudicij, thought himſelfe vnable
to iudge in ſo weightie a cauſe, but farther he doth not

commend it: and yet he might commende that in Valentinian, and not hurt vs. For we do not encourage princes to professe themselues iudges of faith, which Valentinian thought too great a burden, but onely we wish them to discerne betwixt truth and error, which euery priuate man must do that will be a Christian.

Theodosius discerned between the bishops though Valentinian would not or could not. *Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

And though Valentinian distrusted his owne iudgement in matters of faith, yet that did not fray Theodosius a prince highly commended by Ambrose himselfe, from looking into the strife betweene the Homousians & Arrians, and appointing by a solemne edict which of them should be counted catholikes, which heretikes: and taking their Churches from them without their consents. For he, not long after he was called to the empire by Valentinians eldest sonne, willed euery sect to put their faith in writing. At the day prefixed the bishops of euery religion, being sent for, came to the court, Nectarius and Agelius for the Homousians (or Catholikes) Demophilus for the Arrians, Eunomius himselfe for his followers, and for the Macedonians Eleusius. When they were come the prince admitted them to his presence, and taking the paper of ech mans opinion hartily besought God to helpe him in chooſing the truth. Then reading their confessions written he reiected all the rest, as diuiding and seuering the sacred Trinitie, and tare them in peeces, and onely liked & embraced the Homousian faith; and therwithall made a lawe, that such as followed that faith, shoulde be counted christian Catholikes, the rest infamous heretikes. Al people subiect to our empire we wil haue continue in that religion, which S. Peter the apostle deliuered to the Romanes, as the faith kept from his time to this day doth declare, and the which it is euident bishop Damasus, and Peter bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolike sanctitie do professe: to wit, that according to the apostolike & euangelike doctrine, we beleeue one Godhead of the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost of like maiestie in sacred Trinitie. The obseruers of this lawe we commande to be taken for Christian Catholikes, the rest, as madde and frantike we adiudge to beare the reproch of heretikes: which must looke to feele first the vengeance of God, and next such penalties as the motion of our hart directed from aboue shall appoint.

Codi. li. 1 tit. 1. de summa trinitate & fide Catholica § Cunctos. The true faith in Theodosius time was kept at Rome; and that was the same which we professe at this day.

As this religious prince published by his lawes which opinion should be counted truth and which heresie, so did he by the same authoritie commaund the Churches throughout his empire to be presentlie taken from the Arrians, and deliuered into the hands & possession of such as were of a right faith. So saith Sozomene, The emperour (Theodosius) made a law, that the Nicene faith should be authentike, and all Churches to be deliuered to them which professed the same Godhead of the Father, Sonne, and holie Ghost in three persons of equall honor and like power. The law it selfe is extant. The rule of the Nicene faith receiued from our fathers, and confirmed by the witnes and assertion of diuine religion, let it stand good for euer. And he shall be counted a follower of the Nicene faith, and a true professor of the Catholike religion, that holdeth the vndiuided substance of the incorrupt Trinitie, which by a Greeke word is called ὁμούσιον of right beleeuers. They which be not of this faith, let them cease by cunning deuises to shroud themselues vnder the name of true religion which they professe not, and be plainelie noted by their heresies, and vtterlie remoued and expelled from all Churches, that throughout the world the Churches may be deliuered to the bishops which hold the Nicene faith.

Princes commaunded such as were heretikes to be depriued of their Churches. *Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 9. Codic. lib. 1. tit. 1. § nullus.*

So Gratian the sonne of Valentinian, after the empire came entirelie to his hands, commanded the preachers of the Arrian blasphemie, as wild and cruell beasts to be driuen from their Churches, and the same to be restored to good pastors, and the execution of this law he committed to *Sapores* a most famous captaine of that time. The like did *Theodosius* the ponger decree, that they which followed the wicked faith of *Nestorius*, or cleaued to his vnlawfull doctrine, if they were bishops or clerks should be cast out of their Churches, if they were lay men they should be accursed. By this it is euident that the christian emperours did and might dispose both of bishops and Churches, and therefore Ambrose could not be of that mind that princes by their lawes might not put bishops from their Churches without their consents: but he brought this as a reason, why the prince at his pleasure without law might not commaund, and himselfe, though the prince commanded, might not consent.

Theodoret. li. 5. cap. 2.

Euagrius lib. 1. cap. 12.

So did Iustinian appoint depriuation for the breach almost of euery of his ecclesiastical lawes.

Phil. You shift off S. Ambrose, but Athanasius, Osius Leontius and Hilarius will not be so shifted. Of Constantius the Arrian emperour, S. Athanasius saith, *What hath he left for Antichrist? for yet againe in place of ecclesiasticall cognition he hath appointed his palace the iudiciall seate of such causes, and made himselfe the chiefe iudge and arbiter of our controuersies. And who seeing him to make himselfe the ruler of bishops, and president of spiritu all iudgements, would not iustlie deeme him to be that verie abhomination of desolation foretold by Daniel?* And in an other place of the same worke: *When was it euer heard since the beginning that the Churches iudgement did depend of the emperours authoritie Or who euer accepted that for lawfull iudgement?* The renoumed Osius writeth to the same emperour: *Medle not O emperour in causes ecclesiasticall, nor do thou command vs in this kind, but learn such things to vs rather: God hath giuen thee the empire, but to vs the Church.* At the same time, and to the same emperour, thus saith Leontius the martyr: *I marueil that thy vocation being for other things, thou medlest with these matters. Thy charge is of ciuil and martiall affaires only, and yet thou wilt needs be president of ecclesiasticall causes.* S. Hilarie also to the same emperour writeth thus, *We beseech thy clemencie to prouide, that charge to be giuen to all iudges of prouinces, that hereafter they presume not, nor vsurp the hearing of ecclesiasticall causes.*

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 28. Epist. ad solitar. vitam degentes.

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 29. Cited of S. Athanasius in the epistle aforesaid.

Suidas in verbo Leontius. Lib imperfect. 2. ad Constant.

Theop. You do well to put them together; they all spake of one man, and meant one matter: reproouing Constantius the Arrian emperour, and that worthilie for his tirannous and violent oppressing the Church of Christ against all truth and reason. Phil. You would faine giue these fathers the slip, as though Constantius were reproued by them not for intermedling with causes ecclesiasticall; but for his iniurious & outragious ouerruling those matters; what a mockerie that were? Theop. Mocke not your selues, & of our answer let y world iudge. Phil. What is it? Theop. We say these fathers did not reproue that in Constantius, which the whole Church of Christ before the and after them for eight hundred yeres and vpward obeied, embraced and honoured in her Christian & Catholike princes, namely, Constantine, Gratian, Theodosius, Honorius, Martian, Iustinian, Charles, Ludouike, Lotharius, and others. Phil. Who saith they did? Theop. Do you graunt they did not? Phil. What if we do? Theop. Speake expressly

Constantius reproued for his tirannous and iniurious oppressing the Church.

precise whether you graunt it or no. Phil. We graunt they did not. Theop. *Ergo* these places of Athanasius, Osius, Leontius, and Hilarius, do not impugne that which we defend, but only traduce Constantius for his wilfull and headie subuerting the faith, and infringing the canons, without all regard of truth or equitie. They refute not his authoritie to commaund for truth and punish error, which other princes had and vsed with the contentation and commendation of all good men, but they dissuade him from the tyrannie which he shewed in confounding both the doctrine and discipline of the Church to serue his humor and wreeke his anger on those that would not yeeld to his heresie.

Phil. You may not scape so, we must haue a direct answer to the words which we bring. Theop. I neede not answere them, till you bring them. Phi. As for bringing, that shall not want. Theop. If I faile in answering, take you the aduantage. Phil. Be sure, I will. First then Constantius was reproued by S. Athanasius for *appointing his palace to be the tribunall seate of ecclesiasticall causes, and making himselfe the chiefe iudge and arbiter of those controuersies.* Theop. We do not make princes chiefe iudges and arbiters of ecclesiasticall controuersies, *Ergo* these words of Athanasius disproue not our assertion. Phil. Do you not make them *Rulers of bishops, and presidents of spirituall iudgements*, which is *that verie abhomination of desolation foretold by Daniel?* Theo. Do not you purposely clip the text, to draw the words from their right meaning to your malicious intent, which is a readie way to deface the truth, and vphold the kingdome of Antichrist: For where the words are, *Quis videns eum in decernendo principem se facere episcoporum, & præsidere iudicijs ecclesiasticis, non meritò dicat, &c.* who seeing him to make himselfe the ruler of bishops, and the ringleader of ecclesiasticall iudgements *(in decernendo)* what they shall determine, may not iustlie pronounce him to be that abhomination of desolation which Daniel foretold; you strike out cleane, *in decernendo*. In iudging or determining, and would haue it a note of Antichrist to be a ruler of bishops. Againe, where The vnderstanding of that which is spoken must be fet from the causes that moued (men) to speake as Hilarie well admonisheth, you let passe all that Athanasius

Apolog. cap. 4. Athanasius words discussed. *Apolog. cap. 4.*

Athanas epist. ad solitar. vitæ agentes. The Iesuitical madnes of citing the fathers to beare out that which should expound the rest. *Hilar. de trinit. lib. 4.*

hath said in that long epistle for the confirmation of this sentence, and explication of himselfe, and cull out a word or two that may be diuersly taken, and thinke with a phrase of speech both doubtfull and generall to surprise a setled and certaine truth.

How princes may rule bishops, and how not.

Princes should not be rulers of bishops: if by this you meane that princes should not be superior magistrates to commaund bishops that which is good, and forbid them that which is euill, yea to punish them as well for ecclesiasticall as ciuill disorders, Athanasius was neuer of that mind; his owne words expounding S. Pauls epistle to the Romanes (if these be his works that carie his name) are cleare to the contrarie. Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers.] He teacheth all men, saith Athanasius, whether it be priest, monke or apostle, to submit themselues to princes (or rulers.) And speaking of himselfe when he was commanded to confer with Arrius, not the first and famous heretike, but an other of that name and time concerning matters of faith, Who, saith he, is so besides his wits that he dare refuse the princes precept? His deeds are as manifest; for when the Councell of Tyrus would haue proceeded against him for his crimes and causes ecclesiasticall, the Catholike bishops of Ægypt that tooke part with him, made their appeale to the prince, as I shewed you before, and Athanasius in person fled to *Constantine*, and desired the synode to be sent for, and his cause to be heard before the emperour. What Athanasius liked in himselfe, he might not mislike in others; what he thought to be lawfull in the father, he could not thinke vnlawfull in the sonne; he doth not now refell that in words, which he before approued in deeds: you must so conster his sayings as they may stand with his doings, or else you make a mad construction. But if you meane that princes should not rule bishops in ecclesiasticall causes and iudgements, that is, not worke them, nor force them against the witnes of their hearts and consciences to follow the willes and appetites of princes, as Constantius did by the report of Athanasius in this place: then the words which you bring be verie true, but nothing pertinent to this question.

Comment. sub nomine Athan. in 13. Rom.

Disput. Athan. cũ Arrio Laodiceæ habita.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap 33.
Idem lib. 1. cap. 33.

The ruling then of bishops, and sitting as president of ecclesiasticall

ecclesiasticall iudgements which Constantius vsed, and Athanasius reproued, was nothing else but a wilfull contempt in himselfe of the faith and canons of the Church, and a furious compulsion of others to make them determine what he listed, and condemne whom him pleased, without respect of truth, and against all order of common iustice. Phil. This is your gloze, which we do not beleeue. Theop. Your owne witnesses say the same, whome you may not well discredit. Phil. Which of them? Theop. Athanasius and Hilary. Phil. Where say they so? Theop. Not farre from the places which your selfe alledge. The whole epistle of Athanasius which you quote, is a large repetition of the tyrannous words and deeds of Constantius, touching causes ecclesiasticall. The first booke of Hilary against Constantius, (the first I meane, as they now stand in order, though the last in time, as they were written) doth handle the same argument. Read either of them, you can not choose amisse.

Princes may not rule bishops, that is, not force them, nor frame them to their fancies.

Let passe the horrible persecution raised by Constantius, wherein the pagans were set to inuade the Churches of Christians, and to beate the people with staues and stones: the bishops, priests, and monks were bound with chaines, and scourged with rods; the women were haled by the haire to the iudgement seat; the virgins were tosted by the fire, and whipped with prickles, others were banished, strangled, trampled to death vnder feete, and their lims and ioints euen torne and rent asunder after they were dead, in so much that Athanasius is faine to cry out, who was not amazed at these things? Who would giue them the name of Ethnicks, much lesse of Christians? Who will thinke them to haue the conditions of men, and not rather of beasts? Who perceiued not the Arrians to be crueller than beasts? The strangers stading by, yea the Ethnicks detested the Arians as Antichrists, & butchers of men. O new found heresie, which in villanies & impieties hast put on the fulnes of the diuell, how great so euer he be: let passe I say these things, and come to his behauior in matters and causes ecclesiasticall.

Vide Athana. epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

Princes may play the tyrants in temporal things, much more in spirituall, if they passe christian moderation and sobrietie.

Ibidem.

Paulinus, Lucifer, and other bishops being called before him, the emperor commanded them to subscribe against Athanasius, and to communicate with the Arrians: they marueling at this strange endeuor, and answering that the ecclesiasticall

Ibidem.

Constantius would haue his will to be the canon of the Church.

siasticall canons would not suffer them so to do, he straightway replied: AT QVOD EGO VOLO, PRO CANONE SIT: *ista me loquentem Syriæ episcopi sustinent, aut ergo obtempera-te, aut vos quoque exules estote.* LET MY WILL BE TAKEN OF YOV FOR A CANON: the bishops of Syria content themselues with this speech of mine. Therefore do as I will you, or depart into banishment. And when the bishops held vp their hands to God, and with great libertie proposed their reasons, shewing him that the kingdom was not his but Gods, of whom he receiued it; and that it was to be feared, least he that gaue it would speedily take it from him: also setting before him the day of iudgement, and aduising him not to subuert ecclesiasticall order, nor to mingle the Romane empire with the constitutions of the Church, nor to bring the Arrian heresie into the Church of God: he would neither heare them, nor permit them to speake: but grieuously bending his browes for that they had spoken, and shaking his sword, willed (them) to be caried away. This was Constantius manner in conuenting bishops, and thus he peruerted the faith and good order of Christs Church vpon a selfe will, subiecting all lawes both diuine and humane to his eger and erronious fansie. And who seeing him (thus) to make himselfe the ruler of bishops, & president of ecclesiasticall iudgements, would not iustly deeme him to be that desolation of abomination foretold by Daniel?

Phil. You put (thus) to the text which Athanasius hath not. Theop. But the right meaning of Athanasius words must be gathered by that which goeth before and followeth after.* *Intelligentia dictorum,* saith Hilarie, *ex præcedentibus & consequentibus expectetur:* The vnderstanding of any speech must be taken from the precedents and consequents. The conclusion is not proued but by the premisses, and therefore must be measured by the premisses. Athanasius bringeth many particulars to shew in what sort Constantius ouer-ruled the bishops, and preferred his owne wil before all constitutions and canons of the Church, and then inferreth, Who seeing him to make himselfe the ruler of bishops, and president of ecclesiasticall iudgements (in that sort as he doth) would not pronounce him to be Antichrist? Now in what sort he did it, the whole epistle besides doth declare; thither must you repaire if you will see how Constantius

*Hilar. de trin. lib. 9. The words of Athanasius haue respect to that which is antecedent and consequent in the same epistle.

stantius behaued himselfe in ecclesiasticall causes, & consequently what things Athanasius & the rest misliked in him.

Phil. How did Constantius behaue himselfe, say you? Theop. That is worth the searching. By that you shal see what cause Athanasius, Osius, Leontius, and Hilarius had to reprœue him. Phil. Say no more than you iustly prœue. Theop. No more shall be said than your owne witnesses report. I hope you will take them for direct and true deponents. Phil. I do not mistrust them. Theop. Then heare them. There were fiue principall points wherein Constantius dealt very intemperately and wickedly, as the writings of Athanasius and Hilarie do testifie. The often altering of the faith, the wresting from synods what he would, the banishing of bishops vpon false accusations, the intruding of others in their places against all order, and the forcing of all sorts to communicate with the Arrians.

Fiue things misliked in Constantius, as tyrannicall.

Of his altering the faith, Hilarie thus complaineth: Faith is come now to depend rather on the time than on the gospell. Our state is dangerous and miserable, that we haue now as many faiths as wils, & as many doctrines as manners, whiles faiths are either so written as we list, or so vnderstood as we will. We make euery yeere and euery moneth a faith, & stil we seeke a faith as if there were no faith. This O Constantius would I faine know of thee, what faith at length thou beleeuest. Thou hast changed so often that now I know not thy faith. That is hapned vnto thee which is woont to follow vnskilfull builders, euer disliking their owne doings, that thou still pullest downe that which thou art still setting vp. Thou subuertest the old with new, and the new thou rentest in sunder with a newer correction; and that which was once corrected thou condemnest with a second correction. O thou wicked one, what a mockerie doest thou make of the church? Onely dogs returne to their vomit, and thou compellest the priests of Christ to sup vp those things which they had spit foorth, and doest thou command them in their confessions to allowe that which before they condemned? What bishops hand hast thou left innocent? Whose toong hast thou not forced to falshood? Whose hart hast thou not brought to the condemning of his former opinion? *Substrauisti voluntati tuæ sed & violentiæ.* Thou hast subiected

Hilar. lib. 3. ad Constant.

Often changing his faith.

Ibidem.

Hilar. lib. 1. contra Constantium defunct.

Ibidem.

Constantius was dead & so no prince, when Hilarie was so bold with him in his termes.

subiected (all) to thy will, nay to thy violence.

Hilar. lib. 1. contra Const. Forcing synods to his fansie.

His violent oppressing of bishops in their synods, and wresting from them what he would, is witnessed by them both. *Synodos contrahis, conclusos vrbe vna minis terres, fame debilitas, hyeme conficis, dissimulatione deprauas.* Thou gatherest synods, saith Hilarie to him, and when they be closed in one citie, thou terrifiest them with threats, thou pinest them with hunger, thou lamest them with cold, thou depraued them with dissembling. He pretendeth, saith Athanasius, a iudgement (or synod) of bishops for a shewe, but in the meane time he doth whatsoeuer he list himselfe. What libertie of persuasion, what place for aduise is there, when he that contradicteth, shall for his labor lose his life or his country? By what meanes hath the emperor gathered so great a number of bishops partly terrified with threats, partly enticed with promises to grant they would no longer communicate with Athanasius.

Athanas. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

The order of such tyrannicall synods, the bishops of Egypt, Lybia, Pentapolis, and Thebais do liuely report in defence of Athanasius, **whereby we shall see how farre they be from the moderation and regiment of godly princes.** With what face dare they call this conuent a synod, where the lieutenant was president? where the tormentor stood ready? where the iailor in steed of the deacons of the Church, brought in those that were called for? where the lieutenant spake, the rest that were present kept silence, or rather yeelded their seruice to him? where that which the bishops by common consent liked, was reiected by the lieutenant? He sate and commanded, we were led by souldiers, yea the lieutenant himselfe did whatsoeuer the Eusebians (our aduersaries) bid him. To be short, what shew of a synod was there, where death or banishment, if Cæsar said the word, was decreed?

Athanas. apolo. 2. in epist. Synod. Alexan.

This violence Liberius **toucheth in his answer to** Constantius **messenger.** If the emperor seeke in deed to interpose his care for the peace of the Church, or if he command those things which we haue decreed for Athanasius to be reuersed, let those things also that are decreed against him be reuersed, and after let an ecclesiasticall synod be called farre from the palace, where the emperor is not present, nor the lieutenant intermedleth, nor the iudge threatneth,

Athanas. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

(as

(as Constantius doth in his synods) but onely the feare of God & institution of the apostles suffice for all things. And this dissimulation the bishops were brought to by the emperors meanes, as your owne author confesseth, that Constantines sitting president among the bishops, and prescribing rules for (their) Churches, the most part of them receiued with applause and admiration whatsoeuer he said, affirming it to be diuinely spoken. *Suidas in Leontio Tripolit. Episc.*

What maruell then if Athanasius reproued Constantius for sitting among the bishops in their synods, as president of (their) iudgements, and ringleader or ruler of the bishops in their determinations, when as he oppressed the freedom of their voices with terror, corrupted the secrets of their harts with promises, and hindered the vprightnes of their proceedings with his presence? Or if Leontius brake out into these wordes: I woonder that hauing charge of other things thou entereste into these matters, and that being gouernor of the campe and common wealth thou prescribest those things to bishops which pertaine onely to bishops. Touching accusations of bishops his tyrannie was greater. He made his palace the consistorie for such causes and himselfe iudge of them, where if any Arrian accused another bishop, were the complaint neuer so false, the proofe neuer so slender, the man neuer so guiltlesse, the partie accused should not cleare himselfe, no not so much as speake for himselfe, but was sure, though he were absent and innocent, to die the death or suffer banishment. *Apud Suidam ibidem.* Admitting false accusations against bishops, and not suffering thé to speake for thémselues.

Phil. You imagine this of your owne head to make Constantius seeme a verie tirant. Theo. The wordes which you brought do fullie proue so much, but that you cut them off from the rest, to make them sound for your purpose. Put the wordes that follow to them, and see whether they do not import that which I said. Now againe in stead of ecclesiasticall cognition, (that is, the trial of bishops by their synodes when they are accused) he hath appointed his palace the iudgement seate of those causes, and himselfe the chiefe iudge & arbitrer of those contentions (or accusations:) and that which you would wonder at, if at any time he perceiue the accusers to stagger or faile in their proofs, he himselfe plaieth the accuser, so as the partie conuented is suffered to reply nothing by reason of his violence. Which he plainly shewed *Athan. ad Solit. vitam agentes.* This was plaine tyranny repugnant to the lawes of God and man.

shewed in Athanasius cause. For in that matter hearing the free speech of Paulinus, Lucifer, Eusebius, and Dionysius (all foure bishops) prouing by the recantation of Vrsacius and Valens, that the crimes obiected to Athanasius were false, & the sayings of Vrsacius and Valens, which they themselues had reuoked, ought not to be credited, Constantius straightway rising vp, said, I am Athanasius accuser, on my word beleeue those things (that are obiected to him.) Here the bishops answering againe, how can you accuse (Athanasius) in his absence? Grant you would accuse him, the absence of the partie accused is a let that you can not proceed to iudgemẽt. The iudgement is not of any common-wealth matter, that you should be beleeued as emperor; but a bishop is accused, & in this case he that will accuse & he that is accused must be delt withall in like condition. How can you accuse him that could not be present for the distance of place? If you haue those things which you obiect, by heare say, reason is you also beleeue that which Athanasius shall bring in defence of himselfe. For if you beleeue these (his accusers) and beleeue not him, it may be thought they say these things and accuse Athanasius to content and please you. This when the emperor heard, expounding their honest allegations for his reproches, he banished them: and waxing the sharper against Athanasius, gaue foorth a terrible edict that he should be punished, and his Churches deliuered to the Arrians, and his aduersaries haue leaue to do what they would.

Athan. ad sol. vitam agentes.

Hereby the Arrians waxed so confident that they spared no man. Whom haue they not touched, **saith** Athanasius, with their false accusations? Whom haue they not intrapped? Whom hath not Constantius banished that was accused by them? When did he not giue them both audience and allowance? Whom euer did he admit to say any thing against them? Or what did he not admit which they said against others? He euer doth that which the Arrians would haue, and they againe say that which he liketh.

And whereas the bishops in those daies were wont to be lawfullie chosen by the people of the place, and sufficientlie examined and allowed by other bishops adioining and openlie created in the Church; Constantius in stead of the Church would haue his palace succeed, and for the multitude of people, and right of assemblies (to elect) he commanded

manded three eunuches to be present, and three of his spies (or prolers) for you can not call them bishops, that they (sixe) in his palace might create on felix a bishop. And noting what manner of bishops the emperor and his eunuches made, he saith, *In illorum locum iuuenes, libidinosos, ethnicos, ne catechismo quidem imbutos, necnon & digamos & de maximis criminibus male audientes modò aurum darent, veluti emptores è foro ad episcopatus summisere:* They sent in their places (that were banished) yong men, leacherous persons, ethnickes, not so much as taught the first principles of faith, hauing two wiues, and spotted with enormous crimes, so they would giue mony, as cheape-men out of a market. *Athan. in eadem Epist.* Disordered electing of bishops. *Athan. ibidem.*

The furious violence that was vsed in the time of Constantius to driue men to participate with Arrians, not onely by imprisonments and banishments, but by chaining, whipping, scalding with fire, trampling vnder feete, stoning, choking, and secret murdering such as refused; without all respect of vocation, age or sexe, was so lamentable, that no christian hart can read it without teares, and it is so largely described and pithily disproued by Hilarie and Athanasius, that no man except he be blinder than a beetle, can doubt whether Constantius were a wilfull tyrant in the Church of God, or no. Peruse the places and you shall find proofes enough of that which I say. Tyrannous persecuting.

I proclaime, saith Hilarie, that to thee, Constantius, which I would to Nero, Decius, and Maximinian; thou fightest against God, thou ragest against the Church, thou dost persecute the sainctes, thou hatest the preachers of Christ, and ouerthrowest religion, a tyrant not in humane, but in diuine things; a newe kind of enemie to Christ, the forerunner of Antichrist. I repeat nothing rather than thy doings in the Church, because I would open no other tyrannie, but that (which thou vsest) against God. *Hilar. lib. 1. contra Constan. defunct.*

And Athanasius shewing the reasons why he calleth Constantius Antichrist; Who seeing or hearing, saith he, these thinges, who considering the rage of these wicked ones and so great iniustice, would not deepely sigh at it? Who hereafter will dare to call Constantius a Christian and not rather the image of Antichrist? For which of Antichrists markes doth he lacke? Or what cause is there why Constantius should not in euery respect be counted *Athan. ad solitariam agentes.*

counted Antichrist? Haue not the Arrians and Ethnickes as it were by his precept, vsed their sacrifices and blasphemies against Christ in the great Church at Cæsarium (in Egypt?) As a giant he exalteth himselfe against the most high and hath inuented waies to change the lawe (of God) breaking the ordinances of Christ and his apostles, and inuerting the customes of the Church. And since he is clothed with Christianitie and entereth into holy places, there standing and wasting the Churches, abrogating the canons, and by force compelling that his pleasure may preuaile, who at any time will affirme that these daies are peaceable to Christians? And not rather, that this is a persecution, and such a persecution as was neuer before, and no man after shall make the like, except that sonne of perdition, (which is the true Antichrist?)

These fathers reproued Constantius for that he did.

How thinke you, did not these fathers reproue Constantius **for** changing the faith, oppressing synods, corrupting iudgmentes, infringing the canons, barbarous enforcing the Christians, **and** shortly, **for** subiecting all to his will and violence? Phil. **I know they make mention of these things, but yet they reproue him generally for intermedling with ecclesiasticall causes.** Theop. **I hope they reproued him for that he did.** Phil. **The case is cleare, they could not reproue him for that he did not.** Theop. **These things which I last rehearsed,** Constantius **did; as I proue by their witnes that chiefly rebuked him;** *ergo* Constantius **was reproued of** Athanasius, Osius, Leontius **and** Hilarius **for these things, that is for playing the** tyrant in diuine matters, **or as you call them in causes ecclesiasticall.**

Now what he did, their owne words do witnes.

Osius words examined.

Phil. **But** Osius **saith,** Medle not O emperor in causes ecclesiastical, nor do thou commaund vs in that kind, but leaue such things to vs rather. Theop. **You were answered before, but that you will neuer be satisfied.** Osius **disswadeth** Constantius **from** vsing **his** absolute power **and** obstinate **will in those things that were then in question betwixt the Christians and** Arrians. **He saw the manifolde and excessiue disorders of** Constantius **in forcing synodes of bishops by terror and violence to bow at his becke,** in making his palace a consistorie for their causes, **and there** iudging what his eunuches would, in dissoluing the ordinances of Christ and his apostles, **and** doing all things against the

the rules of the Church, and therfore had good cause to say: *Athan. ad solitariam agentes.*
Ne te misceas ecclesiasticis neque nobis in hoc genere præcipe, sed potius ea à nobis disce: Enterpose not thy selfe (as thou doest) O emperor in ecclesiasticall matters, neither command vs in this kind, but learne such things rather of vs, and not as you say (leaue such things rather to vs.) God hath committed the empire to thee, to vs the things of the Church: and as he that enuieth thine empire contradicteth the ordinance of God, so take thou heed, least drawing vnto thy selfe the things of the Church, thou be gilty of great sinne. It is written, Giue vnto Cæsar that which is Cæsars, and vnto God that which is Gods. It is therefore neither lawfull for vs to hold a kingdom on earth, neither hast thou power, O prince, ouer sacrifices and sacred things. It is neither lawfull for a bishop to hold a kingdom, nor for a prince to take a bishops function on him.

These words put a difference betweene the function of priests and princes, and shew that neither may intrude with each others charge, which we confesse with a good will. But as priests must teach truth and conuict error, that is their office: so princes must command for truth, and punish error, because publike authority to command & punish is not the priests, but the princes right, wherewith priests must not meddle.

Phil. Yet the prince must learne at the priests hand, which is truth and which error. Theo. If the priest teach truth and the prince reiect it, the prince shal answer to God for the contempt of truth: but if the priest teach error in steed of truth, a godly prince hath lawfull power to banish the doctrine, & punish the teacher. Phil. And if the prince say that truth is error and error is truth, shal truth be banished and the priest punished vpon the princes saying? Theop. And what if the priest say that light is darkenesse, and darkenesse light, shal princes be excused before God for displacing the truth and maintaining falshood vpon the priests warrant? Phil. Let princes ioine themselues to the Church, and they cannot mistake. Theop. Shal they trust euery sect that claimeth to be the Church, or must they learne to know the true Church of Christ from the counterfeit? Phil. The Church is some knowne. Theo. Not so some as you thinke. But we slip from our matter; how princes must be directed to light on truth is an other, and the next question: we be now discussing their authority to command for truth, not their abilitie to discerne the truth; The priest shall not excuse the prince before God, & therefore the prince can not be bound to the priests mouth.

and as far as I coniecture by your speeches, you be loth to grant that princes may defend or assist the truth, were it neuer so wel known, to be the vndoubted truth of Christs Church. Phil. Yes we grant they should defend the faith, and assist the Church, but we would haue them not go beyond their calling. Theop. No more would we: but the words of Osius as you presse them, infer that princes may not so much as medle with defending the faith, or assisting the church of Christ, by their princely power, which euereth as well your opinion as ours.

The limiting of Osius words.

If you will haue these words, Meddle not in causes ecclesiasticall, to be taken as they lie without restriction, *ergo* princes must not medle neither in word nor deed with the defending nor impugning the faith or Church of Christ. And this, you see, were no sober persuasion, but a frantike conclusion wrested out of Osius words against his meaning, against all truth & your owne confession. Who in his right wits will say to kings, take you no care who defendeth or impugneth the Church (of Christ) in your realmes; let it not pertaine to you who list to be religious or sacrilegious in your kingdoms? The acts of Constantine, the lawes of Iustinian, the chapters of Charles, the stories of the church, the scriptures themselues, do clearely conuince that the best & most famous princes haue medled in ecclesiasticall matters: the office & oth of a prince, as anon you shall heare, require the same: your owne assertion is that princes ought to defend the faith, & assist the Church, & that they can not do without medling in ecclesiasticall matters. Now choose whether you will thwart the whole church of God, & disproue your owne doctrine, or else limit the words of Osius as we do, by the particulars that moued him to reproue Constantius for his immoderate presumption.

Aug. epist. 50.

The words of Osius must be limited, & the limitation whatsoeuer it be can not hurt vs.

The generall is absurd, and refuteth your intention as wel as ours; for you would haue princes meddle with the publishing, assisting, and executing of your pleasures and iudgements, and we would haue them yeeld that seruice to Christ & his truth, which you chalenge to your selues: the limitation, let it be what it will agreeable to the circumstances, can not hurt vs. Meddle not in causes ecclesiasticall (in such sort as thou doest) which rebuketh his tyrannie; meddle not, neither appoint vs what we shall do

that

that is, meddle not (with appointing and directing vs) in these things, but learne them rather of vs, which professeth his insolencie: *Ne te misceas ecclesiasticis*, thrust not thy selfe into those things (which belong to the priests, and not to the princes charge) which is Osius owne distinction: or else, *ne te misceas*, interpose not thy selfe, that is, (thy resolute will and power to command and compel vs) to subscribe against Athanasius an innocent, & to communicate with Arrians condemned heretiks, which were the two points that Constantius exacted of Osius. All these constructions import that Constantius medled in that sort, and with those things that he should not; but they do not exclude princes from establishing ye truth, & punishing sacrileges, schisms, and heresies, which is medling with matters ecclesiastical.

Phil. Leontius is as earnest against him as Osius. I marvell, saith he to Constantius, thy vocation being for other things, thou medlest with these matters. Thy charge is of ciuill and martiall affaires onely, and yet thou wilt needes be president of ecclesiasticall causes. Theop. *I marvell that professing to seeke a truth, you be not ashamed to temper and alter your witnesses in this sort. You cut off the first part that would expound the whole, and the latter you wilfully corrupt to force it to your purpose.* The place of Suidas is this. Constantius at a time sitting chiefe among the bishops, and going about to set them orders for their Churches, the most part receiued with applause and admiration whatsoeuer he said, affirming it to be most excellently spoken. Leontius held his peace: whom when the emperor asked, why doest thou onely of all the rest keepe silence? I marvell, saith Leontius, that hauing charge for other things, thou entrest into these matters, and that being appointed ouer the campe and common-wealth, thou prescribest to the bishops those things which belong onely to bishops. *In stead of* στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων προεστηκώς, *you say*, (Thy charge is of ciuill and martiall affaires onely) *that would one-ly is your owne, and not your authors, and so be the rest that follow.* Thou wilt needes be president of ecclesiasticall causes: Leontius said, ὀπισκόποις σοι περὶ τούτων ἐπιτρέπω μόνοις ὀπισκόποις ὑπάρχουσι: Thou prescribest vnto bishops those things which belong onely to bishops. This is no good dealing with fathers, to forge them and frame them to your fancies.

Suidas in Leon. Tripolis episc.

Princes may nor do what they list in the Church of God.

Leontius wilfully corrupted by the Iesuits.

This was a boue Constantius reach, and without his vocation, to teach bishops in his owne person.

Leontius had some reason to say as he did, Constantius was sitting chiefe among the bishops, and prescribing them rules and orders for their Churches, in things that were both beyond his cunning, and besides his calling. What things those were, the storie doth not expresse, but saith: such things as belonged onely to bishops. Now why should not Leontius thinke that princes in some things had no skill to direct bishops, neither might prescribe what rules and orders they listed, for the Churches of God? And yet your author is not ancient that reporteth this. Suidas liued twelue hundred yeres after Christ, a man learned, but of very late time, and far from the credit of antiquitie.

Suidas a late writer.

Leontius himselfe, if all be true that Suidas writeth of him, had no more discretion than needed. For when the emperesse sent to speake with him, he returned this answer: If thou wilt haue me come to thee, let me haue the reuerence due to bishops, that when I come in, thou by and by descend from thy throne, and reuerently meet me, & submit thy head vnder my hands, to receiue (my) blessing, and then will I sit, and thou shalt stand manerly by, and not offer to sit till I bid thee. If these couenants please thee, I wil come. A high point of diuinitie, that a subiect will not come to his prince but on these saucie conditions. Such fables you seeke to further your cause, and yet all will not helpe.

Suidas in eodem Leont.

Leontius a man of no great iudgement.

Phil. I trust you will make more account of Hilarie whose words are these, We beseech thy clemencie to prouide that charge be giuen to all iudges of prouinces, that hereafter they presume not, nor vsurpe the hearing of ecclesiasticall causes. Theop. Byrdes go very low with you when you fall from princes to inferior iudges, and yet mistake your text. For Hilarie beseecheth nothing of Constantius in that place, but that the iudges of euery prouince should forbeare medling in matters of religion (with tortures and violence.) The whole booke, the words before the next part of the same sentence ioined to this which you bring with a coniunction copulatiue, confirme that to be the true meaning of Hilary. This is right order of the place: We beseech not only with words, but also with teares, that the catholike churches be no longer oppressed with grieuous iniuries, & sustaine intolerable persecutiõs & contumelies, & that which is shamefull, euen of our brethren. Let your clemenci-

Hilary would not haue men forced to religion with tortures

Hilar. lib. 2. ad Constant.

prouid-

rouide & appoint that all iudges euery where, to whom prouinces are committed, which ought to take care & charge of ōmon-wealth matters onely, refraine from medling with religion. Neither let them presume & vsurpe, & thinke they may enter into clergy mens causes, & force & vexe innocent men with diuers afflictions, threates, violence & terrors. Your singular and admirable wisedome perceiueth it is not seemely, ought not to be, that men should be forced and compelled against their wils and harts, to yeeld and addict themselues through violent oppression to such as cease not to sowe the corrupt seed of false doctrine.

This was the medling with clergie mens causes that Hilarie ment, and which he would haue temporall iudges restrained from: and yet were his meaning neuer so generall, he required nothing but that which Constantine the father of Constantius had by his publike lawes ordeined, and all christian princes haue since obserued, to wit, that ecclesiasticall persons should be conuented before ecclesiasticall iudges. For so Constantine decreed, Committing iudgement and iurisdiction ouer clerkes to bishops; and Valentinian the elder would haue priests to iudge of priests: yea Iustinian excludeth all secular iudges from hearing the causes of clergie men, except it were for ciuil offences. If the crime be ecclesiasticall, needing ecclesiasticall reformation and punishment, let the bishop determine the same, the iudges of the prouince no way intermedling, for we will not haue temporal iudges enter into such matters where as such faults must be examined ecclesiastically by the sacred and diuine rules (& canons) which our laws take no scorn to folow.

Temporall Iudges had their charge by the Romane lawes limited vnto temporall matters.

Niceph. lib 7. cap. 46. Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 32. Nouel. constit. 83.

And though he bar ciuil iudges from the hearing of such causes, yet doth not exempt clergie mē, bishops nor others frō the obedience of his ecclesiasticall lawes, as the words import that be next to these; *Omnibus quæ iam a nobis sancita sunt, siue super sanctiss. ecclesijs, siue super Deo amabilibus episcopis, siue super clericis, siue super monachis propriam virtutem habentibus:* All things which we haue already decreed concerning the most holy Churches, and blessed bishops, and touching clerkes and monkes standing in their full force. He quiteth clergie men from temporall barres, but he bindeth both them and their iudges to the tenor of his ecclesiasticall lawes, as well in their synodes as in their consistories,

Clergie men exempted from temporall lawes, but not from the princes lawes. *Ibidem.*

as appeareth at large by his 123. constitution; so that this place of Hilarie might well haue been spared saue onely to make vp your tale.

Philan. Is this your opinion that princes themselues may lawfully meddle with ecclesiastical causes & persons though their inferior iudges may not? Theo. We say princes exempted clergie men from secular iudges but not frō themselues: and that princes from the beginning haue medled with persons and causes ecclesiasticall, we bring you not onely fiue authorities that shalbe neither maimed nor wrested as yours be, but fiue hundred acts, examples, lawes and edicts that shall be strong and effectuall proofes for this purpose. Phil. You talke of cost when you say fiue hundred. Theop. We could far passe that number, if the number would moue you to leaue follie, but I will go another way to worke with you. What good king can you name before or after Christ for 1000. yeres, but such as medled with ecclesiasticall matters? Phil. Nay, what good king can you name that did? Theoph. They be sooner named, than answered.

Princes haue euer medled with ecclesiastical matters.

Nabuchodonosor. Dan. 3.

Nabuchodonosor in making a law that euery people, nation and language, which spake any blasphemie against the God of Sidrac, Misac & Abednago should be drawen in pieces and their houses made priuies, did he not meddle with matters of religion? Phil. Nabuchodonosor was a tyrant: Theo. But being corrected by the diuine miracle, he made *Aug. epist. 50.* saith Augustine, a religious and commendable law for the truth, that who so blasphemed the God of Sidrac, Misac, and Abednago should with his house perish vtterly.

Darius. Dan. 6.

Darius vpon the sight of another miracle, wrote to all people, nations and languages that dwelt in the world with these wordes: I make a decree, that in all the dominion of my kingdom men tremble & feare before the God of Daniel.

Ionas 3. The king of Niniueth.

The king of Niniueth, hearing of that which Iona threatned from God, proclaimed a fast, and charged all men to put on sack-cloth, and cry mightily to God and to turne from (their) euill wayes, and the wickednesse that was in their handes. I trust you dare not condemne the king of Niniueth for an intruder vpon ecclesiastical causes, whose seruice so wel pleased God, that he spared the king and his subiects from destruction hanging ouer their

heads

heads: and yet fasting, praier and repentance be causes meere spirituall, in which the king interposed his roiall authoritie by the councell of his nobles, and not of Ionas who departed the citie grieued and angrie with God for pardoning the Niniuites vpon their conuersion. Ionas 3.

The facts of these three kings I alleage the rather, because saint Augustine grounded himselfe vpon them, as proofes that Christian kings may meddle with matters of religion, and as paterns for them to follow. Ye kings vnderstand, be wise ye that iudge the earth, serue the Lorde with feare, and reioyce before him with trembling. How do kings serue the Lord in feare, but by forbidding & punishing with a religious seueritie, those things which are done against the precepts of God? As the king of Niniueth serued by compelling the whole citie to appease the Lord. As Darius serued by giuing the idoll into Daniels power to be broken, and casting his enimies to the Lions. As Nabuchodonosor serued by restraining all that were in his kingdom from blaspheming God, with a terrible law. And againe, When emperors professe the truth they command for truth against error. As Nabuchonosor proposed an edict for truth against error, that who so euer blasphemed the God of Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago should be destroyed, and his house dispersed. And you (Donatistes) will not that Christian emperors command anie such thing against you. If the commandementes of kings haue nothing to do with the publishing of religion, and prohibiting of sacrileges, why then do you signe your selues at king (Nabuchodonosors) edict commanding such things? For when you heare it, do you not aunswer Amen, and saying so with a loud voyce, do you not signe your selues in the holie solemnitie at the kings edict.

Augustin. epi. 50. S. Auste proposeth their examples to be followed of Christian kings.

Aug. epi. 166.

The cõmandementes of kings may lawfully reach to the publishing of religion.

What Moses, Iosua, Dauid, Salomon, Asa, Iehosaphat, Ezechias, Manasses, Iosias, Nehemias did for the planting, preseruing and purging of true religion, and how they commanded, reproued, and punished as well Priests as others for spirituall crimes and causes, the places are infinite, and witnessed in no worse records than the scriptures thẽ selues: I will not touch thẽ all but onely shew that euery one of these in their times and raignes medled with ecclesiastical men & matters, which is the point that

Kings & rulers cõmended by the holy Ghost for medling with religiõ.

you would impugne by your allegations.

Moses. Moses the ciuill magistrate reproued Aaron the high
Exod.32. priest, for making the golden calfe, and stamping it to pow-
der cast it into the water that Israel might drinke it, and in
one day put three thousand of them for that idolatrie to the
sword. And after the rebellion of Corah, when the residue
were plagued for murmuring against Moses and Aaron,
Nomb. 16. Moses commanded Aaron to take the censer and stand be-
tweene the liuing and the dead to make attonement for
the people. And as during life, Moses guided and ruled
them in all things both spirituall and temporall, so, rea-
Deut.32.33. die to depart, he carefully warned, and finally blessed the
twelue tribes of Israel.

Iosua. Iosua that succeeded him, a prince not a priest, was char-
Iosua 1. ged by God to meditate in the booke of the law day and
night, that thou maiest obserue, saith God, and do accor-
Iosua 1. ding to all that is written therein, and the people receiued
him with this submission, As we obeied Moses in all things,
so will we obey thee. Whosoeuer shall rebell against thy com-
mandement, & will not obey thy words in all that thou com-
mandest him, let him be put to death.

And least you should thinke that he commanded in no-
Iosua 5.8. thing but temporall matters, he circumcised the sonnes of
Iosua 8. Israel, erected an altar of stone for their offrings, read the
whole law to them, there was not a word of all that Moses
commanded, which Iosua read not before all the congrega-
Iosua 7. tion; searched and punished the concealer of things dedi-
Iosua 24. cated to idols, and not long before he died, in his own per-
son renewed the couenant betweene God and the peo-
Iosua 24. ple, and caused them to put away the strange gods that
were among them, insomuch that by his diligent care
and good regiment, Israel serued the Lord all the dayes
of Iosua.

Dauid. How far king Dauid medled with matters of religion,
1.Chro.16. if the Psalms which he made for Asaph and his brethren
1.Chro.23. to sing in assemblies, and order which he set for the whole
24.25.26. seruice of the temple, appointing the priests, leuites, sin-
gers and other seruitors of the Church their dignities,
courses and offices, did not declare; the charge which he
gaue to king Salomon his sonne, and the praise which he
gate at gods hands for the faithfull execution & religious
obseruation

obseruation of his law giuen by Moses in all things and causes both spirituall and temporal; are sufficient euidence. Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, saith Dauid to Salomon, to walke in his waies and keepe his statutes, and his commandements, and his iudgements and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses: This God himselfe repeated to Salomon, proposing Dauid his father for a paterne vnto him: If thou wilt walke before me, (as Dauid thy father walked in purenes of heart and vprightnes) to do according to all that I haue commanded thee, and keepe my statutes and my iudgements, I will establish the throne of thy kingdom vpon Israel for euer. 3.King.2. 3.King. 9.

Phil. Do these words proue that Dauid did or Salomon might meddle with ecclesiasticall matters? Theop. These places and such like do fullie proue that the kings and gouernors of Israel and Iudah were appointed by God himselfe to haue the custodie, charge and ouersight of all things mentioned and expressed in Moses law. Here you see the words are, to do according to all that I haue commanded thee, and keepe my statures and iudgements: To Iosua God said; that thou maiest obserue and do according to all that is written (in the booke of the law:) and likewise of the king in generall, The booke of the law shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the daies of his life, that he may learne to keepe all the words of this law and these ordinances to fulfill them. The king was charged with all the words and ordinances of Moses law: the law of Moses conteined all things which God required of priests or people both spirituall and temporall, *ergo* the king was charged by God himselfe as well with all ecclesiasticall things and causes as with temporall. And consequentlie Dauid and all other kings that discharged their duties to God in such sort, as he inioined them, medled with all things and causes ecclesiasticall and temporall. The magistrate charged with all the words of Moses law. 3.Kings 9. Iosua 1. Deut. 17. They which discharged their duties to God, medled with all things as wel ecclesiastical as ciuill.

Phil. Frame your argument shorter. Theo. They were charged with all, *ergo* they should meddle with all: and some discharged their duties to God, for example, such as were commended and fauored by God, whom I before named; *ergo* some did meddle with all the precepts of God both ecclesiasticall and temporall.

Phil.

Phil. They were charged to obserue the whole law as all other men were. Theop. They were charged for their owne persons as all priuat men were, but as kings they were charged for others in such maner as no subiect could be charged, namely, to see the law of God to be publikely receiued and fullie obserued within their realmes, and all other sorts of religion and policie to be cleane forbidden and banished. Phil. This is your surmise. Theop. It is S. Augustines maine collection in sundrie places, fet from the verie principles of reason and nature; and confirmed by the warrant of the sacred scriptures. The king serueth God, saith Saint Augustine, As a man one waie, as a king an other waie. As a man by liuing faithfullie, as a king by making lawes with conuenient vigor to command that which is right and forbid the contrarie. And againe, kings euen in that they be kings haue to serue the Lord, in such sort as none can do which are not kings. For kings (in respect as they be kings) serue the Lord, if in their kingdoms they command that which is good, and forbid that which is euill. How then, saith he, do kings serue the Lord, but by forbidding and punishing with a religious seueritie those things that are done against the commandements of the Lord? And thus much the verie deriuation of the name doth infer. *Rex à regendo dicitur*, a king is he that ruleth (others) and the relation of the word doth teach vs there can be no king but in respect of his subiects, and his dutie towards them is to direct and correct, that is to command and punish in all things needfull.

Kings be charged with Gods law in respect of cõmanding it to others.

Augu. epi. 50.

Idem cõtra lit. Petiliani, li. 2. *cap.* 92. *Idem. contra Cres. lib.* 3. *cap.* 51. *Idem epist.* 50. *Idẽ in Psalm.* 44.

No man is a king in respect of himselfe, but of his people.

Phil. What conclude you of all this? Theop. That where God chargeth the king to keepe and obserue all the words of the law, keeping and obseruing are not there referred to his priuat actions as a man, but to his publike function as a king: and therefore the king in these words receiued the charge and ouersight of the whole law, that is an expresse commandement from God to see the law kept, and euerie part thereof obserued of all men within his dominions, and the breakers of it, prophets, priests and people to be duelie punished. Now the law contained all things that anie waie touched the true seruice and worship of God, *Ergo* the king had one and the selfe-same power and charge to command and punish

Keeping and obseruing referred to magistrats, is nothing else but to command and see the law of God kept and obserued by others.

nish as well for the precepts of pietie, as other points of policie, neither did God fauor or prosperitie of the kings of Israel or Iudah, but such as chiefly respected, and carefullie maintained the ordinances of religion prescribed vnto them in Moses law. In the times of the prophets, saith S. Augustine, all the kings which in the people of God did not forbid and ouerthrow those things which were brought in against the commandements of God, are blamed: and they that did prohibite and subuert such things, are praised aboue the rest. *Aug. epist. 50.*

God blessed Salomon with wisdome, honor, riches and peace, so long as he walked in the steps of Dauid his father: during the which time, Salomon did dedicate the Temple in his owne person, and cast out Abiathar from being priest vnto the Lord, and set Zadocke in his roome: but when his heart once turned from God to build places also for idols, and to suffer his outlandish wiues to burne incense and offerings to their Gods, then the Lord was angrie with Salomon, and stirred vp aduersaries against him, and threatned to rent his kingdom from him, and to giue it to his seruant. Salomon. 3.Kings 8. 3.Kings 2. 3.Kings 11.

Asa tooke awaie the altars of the strange Gods, and the high places, and brake downe the images, and cut downe the groues, and commanded Iudah to seeke the Lord God of their fathers, and tooke awaie out of all the cities of Iudah the high places and images, therefore the kingdome was quiet before him. And he tooke an oth of all Iudah and Beniamin, that Whosoeuer would not seeke the Lord God of Israell, should be slaine, whether he were small or great, man or woman, and he deposed Maachah his mother from her regencie, because she had made an idoll: and Asa brake downe her idoll, and stamped it and burnt it, and the Lord gaue him rest round about. Asa. 2.Chro.14. 2.Chro.15.

Iehosaphat his sonne walked in the first waies of Dauid, and sought the Lord God of his father, and walked in his commandements, and therefore the Lord established the kingdom in his hands, so that he had riches and honor in abundance. In the third yeere of his raigne, he sent his princes that they should teach in the cities of Iudah, and with them leuites and priests, and himselfe went through Iehosaphat. 2.Chro.17. Verse 3. Verse 4. Verse 5. Verse 7. Verse 8.

through the people from Beer-sheba to Mount-Ephraim,
2. Chro. 19. and brought them againe to the Lord God of their fathers.
Verse 4. In Ierusalem he sent of the leuits and of the priests and of the
chiefe of the families of Israel for the iudgement and cause
Verse 8. of the Lord. And he charged them saying, Thus shall ye do
Verse 9. in the feare of the Lord faithfullie and with a perfect heart.
Verse 10. Thus shall ye do and trespasse not. And behold Amariah the
Verse 11. priest shall be the chiefe among you for all the matters of the
Lord, and Zebadiah for all the kings affaires, and the leuites
shall be helpers vnto you. Be strong and do it. And when the
2. Chron. 20. Moabites and Ammonites came against him, he proclaimed
Verse 3. a fast throughout all Iudah, and stood in the congregation of
Verse 5. Iudah and Ierusalem in the house of the Lord, and praied in
Verse 6. his owne person for all the people.

Ezechiah. Ezechiah did vprightlie in the sight of the Lord, accor-
2. Chron. 29. ding to all that Dauid his father had done. He opened the
Verse 2. dores of the house of the Lord, and brought in the priests
Verse 3. and the leuites, and said vnto them; heare me ye leuites,
Verse 4. sanctifie your selues, and sanctifie the house of the Lord God
Verse 5. of your fathers. I purpose to make a couenant with the Lord
Verse 10. God of Israel. And they sanctified themselues according to
Verse 15. the commandement of the king. And the king rose early
Verse 20. and gathered the princes of the citie, and went vp to the
Verse 21. house of the Lord. And they brought (sinne-offerings) and
Verse 27. Ezechiah commanded to offer the burnt offering vpon the
Verse 21. altar, yea, he commanded the priests the sonnes of Aa-
Verse 29. ron to offer them. And when they had made an end of
Verse 30. offering, Ezechiah the king and the princes commanded
the leuites to praise the Lord with the words of Dauid and
2. Chron. 30. Asaph the Seer. And Ezechiah sent to all Israel and Iudah,
Verse 1. and also wrote letters to Ephraim and Manasses that they
Verse 6. should come to the house of the Lord at Ierusalem to keepe
the Passouer. So the postes went with letters by the com-
mission of the king and his princes throughout all Israel
and Iudah, and with the commandement of the king, say-
ing: Yee children of Israel, turne againe vnto the Lord
Verse 12. God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel. And the hand of God
2. Chron. 31. was in Iudah, so that he gaue them one heart to do the com-
Verse 2. mandement of the king. And Ezechiah appointed the
courses of the priests and leuites by their turnes, euer-
ie man according to his office for the burnt offerings and
peace

peace offerings, to minister and giue thanks, and to praise in the gates of the tents of the Lord. And in all the works that he began for the seruice of the house of God, he did it with all his hart and prospered. He tooke away the high places and brake the images, and cut downe the groues, and brake in peeces the brasen serpent which Moses had made: for in those dayes the children of Israell did burne incense to it. Verse 21. 4.Kings 18.

Manasses at the first went backe and built the high places which Ezechiah his father had broken downe, and set vp altars for Baalim, and made groues and worshipped all the host of heauen, and serued them, but after he was taken by the king of Babylon and put in fetters, and bound in chaines; he humbled himselfe greatly before the God of his fathers; and God was intreated of him, and heard his prayer, and brought him againe to Ierusalem into his kingdom. Then he tooke away the strange gods, and the image out of the house of the Lord, and all the altars that he had built in the mount of the Lords house and in Ierusalem, and cast them out of the citie. Also he repaired the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon peace-offrings and of thanks, and commanded Iudah to serue the Lord God of Israel. Manasses. 2.Chron.33. Verse 3. Verse 11. Vers.12. Vers.13. Vers.15. Vers.16.

Iosiah in the eight yeere of his raigne, when he was yet a child (of sixteene yeeres) began to seeke after the God of Dauid his father, and in the twelfth yeere he began to purge Iudah and Ierusalem from the high places and the groues and the carued and molten images. And they brake downe in his sight the altars of Baalim, and he caused to cut downe the images that were on them: he brake also the groues, and the karued and molten images, and stampt them to powder, and strewed it vpon the graues of them that had sacrificed on them. Also he burnt the bones of the priests vpon their altars, and purged Iudah and Ierusalem. And when he had destroied the altars, and cut downe all the idols throughout the land of Israel, he returned to Ierusalem. Then the king sent and gathered all the elders of Iudah and Ierusalem. And the king went vp to the house of the Lord, and all the men of Iudah and inhabitants of Ierusalem, and the priests and the leuites, and all the people from the greatest to the smallest, and he read in their eares, all the words of the booke of the couenant, that was found in the house Iosiah. 2.Chron.34. vers.3. Vers.4. Verse 5. Verse 7. Verse 29. Verse 30.

of

Verse 31. of the Lord. And the king stood by his pillar, and made a couenant before the Lord to walke after the Lord, and to keepe his commandements, and his statuts with all his hart, and with all his soule, & that he would accomplish the words
Verse 32. of the couenant written in that booke. And he caused all that were found in Ierusalem and Beniamin to stand to (the
Verse 33. couenant.) So Iosiah tooke away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israell, and compelled all that were found in Israell to serue the Lord their God: and all his daies they turned not backe from the Lord God of their fathers.

2. Chron. 35. Moreouer Iosiah kept a passeouer vnto the Lord in Ierusalem, and he appointed the priests to their charges, and
Verse 1. Verse 2. said to the leuites, serue now the Lord your God and his
Verse 3. people Israel, and prepare your selues by the houses of your
Verse 4. fathers according to your courses, as Dauid the king of Israel hath written, and according to the writing of Salomon
Verse 5. his sonne. And stand in the sanctuarie, according to the
Verse 6. diuision of the families of your brethren: Kill the passeouer and sanctifie your selues, and prepare your brethren, that they may doe according to the word of the Lord by the
Verse 10. hand of Moses. Thus the seruice was prepared, and the priests stood in their places; also the leuites in their or-
Verse 16. ders according to the kings commaundement. So all the seruice of the Lord was prepared the same daie to keepe the passeouer and to offer burnt offerings vpon the altar of the Lord according to the commandement of king Iosiah.

Nehemias. Nehemias **though he were no king but a captain sent frō king** Artexerxes, **yet he discerned and resisted** the prophets
Nehem. 6. that would haue put (him) in feare, **and was the first that**
Nehe. 10. verse 1. sealed **the couenant betweēn God and the people with** an
Verse 29. oth to walke in the law of God, and to obserue all the commandemēts of the Lord. **And he displaced** Tobiah **an Ammonite, whom** Eliashib **the high** priest **had receiued & lodged** within the court of the house of God, **and** cast out all the
Nehem. 13. Verse 7. Verse 8. Verse 9. Verse 11. Verse 17. vessels of the house of Tobiah, and commanded them to clense the chambers for the vessels of the house of God. **And** reprooued the rulers **for that the** house of God was forsaken,
Ver. 10 & 11. **and the** sabbaoth daie broken: assembling the leuites and singers: and setting them in their places; **and charging** the

the leuites to clense themselues and to sanctifie the sabboth daie. And when he saw Iewes that maried (strange) wiues, he rebuked them and cursed them & smote certaine of them and tooke an oth of them by God, that they should not marry with strangers. And one of the sonnes of Ioiadah the sonne of Eliashib the high priest maried the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, but Nehemiah chased him awaie; and clensed (the priests and leuites) from all strangers, and appointed them their courses euery one in his office. Verse 22. Verse 23. Verse 25. Verse 28. Verse. 30.

There needeth no great skill to set this togither. To remoue idols, and all abominations out of the land, to enter a couenant with God, and to walke in his waies, to proclaime fastes, and make publike praiers, to sanctifie the temple, and celebrate the passouer, to seeke and serue God according to his law; be matters ecclesiasticall, not temporall; and yet in the same cases the godly kings of Iudah commanded and compelled all that were found in Iudah, priest and prophet, man and woman, to stand to that order, which they tooke for the better accomplishing of these their interprises. Acknowledge that right and power in christian princes at this day, to meddle with matters of religion, which the scriptures report & commend in kings of religious and famous memorie, we presse you no farther. If you sticke to grant so much, others wil not sticke to distrust the soundnes of your doctrine, notwithstanding the smothnes of your tonges and loftines of your spirits, wherewith you thinke to compasse and quaile kingdomes. The illation vpon the former examples.

Phil. The kings of Iudah did that which they did at the motion of the prophets and direction of the priests. Theop. You shun that, which you shal not auoid. We reason not, who moued and aduised, but who decreed and commanded these things to be done; priests or princes? The scriptures in plaine termes saie, that princes DECREED, APPOINTED, COMMANDED, them to be done. Contradict the words if you dare. Take from Asa, Iehosaphat, Ezechias, Iosias, the king of Niniueth and others the princely power which they shewed, and due praise which they merited in medling with these matters, and impugne the words whereby God expresseth and approueth their doings, and see whether the consciences of all The kings decreed and commanded those thinges though happily the prophets did aduise them & persuade the.

good

good men will not detest and abhor your wilfull impietie.

To be directed and aduised by others doth not hinder the princes authoritie.

Phil. The scripture saith in deede, they commanded, appointed, decreed these things, but no doubt they were directed by prophets and other spirituall pastours what they should do. Theop. What if they were? Doth that hinder their authoritie? Princes in ciuill affaires are guided and directed by learned and wise counsellers; do they therefore not command in temporall matters neither? Or finde you no difference betweene councelling and commanding?

The high priest among the Iewes had his commission from Gods owne mouth, the pope hath not.

Phil. Againe these princes were before the comming of Christ, when as yet there was no supreme pastour ouer the whole Church. Theop. There was an high priest ouer the twelue tribes with surer and better authoritie than your holy father can shew for him-selfe. All Israell by Gods owne mouth were referred to the iudgement of the priests and leuites, & not to decline from the thing which they speake: and The man, saith God, that will do presumptuouslie not harkning vnto the priest (that standeth before the Lord to minister) that man shall die. This was their commission, and yet this notwithstanding the kings of Iudah commanded both priest and people for matters of religion.

The best christian princes haue followed the steppes of the kings of Iudah.

And so did the christian emperors after the comming of Christ, for eight hundred yeeres that we shew, command both bishops and others, yea the bishop of Rome no lesse than others in causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. The particulars I noted before. The lawes were publike, the time long, the princes wise; the facts knowen, the Church of Christ honored and obeyed those decrees: it is no doubtfull question, but a manifest truth that the best princes before Christ, and after Christ for many yeeres, medled with the reformation of the Church, and prescribed lawes both ecclesiasticall and temporall.

God himselfe speaketh and commandeth by the harts and lawes of princes.

S. Augustine accompteth them not vsurpers, as you do, but happie princes that imployed their authoritie to delate and spread the true worship of God as much as they could, and auoucheth plainely that God him-selfe speaketh and commandeth by the mouthes and harts of princes when they command in matters of religion that which is good, and whosoeuer resisteth their ecclesiasticall

lawes

lawes made for truth shall be grieuously plagued at Gods hands. (*Imperatores*) *felices dicimus, si suam potestatem ad D E I cultum maximè dilatandum maiestatis eius famulam faciunt.* We count (princes) blessed, if they bend their power to do God seruice, for the spreading of his (true) worship, as much as they can. *Hoc iubent imperatores quod iubet & Christus: quia cum bonum iubent, per illos non iubet nisi Christus.* Emperors command the selfe-same that Christ doth: because when they commaund that which is good, it is Christ him-selfe that commandeth by them. And a little after: *Attendite quam manifestissima veritate per cor regis quod in manu Dei est, ipse Deus dixerat in ista ipsa lege quam contra vos prolatam dicitis:* Marke yee with how manifest truth by the kings heart, which is in Gods hand, God himselfe spake in that verie law, which you saie was made against you. And therefore he concludeth: *Quicunque legibus Imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, grande acquirit supplicium:* Whosoeuer will not obeie the lawes of princes which are made for the truth of God, is sure to beare an heauie iudgement.

Augu. de ciui. Dei li. 5. ca. 24.

Idem. Epi. 166.

Ibidem.

Aug. Epist. 50

The princes themselues will teach you that by their power they may, by their charge they should meddle with matters ecclesiasticall. The authoritie of (our) lawes, saith Iustinian, disposeth diuine and humane things. Thence is it that we take greatest care for the true religion of God, and honest conuersation of priests. So likewise Theodosius and Valentinian: *Ea quæ circa Catholicam fidem vel ordinauit antiquitas, vel parentum nostrorum authoritas religiosa constituit, vel nostra serenitas roborauit, nouella superstitione remota, integra & inuiolata custodire præcipimus.* Those things which ancient (princes) haue ordeined, or the religious authoritie of our progenitors decreed, or our highnes established concerning the catholike faith, we command you to keepe them firme and inuiolable, all latter superstition remoued. And this they reckon to be the first part of their princelie charge. *Inter cæteras sollicitudines, quas amor publicus peruigili nobis cogitatione indixit, præcipuam Imperatoriæ maiestatis curam esse præcipimus veræ religionis indaginem.* Among the rest of those duties which the common-wealth exacteth at our hands, we perceiue the inquirie of true religiō should be the chiefest care of our princely calling. Valentinian the elder, though at first he refused to

Religion the chiefest care that princes ought to haue.

Cod. li. 1. tit. 17. de veter. iure enucleando, § Deo authore. Authen. constit. 6. Codic. Theodos. lib. 16. tit. 4. de religione, § Ea quæ. Legum nouell. Theodos. tit. 2. de Iudæis & Samaritanis, § Inter cæteras.

Valentinian himselfe was content at length to command for truth.

deale with profound questions of religion, yet after he was content to enterpose his authoritie with others, and to command that the faith of the trinitie should be rightly preached, and the sacrament of baptisme by no meanes doubled. The blessed bishops, saith he, with Valens & Gratian, haue made demonstration, that the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost, be a trinitie coessentiall; *& nostra potentia eandem prædicari mandauit*, and our power hath commanded the same (truth) to be preached. And againe: The bishop which shall reiterate holie baptisme, we count vnworthie of his place. For we condemne their error, which treading the apostolike precepts vnder their feet, do not clense, but rather defile those with a second washing that are once alreadie baptized.

Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 8. Codic. lib. 1. tit. 6. Ne sacrum Baptisma iteretur.

Zeno seeking to reconcile the bishops, clerks, monks, and people of Ægypt & Alexandria to the Nicene faith, beginneth with these words, For so much as we know that only faith, which is right and sincere, to be the ground, staie, strength, and inuincible defence of our empire, we haue alwaies emploied our desires, endeuors and lawes, that therby we might multiplie the holie, catholike, & apostolike church, the perpetuall and vndefiled mother of our scepter. And Iustinus nephew to Iustinian, writing a publike edict to all Christians, concerning manie points of true religion, maketh his conclusion with these words: *Omnes eos qui contraria hijsce vel sentiunt vel sensuri sunt, Anathemate damnamus, & alienos à sancta dei catholica & apostolica ecclesia iudicamus:* We condemne them all as accursed, that presentlie do or heereafter shall thinke contrarie to these things, and we adiudge them to haue no part in the holie, catholike, and apostolike Church of God.

Euagrius lib. 3. cap. 14. The right faith is the onlie strength of an earthly kingdom.

Idem lib. 5. cap. 4.

This care to prouide, and power to command for matters of religiõ, princes as wel in this realme as else-where continued a thousand yeres after Christ. The bishop of Rome himselfe 850. yeres after Christ, promiseth all kind of obedience to the chapters and lawes ecclesiastical of Lotharius & his ancestors. In Greece the emperors lost not their authoritie to call Councels & establish truth, till they lost empire and all. More than thirtene hundred yeres after Christ, Nicephorus highlie cõmendeth a Grecke emperor for his labors & endeuors in the Church affaires.

You

You haue, saith he to the prince, restored the catholike and vniuersal Church to her ancient state that was troubled with nouelties: impure and vnsound doctrine you haue banished from her; you haue purged the temple from heretikes that were corrupters and deprauers of heauenly doctrine, not so much with a three corded whip, as with the word of truth. You haue established the faith, and made constitutions for it: you haue walled about true godlines with mightie defences, you haue repaired that, which was ruinous. Priestlie vnction decaied, you haue made purer than gold, and by lawes & letters taught them sobrietie of life, and contempt of money. Wherefore their order is now sacred in the common wealth which in former times was degenerated & infected with corruption of discipline & manners. Yea, when you saw our true religion brought in danger by false and absurd doctrines, you did most zealouslie & most wiselie vndertake the defence of it. And knowing very wel that pietie of it selfe, and the diligēt care of Gods causes, are the surest props of an empire, you tooke a diuine and passing wise course. For by medling with these matters (of religion) you wan great thanks of God, and gaue him iust cause to be fauorable to your praiers, to direct all your doings, & confirme & settle the empire in your hāds.

Niceph. dedicatio operis. In Greece the emperors kept this power 1300. yeeres after Christ.

Ibidem paulo ante.

Diligent care of Gods causes the surest prop of a princes seate.

Canutus a king of this land, not full 32. yeeres before the conquest, apparentlie prooueth, that princes kept their authoritie to command for matters of religion, more than a thousand yeeres after Christ. His lawes made by a councell of his sages at Winchester, are yet extant. Heare some of them, and then tel vs whether he did meddle with ecclesiasticall causes or no.

A king of this land making lawes for religiō a 1000. yeeres after Christ.

First he commandeth all men *to loue one God for euer aboue all things, and one rule of christian religion wel and aduisedlie to hold.* *Lege. 1.*

Item, he willeth all men to discharge *their functions, specially the seruants of God, bishops, abbots, monks, canons, and nonnes, to do their duties, to liue according to their rules, to make their praiers right and daie for all christian folke.* *Lege. 6.*

Item, he *biddeth, and on Gods behalfe forbiddeth that anie Christian man take to wife a kinswoman within sixe degrees, or his wiues kinswoman, or his Godmother at the font, or a professed nonne, or a diuorced woman, or keepe harlots, or haue mo wiues than one, and that in lawfull mariage.* *Lege. 7.*

Item, that *holy daies, and fasting daies be kept, and sunday be kept holie* *Lege. 14 & 15.*

holie from saturday noone till mundaie morning: faires, courts, huntings, and worldlie works on that daie to be forborne.

Lege. 16. Item, that all fasts which be bidden, ember daies and lent be kept, and the feasts of our ladie and the apostles to be fasted, saue Philip and Iacob: euerie fridaie to be fasted, except it be holie daie: and no man to fast from Easter to Whitsuntide, or from Christmas to the octaues of the Epiphanie, vnlesse he will or it be inioined him.

Lege. 19 & 21. Item, that euerie Christian prepare himselfe for the communion thrise a yeere: and truelie keepe his oth and promise, and loue God with an inward reuerence, and heare diligentlie heauenlie teachers, and oft and manie times search and looke on Gods law and his doctrine.

Lege. 22. Item, that euerie Christian man learne so much, that he can the true faith, and the true vnderstanding thereof, namelie, the Lords praier and the Creede: or else not to haue Christian buriall, neither to be admitted whiles he liueth to the Lords table, nor to vndertake for others at the font or before the bishop.

Lege. 26. Inter politica iura eiusdem. Lege. 4. & 6. Item, that bishops be preachers, and teachers of Gods law, and carefull followers of good works.

Item, that witches, sorcerers, idolaters, periures, strumpets, breakers of order and wedlocke be banished the realme: with other lawes for tithes, temples, Church rights, triall of clergie men accused, & such like duties & offences ecclesiastical.

The weakest of these places prooue that princes meddle with ecclesiastical causes, which they would seeme to fray them from by Osius words.

Phil. You presse me with a number of places, that proue nothing against vs directlie. Theop. Take the weakest of them, and see whether it will not infer that princes medled with causes ecclesiasticall. Phi. We know they medled with them, but not as supreme gouernors of them. Theo. I brought these places to refell that generall obiection which you framed out of Osius, Leontius and others, that princes should not *meddle with causes ecclesiasticall*. If you grant they did, and might lawfullie meddle with such matters, as the places which I bring do proue, then by your owne confession Constantius was not reproued for medling with religion, for so did other godlie princes that were not reproued but highly commended & honored in the Church of Christ: but rather he was reproued, as I answered you at ꝑ first, for his insolent & tiranous kind of medling with these matters, which was, as I shewed you for that in his own person, hauing no skil nor experiẽce in such cases, he would nedes end & determine all things according

:oꝛding to his own fansie without reſpect of right oꝛ truth, ınd execute the ſame with terrible foꝛce and rigoꝛ excee= ɔing the bounds of all chꝛiſtian humanitie.

Againe theſe later examples as well as the foꝛmer im= ɔoꝛt that pꝛinces had all this while ful power to plant and ſtablish the chꝛiſtian faith in their realmes, and to punish ecclesiaſticall tranſgreſſions and diſoꝛders in all ſoꝛts of ubiects, lay men and clearks, which is all that we ſeeke oꝛ, and al that we meane, when we make them gouernoꝛs ıf their dominions in all cauſes both eccleſiaſticall and empoꝛall; and ſince you can neither deny the lawes, e= ɔicts, noꝛ acts of pꝛinces, which we pꝛoduce to this pur= ɔoſe, noꝛ poſſibly ſhift them, why do you wickedly ſlan= ɔer and malitiouſly peruert that doctrine which you ſhall ıeuer ſoberly confute?

And conſequently their ſwoord ſtretcheth vnto ſpirituall things as well as vnto temporall.

Phil. You will haue pꝛinces to be ſupꝛeme gouernoꝛs n theſe caſes; this is it that we moſt impugne. Theop. Vell then let vs go by degrees. Do you grant them to be ɔouernoꝛs in thoſe caſes? Phil. What meane you by go= ıernoꝛs? Theop. Such as haue lawfull authoꝛitie from God to command foꝛ truth and punish eꝛꝛoꝛ. Phil. Do ɔou make them iudges and deciders of truth? Theop. No, ut receiuers and eſtabliſhers of it. Phil. Yea, but who hall tell them which is truth? Theop. That is not this ueſtion. When we reaſon whether pꝛinces may com= nand foꝛ truth, and punish eꝛꝛoꝛ, you muſt not cauill a= ɔout the meanes to know truth from eꝛꝛoꝛ, but ſuppoſe hat truth were confeſſed and agreed on, and in that caſe vhat may pꝛinces do foꝛ truth. Phil. Mary ſir if truth vere not in ſtrife, the doubt were not ſo great.

When papiſts be poſed with theſe places, and can not auoid them, they ſlip to an other queſtion, and cauill about th e direction of princes vnto truth.

Theop. If I ſhould aſke you whether pꝛinces may re= ıenge murders, and punish theftes, were this an anſwer to ay, but how ſhall they know what murder is, and who be hæues? No moꝛe, when we demand what dutie pꝛinces we to God and his truth, ſhould you ſtand quarrelling vhat truth is, oꝛ how truth may be knowne? The pꝛin= es dutie to God is one queſtion, which we now handle; he way to diſcerne truth from eꝛꝛoꝛ is an other, which a= ıon ſhall enſue when once this is ended; but firſt let vs ıaue your direct anſwer whether pꝛinces may command oꝛ truth oꝛ no? Phil. Foꝛ truth they may: but if they

take *quid pro quo*, they both hazard themselues and their whole realmes, and for that cause we say they must be directed by bishops.

Theop. You slide to the second question againe before the first be finished. Stay for that till this be tried. You grant that princes may command for truth, do you not? Phil. We do. Theop. When you say they may command for truth, you do not meane this or that point of truth, but indefinitely for truth, that is for all parts of truth alike, without the which God can not rightly be serued.

Princes may command for all points of truth as well as for one.

Phil. They may command for all as well as for part, if the bishops need their helpe in all. Theop. And commanding is not onely the free permitting of those that will, but the moderate punishing of those that will not. For punishment is the due desert of him that neglecteth the commandement which he should obey. So that he which may iustly command, may iustly punish; and he that may lawfully punish may certainly command. How say you then, may princes punish for matters of religion?

He that may command for truth, may iustly punish for truth.

Phil. No doubt they may, but when & where the priest must guide. Theop. Who beareth the sword? The priest or the prince? Phil. The prince, not the priest. Theop. And that sword which the prince beareth, must do the deed, must it not? Phil. It must. Theop. And the fact is as lawfull in princes when they punish schismatiks, heretiks, & idolaters, as when they punish adulterers, theeues and murderers? Phil. What else? Theop. And if they leaue such impieties against God vnpunished, they do not that dutie which God requireth of them. Phil. All this we grant. Theop. Will you not recall it when we come to the push? Phil. Recall it? As though this could hurt vs: Theop. Since you promise not to recall it, I will trust you for this once, and will come to the true difference betwixt your opinion and ours.

As lawfull for the prince to punish idolaters and heretiks, as theeues and murderers.

You flatly confesse, and the generall practise of your Church is, that princes of dutie should and lawfully may punish all spiritual and ecclesiasticall offences, namely, apostasie, idolatrie, sorcerie, sacrilege, schisme, heresie, and such like impieties against God and his Church, as well as ciuill disorders and iniuries against our neighbors: can you deny this? Phil. I can not. Theop. We confesse

Both sides grant that princes must punish as well spiritual as temporall offences.

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the same. Let it stand irreuocable for both sides. Phil. Agreed. But remember they be punishers not determiners of those things. Theop. I said punishers, if you looke to my words. Phil. I grant that doctrine to be good & sound.

Theop. Then forth. What you say princes may punish, we say princes may prohibite. Prohibiting is lesse than punishing, and a meane to make subiects do their duties without punishing, which euery christian magistrate should rather embrace. Princes by common iustice must open their mouthes to speake, before they lift vp their hands to strike; their lawes must be knowne, before their sword must be drawne to reuenge disobedience. Nothing can be iustly punished except it be first prohibited. So that if princes may punish those things, *ergo* they may prohibite them. Phil. Great reason princes should warne their subiects as well as punish them. Prohibiting is but forewarning what things they must auoid, least they fall into the paines prescribed.

He that will punish must first prohibite.

Theop. If they may punish and prohibite that which is euill, *ergo* they may command and establish that which is good in matters of religion. How like you the sequele? Phil. You thinke it holdeth by reason of the contrarietie that is betweene both parts. Theop. All learning will tell you that contraries be consequent to contraries. If they may forbid and abolish that which is euill, *ergo* they may bid and establish that which is good. And so S. Augustine coupleth them. You heard the places before. As a king he serueth God by making lawes, commanding iust things, and prohibiting the contrary. And again, Kings as they be kings, serue God as they be willed by God, if in their kingdoms they command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euill, not in ciuill affaires onely, but in matters also touching diuine religion. They serue not God by prohibiting euill, except they likewise command that which is good in diuine religion. By duty they must, by consequent they may do both. How thinke you, say we not truth?

If princes may punish & prohibite that which is euill in matters of religion, *ergo* they may command and establish that which is good in the same causes. *August. epist. 50.* *Idem contra Cresconium lib. 3. cap. 51.*

Phil. I see your meaning. You would haue princes command in matters of religion. Theop. We would haue them in those things to command that which is good, as well as prohibite that which is euil. You grant the latter, why should you sticke at the former? Phil. Commanding is a

Papists grant princes may punish for religion but not com-

mand: and yet punishing is a very forcible kind of commanding.

word of too great authoritie. Theop. Whether thinke you the greater, with words to command, or with deeds to compell? Phil. Compelling is more than commanding. Theop. And he that punisheth, apparantly compelleth. Since then by your owne confession princes may compell men by punishments from that which is euill, to that which is good in matters of religion, *ergo* they may much more command them that which is good.

Phil. You snare me with words. Theop. Do I snare you with words, when I say that princes may command that which is good in matters of religion, as well as punish that which is euill, or do you rather harden your faces, and whet your tongs against the scriptures, against the fathers, against the lawes and edicts of all godly princes in all ages and countries? Looke no farther than to the places which I haue brought you as well out of the holy scriptures, as ancient stories and lawes, and you shal find where princes commanded in causes ecclesiasticall (I meane the very word) aboue three score times. If that be not sufficient, you shal haue three hundred when you wil. So that you make a bad match if you stand on this point with vs, that princes may not command that which is good in matters of religion.

Nothing clearer than that princes may command for matters of religion.

Phil. You shall haue no such aduantage at vs. We know S. Augustine saith, When emperors take part with truth, they command for truth against error; which whosoeuer contemneth, he purchaseth to himselfe iudgement. And againe, Emperors command the selfe same that Christ doth, for when they command that which is good, no man commandeth by them but Christ. Theop. You did well to pull your fingers out of the fier; you saw it was too hot for you. S. Austen in that epistle which you quote, vseth that very word twelue times, to shew that kings and princes did and might COMMAND in matters of religion. Read the * twenty constitutions wherein Iustinian disposeth of crimes and causes ecclesiasticall, and see whether euery sentence be not a commandement. Or if that be too much, ouerrun the 123. intitled of diuers ecclesiasticall chapters, and tell vs whether in that one constitution you do not find aboue foureteene score imperatiue and prohibitiue verbs, whereby the prince WILLETH, PRESCRIBETH, APPOIN-

August. epist. 166.

Ibidem.

The word commanding which they most auoid, is most vsuall in the sacred scriptures & ancient laws of christian princes.

Epist. 66.

**Nouel. constitut. 3. 5. 6. 16. 37. 42. 57. 58. 59. 67. 77. 79. 83. 109. 117. 131. 132. 133. 141. 144. 146.*

APPOINTETH, COMMANDETH, DISPOSETH, of persons and causes ecclesiastical.

And this you cannot chose but perceiue, except you be If princes at all may meddle with matters of religion, they must needs command. void of common sense, that princes vse not to perswade and intreat, but require and command their subiects. And therefore they must either not meddle with matters of religion at all, or els of necessitie they must command, and afterward punish if their commandement be despised.

Phil. Let it be so, since you will needs haue it so; but yet this doth not proue that princes be supreme rulers & masters of the faith and Church of Christ. Theop. You leape before you come to the stile. Anon you shall heare what this doth proue: but first, do you grant that princes may command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euil in matters of religion? Phil. What gaine you by that if I grant it? Theo. Take you no care for our gaines. Do you grant it or no? Phil. What if I do? Theoph. What if, doth not answer my question, speake off or on to that which I demand. Why be you so daintie to grant that which you dare not deny? Phil. Take your pleasure in that point, and yet you shall misse your purpose. Theop. My purpose is truth, which neither your high wordes nor indirect shifts shall disappoint. You spend time with delates, we might otherwise sooner end. Phi. Will you answer, as briefly when I aske you the like? Theoph. If I do not, charge me with mine owne words.

Phil. Then I grant that princes may command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euill in matters of religion. Theop. You grant it as an euident truth confirmed by the scriptures, confessed by the fathers, reported by the stories of the Church, and infinitly repeated in the lawes and edicts of religious and ancient emperors made for persons and causes ecclesiastical: or if you doubt any part of this diuision, haue recourse to the texts & places before produced, and if euery part be not fully proued, refuse the whole. Or if the Iesuits will not grant so much, let the looke to the places that went before and presently follow.

Phil. I see they did, and therefore I resolue my self they might command in those cases. Theoph. As well bishops as others. Phil. God forbid princes should command bishops in matters of religion. Haue you forgotten what Osius said to Constantius, Do not command vs in this kind? They would none of this if they could choose, because they hold that bi-

Theop.

Bishops in these cases must command princes.

Theo. Osius and others were commanded by Constantius to condemne Athanasius against all order of equitie, and their certain knowledge of his innocency. For Osius was present and president in the councell of Sardica where the cause of Athanasius was fully debated by the consent of both emperors east and west, and his accusers proued to be wicked slaunderers; and in that case, he might iustly say to Constantius, Command vs not in this kind (or in these things) but learne (the truth of) them rather at our hands that were by, when these matters were narrowly sifted, and Athanasius clearely discharged from all that could be sayd against him.

What Osius ment by saying cõmand vs not, in this kind.

And what if Osius had not limited his words to these particular respects, as in sight he doth; shal one poore place, thinke you, beare downe all the proofs, examples and authorities that I haue shewed you to the contrary, where religious & ancient emperors appointed, prescribed, commanded bishops, yea the chiefest bishops in matters of doctrine and discipline?

Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 23. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 28. Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4. cap. 42. Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 34.

Constantine prescribed the bishops what was profitable for the Church, and commanded the councell of Tyrus to discusse the crimes obiected to Athanasius, and threatned to banish him if he failed to present him selfe before the synode, to teach him what it was to withstand the precept of the chiefe ruler defending the truth. And vpon complaint made by Athanasius against them he sent for the whole councell with this commandement: You must all of you resort hither to shew the reason of your doings, and to giue accompt how sincerely and soundly you haue iudged, & that before me, whom you shall not deny to be Gods syncere minister: and when Arrius should be restored, this was the stile that he vsed to Athanasius, knowing our pleasure, we charge you to suffer such as will returne to the Church, and after commanded Alexander bishop of Constantinople to receiue (Arrius) to the communion.

Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 27. Idem lib. 1. cap. 38. Theodoret. li. 4. cap. 8.

Valentinian the elder rehearsing the Nicene faith in his edict, added, our power hath cõmanded the same to be preached. And whē the people of Millā cried to haue Ambrose for their bishop though he were not yet baptized, the same prince commanded he should be presently baptized & consecrated, notwithstanding the canons were strong against

Idem lib. 4. cap. 7.

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it and S. Paul seemeth not willing that a nouice should be a bishop. 1. Tim. 3.

Gratian commanded the Arrian bishops to be thrust from their Churches, and by vigor of his princely lawes depriued the bishop, that rebaptized, of his priestly function. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 6. Ne sanct. baptizaretur.*

Theodosius the elder commanded the followers of his edict, bishops and others, to be counted Christian catholikes, and for the rest that beleeued otherwise, he sayd *propelli iubemus*, we command them to be driuen from their Churches, and when Demophilus a bishop refused to embrace the Nicene faith, the emperor in his own person replied, then I command thee to forgo thy Churches. *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 1. Ibidem § nullus. Socrat. lib. 5. ca. 7.*

It well beseemed a religious prince, sayth Gregorie, to command bishops in such things. And Charles appointing the bishops what doctrine they should teach, sayth, This we charge and inioyne you the more precisely because we know that false teachers shall come in the latter dayes. And for the reformation of certaine abuses in the Church he keepeth this tenor of speech, Know ye sacred fathers this must be forbidden in your dioceses. *Gregor. epist. li. 4. ca. 78. Legum Francix li. 1. ca. 76. Ibidem. cap. 91.*

The rest of the lawes, edicts, & precepts of godly princes for causes ecclesiasticall, which I before alledged in no small number, do they not either comprehend all men, and by consequent bishops, or else directly and expressly commanded bishops by name? If those be not sufficient you may and shall haue more.

Theodosius the yonger sent his letters to the patriarke of Alexandria for the second councell of Ephesus with these words: We decree that the most holy bishops meeting together, this vaine doubt may be discussed, and the true catholike faith confirmed. Therefore your holinesse bringing with you ten of the most reuerend metropolitans that be within your prouince, and ten other holie bishops well accompted of for their learning and conuersation, shall hasten with all speede to meete (the rest) at Ephesus by the first of August next: no bishop besides the foresayd troubling the sacred synode. If anie bishop fayle to come to the place prefixed at the time appointed, he shall haue no excuse neither with God nor yet with vs. As for bishop Theodorete, whom we command to attend at home *Chalced. conci. actio epist. Theodosij & Valentiniani ad Dioscorum.*

The prince appointeth what bishops shall be present at the councell.

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 To command bishops in causes ecclesiasticall on his owne Church, we determine that he shalbe none of your assemblie, vnlesse the whole councell thinke good to haue him one. But if any dissent, we command that the synode sit without him, and dispatch those things which we haue appointed them.

Ibidem Imperatoris epist. ad eundem § Dioscorum reuerendo. The prince maketh the president of the councell. The prince limiteth who shall haue voices in the councell.

And in his second letters to the same bishop, Because we suspect that some of Nestorius fauorers will doe their best to be present at this councell, therefore we thinke needfull to aduertise you and the whole synode, that not onely in respect of Theodoret, but of all others which haue ought to doe in your councel, we giue you the preheminence and chiefe authoritie. And those that adde or diminish any thing too or from the Nicene fathers, and the fathers since that assembled at Ephesus; We suffer them not to presume any thing in this sacred synode, but will haue them subiected to your iudgement, because we haue appointed this synode for that purpose.

Ibidem Imperatoris commonitorium ad Elpidium.

In the very same councell he likewise commanded, that those bishops which not long before sate in iudgement vpon Eutiches, should be present, but silent, & giue no voices (with the rest) as iudges, but expect the common determination of all the rest of the sacred fathers. And also commanded that they should neither say, neither do any thing in the sacred councell, vntil the (right) faith were concluded.

Ibidem oratio. Martiani ad synodum.

Martian charged the 630. bishops in the great councell of Chalcedon, that none of them should dare dispute of the natiuitie of our lord and saniour Christ otherwise than the 318. fathers of Nice deliuered.

Ibidem epist. Euseb. ad Imperator.

Eusebius bishop of Dorilæum at the same time put vp a supplication to Martian and Valentinian the third against Dioscorus patriarke of Alexandria with these wordes, In most humble wise we beseech your maiesties that you will command the reuerend bishop Dioscorus to answer to those things that we lay to his charge, for confirming a wicked heresie and deposing vs vniustly directing your sacred precept to œcumenicall councell of bishops to heare the matter betweene vs and the said Dioscorus, and certifie your maiesties of the whole cause, that you may do therein what shall please your graces.

Notuel constit. 6. § Maxima quidem.

Iustinian in his sixt constitution prescribing what persons he will haue made bishops, and how they shall be qualified

qualified & examined, before they be admitted, threatneth in sharpe maner: He that doth any thing besides this (which we haue appointed) both he that (is ordered) shall be depriued of his function, and he that did order him, shall lose his bishoprike for offending this law.

These commandements of Iustinian bound the bishop of Rome no lesse than other bishops.

The like punishment he setteth downe for symonie. Though saith Iustinian, he haue all other things that we before required, yet, if he procure a bishoprike by money or money woorth, let him know that he shall be turned out of his bishoprike, and do his orderer this pleasure, that he also shall be remooued from his office, and from the clergie. *Ibidem § & hanc non pecuniis.*

So for ordering and not examining that was obiected against the person: If one come to be made a bishop, and any man contradict and offer to lay somewhat to his charge, let him not be ordered, before such complaints be discussed. And if he that should make him, hasten to consecration, after such contradiction without examining the matter, let him know that which he doth, shall be vtterly void, and also he that goeth against our law, shall be depriued of his priestly function, and he that ordered him without triall, shall likewise be remooued from his episcopal dignitie. *Ibidem § si quis autem talis.*

So for absence from his Church after he is bishop. This also we define, that no bishop be so hardie as to absent himselfe from his Church aboue one whole yeere. If he be away longer than a yeere, let the patriarke of that region cite him orderly to returne. If he continue disobedient, let him be cleane expelled from the sacred number of bishops. *Ibidem § & illud etiam definimus.*

And generally for all matters comprised in that constitution; The things which we haue decreed for the preseruation of ecclesiasticall order and state agreeable to the tenor and prescript of the sacred rules, let the most holie patriarks of euerie prouince, the metropolitans and the rest of the most reuerend bishops and clearks see that they keepe for euer hereafter sure and inuiolable; the punishment to him that transgresseth these things, shall be to be seuered quite from God, and excluded from his priestlie degree. *Ibidem § sed neque effusas.* The prince commandeth the whole cleargie, patriarks, metropolitans, bishops and the rest whatsoeuer, to obserue his ecclesiasticall lawes.

In his sixteene constitution, commanding clearks to be remoued from one Church to another til the iust number which he decreed were supplied in euerie Church, he writeth to the patriarke of Constantinople in this wise, Your blessednes shall endeuor to put in execution the things which

Nouel. constit. 16. ad finem. which we haue thought decent for the profit of the sacred and holy Churches. And if any thing be attempted to the contrary, let him assure himselfe, that durst enter orders against this our law, that it do him no good.

Constit. 57. In his 57. constitution prohibiting the sacred mysteries to be celebrated in priuate chappels; these things, saith he, we command to the most holy archbishop and vniuersall patriarke of this citie.

In his 123. constitution, you shall find examples enough of his princely prohibitions & commandements to bishops for matters concerning the regiment of ỹ church.

For first appointing how bishops shall be chosen, and that the person elected shall before his admission deliuer a confession of the true faith subscribed with his owne hand, and recite the prayers vsed in the sacred communion and holy baptisme, and sweare that he neither hath giuen nor promised, nor will giue any thing to those that elected him, nor to him that ordereth him, nor to any other the rather to attaine his ordering, he addeth; If anie be made bishop against this obseruation, as well he shall be cast out of his bishopricke, as the other that presumed to create him against this forme shall be seuered one yeere from the sacred ministerie, & shall forfeit all his goods to the Church where he is bishop. But if anie man consecrate one that is accused before he examine the matter, both he that is made, and he that did make him shall be depriued of their episcopall functions. Aboue al things this we decree to be kept that no man be made a bishop by rewards. And therefore as well he that giueth, as he that taketh, and he that would be the meanes to worke it, shall be degraded.

Constit. 123. § exigatur autem prius. These lawes extended to all prouinces & patriarks.

Ibidem § præ omnibus autem illud.

And so going on with diuers ecclesiastic all chapters, he saith, We forbid the bishops to leaue their Churches, and to trauell into other coastes. And we command that in euerie prouince there be yeerelie kept a synode, where causes of faith and doubts concerning the canons and administration of ecclesiasticall things, as also touching bishops, priests, deacons, and other clerks and rulers of monasteries and monks either for their liues or other things needing reformation shall be handled, and in conuenient maner examined and corrected according to the sacred canons and OVR (imperiall) LAVVES.

Ibidem § interdicimus autem.

Ibidem § quis à vero.

Synodes called for ecclesiastical causes were tied to the lawes imperiall.

Besides,

Besides, we command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the sacred oblation and praiers in the holy baptisme, not secretly but with a loud voice, so as the faithfull people may heare: the religious priests (and bishops) knowing that if they neglect any of these things they shal answere for it in the dreadfull iudgement of the great GOD and our saiour Christ, neither wil we vnderstanding thereof passe it ouer or leaue it vnpunished. *Ibidem C. ad haec iubemus.* All bishops commanded by the prince.

We also forbid the most religious bishops, priests, and all other clerkes to play at tables or to company with such gamsters or to be present at spectacles. If any of them offend in this point, we command that he be suspended from his function for three yeeres. *Ibidem § Insuper interdicimus.* *Eadem constit. § omnibus vero epis.* Vniust excommunication punished by the princes lawes.

Likewise we forbid all bishops and priests to separate any man from the communion til a cause be shewed for which the canons will it to be done. If any man separate an other from the communion against this law, the partie that is greeued vniustly shal be absolued and receiued to the communion by an higher priest: and he that durst excommunicate vniustly shal be put from the communion by the bishop that is (next) aboue him, as long as it seemeth good to (that superior.) *Eadem constit. § praetereasi qui.* The courts and consistories of all bishops, archbishops and patriarks limited as well to the princes lawes as to the canons.

Moreouer if the bishops of the same synode haue any controuersie betweene them touching either ecclesiasticall right or causes, first their metropolitane with two other bishops of the same synod shall determine the matter. And if either part finde fault with that iudgement, then shall the patriarke of that prouince heare the cause and define that which is consonant to the canons ecclesiasticall and our lawes, neither part hauing leaue to contradict his sentence. If a clerke or any other of what cause soeuer, appeale from a bishop, first the metropolitane shall iudge the matter according to the sacred canons and our lawes. If either side mislike, the cause shall deuolue to the patriarke of the prouince, & he shall end it by the direction of the canons and our lawes. No appeale from the patriarke.

Clerks we permit none to be made except they be lettered, of a right faith and honest conuersation; & haue neither concubine nor bastards; but such as either be single men or had or haue one lawfull wife and her the first, no widowe, nor diuorced woman, nor otherwise interdicted by the lawes or canons. A priest we will not haue made vnder the age *Eadem constit. § Clericos autem.*

of

To command bishops for causes ecclesiasticall of fiue and thirtie, neither a deacon or subdeacon vnder the age of fiue and twentie, neither a reader vnder eighteene: a woman shall not be admitted to serue the Church that is vnder fortie, or hath bene twise maried.

Many those precepts besides these that I recken shall you finde in that constitution touching persons and causes ecclesiasticall with these words, *Volumus, sancimus, iubemus:* We will, decree, command, & other verbes equiualent prescribing directly to bishops what order and course they shall keepe for the seemely regiment of Christs Church.

Euagrius lib. 4. cap. 9. By the commandement of Iustinus vncle to Iustinian the councell of Chalcedon was preached (and established) through the most holy Churches: and by the commandement of (an other) Iustinus (his nephew) was gregorie called from mount Sina to be chiefe bishop (of Antioch) next after Anastatius whom the prince remoued from his seate for wasting the Church treasures.

Idem li. 5. ca. 5.

Idem li. 5. ca. 5.

Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. de episc. & cleri. C. si quem quam. Leo the successor and Anthemius that maried the daughter of Martian gaue forth this commandement: Let no man be made a bishop for intreatie or for mony. If any man be detected to haue gotten the seat of a bishop by rewards, or to haue taken any thing for the electing or ordering of others, let him be accused as for a publike crime and an offence committed against the state, & repelled from his priestly degree. And we adiudge him not onely to be depriued for euer of that honor, but also to be condemned to perpetuall infamie.

Cod. li. 1. tit. 2. de sacrosanctis ecclesiis C. decernimus. And the same princes by their edict more generall, We decree, say they, that those things which were in sort done against the Lord himselfe of true religion, being abrogated and vtterly abolished, all things be restored againe to their former condition and order in which they were established before our times, as well touching the points of Christian faith, as touching the state of the most sacred Churches and martyrs chappels; all innouations in the time of this tyrannie against the holy Churches, and their reuerend bishops concerning the right of their episcopall creations, the deposing of any bishop during those times, their prerogatiue to sit before others within councell or without the priuileges of metropolitans and patriarks (all such innouations we say) repealed, Let the grants and CONSTITVTIONS of the godly princes before vs, & likewise ours touching Churches, chappels

chappels of martyrs, bishops, clerks, and monks to be kept inuiolable.

Much more might be said, but this shall suffice. You bring vs one onely mistaken authority where Constantius commanding against right & truth in a bishops cause, was reproued; we bring you, if you view the precedents well, an hundred expresse places and aboue, that ancient and religious princes commanded bishops & councels in matters of doctrine and discipline, and were not reproued, but honored and obeied in the Church of God. Now choose whether you will shew your selues so void of all religion and reason, that you will preferre a single and solitary text, and the same so many waies answered by vs, before the publike and perpetuall practise of the primitiue Church; or else acknowledge with vs that princes for truth did and might command bishops, and preuent and punish in them as well errors in faith as other ecclesiasticall crimes and disorders.

Osius words if they were not diuersly answered by vs, may not controll the perpetuall practise of Christes Church.

Phil. All this I may grant, and yet your supremacy will not follow. Theop. Neuer tell vs what you may do, but what you will do. Deny the premises if you dare: or the consequent if you can. Phil. I grant princes may command bishops, but not what they list; which is your opinion. Theop. If you may be the reporter of our doctrines we shall defend many mad positions, leaue your malitious and odious slanders, we maintaine no such opinion. Phil. What do you then? Theop. If you did not range thus besides all order and truth, you should perceiue what we do: but when we come to conclude, you slide from the matter and fal to your wonted outfacing and wrangling. Phil. Do I not answer directly to that which you aske? Theoph. For a while you do, but when we do come to touch the quicke, you start aside and busie the reader with other quarrels. Forbeare that till we come to the sifting of your absurdities, and then take your fill. In the meane time suffer vs to say what we defend, & to know what you assent vnto, that the difference betwixt our opinions may be rightly conceiued, & the proofs of either part duly considered. Phil. With a good will.

The cunning of the papists in this point is either to belie our doctrine, or to slip themselues from the question.

Theop. Do you then admit it for a matter fully proued that ancient kings and christian emperors did command

The summe and effect of

the former allegations and authorities for the princes power.

for truth, as well priest as people; and that they chiefly did, and iustly might enterpose their roiall power and care for the reformation and correction of errors in faith, abuses in discipline, disorders in life, and all other ecclesiasticall enormities, as appeareth plainely by the publike lawes & acts of Constantine, Theodosius, Iustinian, Charles, Ludouike, Lotharius and other no lesse godly than worthie gouernors: If the places which I haue brought import not so much, refell the particulars, I wil be of your mind: if they do, why stand you so doubtfull as loth to confesse, and yet not able to gainsay the proofs:

Or if they do not disproue them.

Phil. For truth I know princes haue commanded as well bishops as others, and by their princely power established and preserued the faith and canons of Christes Church. Theop. And this the sacred scriptures, the learned fathers, the stories ecclesiasticall, the lawes and monuments of catholike princes in the primitiue Church of Christ for eight hundred and fifty yeres do fairely warrant. Phil. They do. Theoph. And the places that proue this, are both innumerable and inexpugnable: Phil. The proofes for this point be pregnant enough. Theoph. And this is no way repugnant to probability, possibility, reason or nature: Phil. It is not. Theop. You will not eat these words when you come to the purpose: Phil. I will not. Theop. And if you were to be sworne on a booke, do you beleeue in your conscience this which you say to be true: Phil. I do. Theop. Then here I will stay.

Phil. Haue I not answered directly to your questions: Theop. You haue, & we vrge you no farther. Phil. What are you the neerer: Theop. That shall you now see. You make shamefull outcries at the power which we giue to princes to be supreme gouernors of their realmes in all things and causes, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, as

Apolog. cap. 1.

A thing improbable, vnreasonable, vnnaturall, impossible, reprooueable by all diuine and humane learning, which neuer king, much lesse queene christian nor heathen, catholike nor heretike in this realme, or in all the world besides, before our age did chalenge, or accept.

The Iesuits in their Apologie, for all their vaunts neuer come neere the

You heape authorities and absurdities, and terrifie the simple with words & crakes of the largest size, as if the doctrine were so barbarous and monsterous that heathen and prophane men would abhorre it, and when the bottome of your skill

skil is seene and the pride of your tonges spent, notwithstanding your often and idlly profers, you neuer so much as come nere the question. princes power which we defend.

Phil. Will you make vs beleeue that? Theop. Marke the points that we teach, and see how wide you be from refuting that which we defend. We say princes onely be gouernors, that is, higher powers ordained of God and bearing the sword with lawfull & publike authority to command for truth, to prohibite and with the sword punish errors and all other ecclesiastical disorders as well as temporall, within their realmes. This we prowe, this you grant to be good and sound doctrine. Of this then there is no question betwixt vs. The princes authority as we defend it.

Secondly, we teach, that as all their subiects, bishops, and others, must obey them commanding that which is good in matters of religion, & endure them with patience when they take part with error, so they, their sceptres and swords be not subiect to the popes tribunall, neither hath he by the law of God, or by the canons of the Church, any power or preheminence to reuerse their doings, and depose their persons, but this is a wicked and arrogant vsurpation lately crept into the west parts of Europe since the bishops of Rome exalted themselues aboue all that is called God; and for this cause we confesse princes within their owne regiments to be SVPREAME, that is, not vnder the popes iurisdiction, neither to be commanded, nor displaced at his pleasure, but to be reserued to the righteous and soueraigne iudgement of God, who will sincerely iudge and seuerely punish both popes and princes, if they bolster or suffer any kind of impietie within their dominions. The princes supremacy as we maintaine it.

This is the very point that is in question betwixt vs, of which in your whole apology you speake not one word but cunningly shift your hands of it, knowing your selus not able to iustifie your wicked assertion. And least the reader should distrust your silence in that behalfe, you follow the word supreme with hue and crie, as if God were highly dishonored and the Church of Christ robbed of her right and inheritance, because the pope may not set his feet in princes necks and be lord paramount of all earthly states and kingdomes. Neither of these points touched in the Apologie.

Phi. Do we mistake your meaning, or do you rather pull in your hornes, when you see your selues compassed round with so many grosse and sensible absurdities?

The absurdities which the Iesuits muster against the princes supremacie.

Theo. What one inconuenience can you fasten on vs for teaching this doctrine? Phi. A thousand. Theo. You be better at craking than concluding. Proue but one and spare the rest.

Phi. This soueraignte *giueth power to the queene to conferre that to others (as to the priests and bishops, to preach, minister sacraments, haue cure of soules, and such like) which she neither hath, nor can haue, nor do her selfe. It giueth her that may neither preach nor speake in publike of matters of religion, to do that which is much more, euen to prescribe by her selfe or her deputies or lawes authorised only by her, to the preachers what to preach, which way to worship and serue God, how and in what forme to minister the sacraments, to punish & deprive, teach and correct them, and generally to prescribe and appoint which way she will be gouerned in soule.*

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 21. 1. Cor. 14. 1. Tim. 2.

Sect. 22. *It maketh the bodie aboue the soule, the temporall regiment aboue the spirituall, the earthly kingdome aboue Christes body mystical. It maketh the sheepe aboue the pastor: it giueth her power to command them, whom and wherein she is bound to obey: it giueth power to the subiect to be iudge of the iudges, yea and of God him selfe, as S. Cyprian speaketh: it maketh her free from ecclesiastical discipline, from which no true child of gods familie is exempted.*

Epist. 55.

Sect. 23. *It derogateth from Christs priesthood, which both in his owne person, and in the Church, is aboue his kingly dignitie. It diuideth (which is a matter of much importance) the state of the catholike Church and the holy communion or societie of all Christian men in the same, into as many parts not communicant one with an other, nor holding one of an other, as there be worldly kingdomes differing by customes, lawes, and maners, ech from other, which is of most pernitious sequele, and against the verie native quality of the most perfect coniunction, societie, vnity, and entercourse of the whole Church and euery prouince and person therof together. It openeth the gap to all kind of diuisions, schismes sects, and disorders.*

August. contra Gaudentij epi. bb. 2. cap. 25.

Sect. 24. *It maketh all Christian bishops, priests, and what other soeuer borne out of the realme, forrainers and vsurpers in all iurisdiction ecclesiastical towards vs: and there can be no iurisdiction ouer Englishmens soules, but proceeding and depending of her soueraigne right therein. Which is directly against Christs expresse commandement and commission giuen to Peter first, and then to all the apostles of preaching, baptizing,*

sizing, remitting, retaining, binding and loosing, ouer all the world, without difference of temporall state, or dependance of anie mortall prince therein.

It keepeth the realme from obedience to generall councels, which haue beene or shalbe gathered in forraine countries. It taketh awaie all conuenient meanes of gathering, holding, or executing anie such councels and their decrees, as appeared by refusing to come to the late councell of Trent, notwithstanding the popes messengers and letters of other great princes, which requested and inuited them to the same. When a realme or prince is in error, it taketh awaie all meanes of reducing them to the truth againe: no subiection being acknowledged to councels or tribunals abroad, all other bishops, patriarks, apostles, Christ and all (because they were and be forrainers) not hauing iurisdiction nor sufficient authoritie to define against english sectaries and errors. Finallie, if this iurisdiction spirituall be alwaies of right a sequele of the crowne and scepter of all kings, assuredlie Christ nor none of his apostles could otherwise enter to conuert countries, preach, and exercise iurisdiction spirituall, without Cæsars and others the kings of the countries licence and delegation. Sect. 25.

Theop. Upon what part of our doctrine infer you these absurdities? Phil. Upon the supremacie wherewith you flatter princes. For all these things be consequent to the princes ecclesiasticall soueraignetie. Theop. You must tell vs how. Phil. See you not that? Theop. Surelie not I. There be two parts of our assertion as I shewed you before: the first auouching that princes may command for truth, and abolish error: the next that princes be supreme, that is, not subiect to the popes iudiciall processe to be cited, suspended, deposed at his becke: vpon one of these twaine, if you reason against vs, must your absurdities be grounded. Their absurdities be grounded on their owne dreames, not on our doctrine.

The first you can not impugne, but you must therewith impugne the scriptures, the best and most famous princes of Christendom, the Church of God it self, which for eight hundred yeres and vpward, embraced and obeied the lawes and edicts of religious princes commanding for truth. And if you thinke you may saie and vnsaie with a breath, and refell that now as absurd, which I before proued, and you yelded to be sound and good doctrine, take either of our positions rightlie vnderstood for your antecedent, and marke how iointlesse and sense- To this that princes may command for truth, no absurditie can be consequent.

The second part. The Iesuits purposely mistake the princes supremacie.

lesse the sequels be, that you set downe for inculitable consequents.

When princes cõmand that which is good, it is Christ and no man else that commandeth by their mouths. *Epist. 166.*

When princes command for truth, it is euident they command the selfe-same thing that God commandeth, or rather as S. Augustine plainlie declareth, God himselfe commandeth by their hearts, that are in his hands, the things which no man should refuse. Emperors, saith he, command the selfe-same thing that Christ commandeth: for when they command that which is good, it is Christ and no man else that commandeth by them. Againe, Marke, saith he, with how manifest truth God himselfe speaketh by the princes heart which is in his hand, euen in this law, which you complaine to be made against you.

Ibidem.

And therefore he concludeth, When princes command for truth, Whosoeuer neglecteth (their commandement) shall haue no part with God for not doing that which TRVTH BY THE KINGS HEART COMMANDED HIM TO DO.

If you build your absurdities vpon the first part of our doctrine, then must you thus conclude. When God commandeth by the princes heart, that which is good in matters of religion, *The bodie is aboue the soule, the sheepe aboue the pastor, the subiect is iudge of the iudges, yea of God himselfe,* and consequentlie, *Neither Christ, neither anie of his apostles could enter to conuert countries, preach and exercise iurisdiction spirituall without Cæsars licence and delegation.* Well, your rhetorike may beguile fooles, sure your logike will neuer enforce wise men to regard your conclusions.

Phil. We make no such arguments. Theop. You must make these or worse. The first part of our assertion is, that princes be Gods seruants and ministers appointed to beare the sword, with full commission to command what God commandeth, and to prohibit what God prohibiteth as well in matters pertaining to religion, as ciuill iustice. You infer vpon vs that we make The bodie aboue the soule, the temporall regiment aboue the spirituall, the earthlie kingdom aboue Christes bodie mysticall, the sheepe aboue the pastor, the subiect to be iudge of the iudges, yea of God himselfe, with manie like childish and friuolous consequents. Let your owne fauorers be iudges in this case, whether we be absurd in

Their absurdities must be inferred vpon our assertion, if they bring them against vs.

in affirming that we do, or you more absurd in refelling vs as you do.

If it be no absurditie with you for princes to command that which the pope appointeth them, as your selues defend, that is your opinion; What inconuenience can it be for princes to command that which Christ the soueraigne Lord and head of the Church commandeth: which is all the power that we giue to princes, notwithstanding your fained and false reports in this slanderous libell of yours to the contrarie? May not Christ appoint as well as the pope what princes shall command.

Phil. We neuer denied but princes might command that which God commandeth; and in so doing they be rather to be commended for their pietie, than to be charged with anie absurditie, Theop. And we neuer affirmed that princes might command that which God forbiddeth, or prohibit that which God commandeth. And therefore you must seeke out some others whom you may pursue with your absurdities, they touch no part of our doctrine. To cómand that which God commandeth, is pietie and no absurditie.

Phil. They shew what an absurd thing it is for temporall princes to chalenge supreme power ouer Christes Church in causes of religion. Theop. If you take the word supreme, as it euer was and is defended by vs, to make princes free from the wrongfull and vsurped iurisdiction which the pope claimeth ouer them, your illations haue as little strength and truth as the former: for what fond & vntoward reasons be these? If the pope may not depose princes, and discharge their subiects from all obedience, *ergo* we giue *Power to the Queene to prescribe to the preachers what to preach, which waie to worship and serue God, how and in what forme to minister the sacraments, to punish and deprive, teach and correct them, and generallie to prescribe and appoint which way she will be gouerned in soule: ergo, we make her free from ecclesiasticall discipline, we derogate from Christes priesthood, and open the gap to all kind of diuisions, schismes, sects and disorders: ergo, there can be no iurisdiction ouer English mens soules, but proceeding and depending of her: we keepe the realme from obedience to generall councels, and take awaie all meanes of reducing the realme and prince, when they be in error, to the truth againe*, with manie such loose and vnsauorie sequences. Supreme, as we professe it, hath no absurditie consequent to it.

Phil. If the prince be supreme, she may do what she list in all matters of religion, and ecclesiastical regiment, and

This misconstering of supreme is the ground of all their absurdities.

so these absurdities follow verie directlie vpon that assertion of yours. Theo. That princes may do what they list in matters of religion and the regiment of the Church, is neither coherent nor consequēt to our opinion, but a wicked and wilie pretence of yours, to cause men that can not so wel discerne of your sophismes to distrust our doctrine as false and absurd, and in the meane time to conuey your selues away as it were in a mist vnespied. And as for the words *supreme gouernor*, which you wring and wrest to that purpose, take the true construction of them, as the oth importeth & we professe thē, & infer duly but one of your absurdities vpon thē. We yeeld you ỹ rest. Phi. What, not one? Theo. No, not one, descend to ỹ specialties when you wil.

Apol. cap. 4. Sect. 21.

Phil. *It giueth power to the Queene to confer that to others, which she neither hath, nor can haue, nor do her selfe, as to the priests and bishops to preach, minister the sacraments, haue cure of soules, and such like.*

Theop. It giueth no such power to the Quœne as you speake of. Bishops haue their authoritie to preach & minister the sacraments, not from the prince, but frō Christ himselfe. Go teach all nations, baptising them, and so forth; only the prince giueth them publike libertie, without let or disturbance to do that which Christ commandeth. If you see no differēce betweene the commission which Christ giueth vnto bishops, and the permission whereby princes suffer and incite them with peace and praise to do their duties, your learning is not so great as you would make the world beleeue it is. For what a foolish collection is this, the prince permitteth those that are sent of Christ to preach and administer the sacraments, *ergo* the prince conferreth that power or function to them? You might as well conclude, the prince permitteth men to liue and breath, *ergo* the prince conferreth life and breath to them, or, the prince permitteth her subiects to beleeue in God, and releeue each others, *ergo* the prince conferreth faith and charitie to them.

Matth. 28.

Princes giue no commission but a permission and free libertie without let to the ministers of the word and sacraments.

Apolo. cap. 4. Sect. 21.

Phil. *It giueth her to do that which is more, euen to prescribe by her selfe, or her deputies, or lawes authorised only by her selfe, which waie to worship and serue God, how and in what forme to minister the sacraments, to punish and depriue, teach and correct them, and generallie to prescribe and appoint which waie she will be gouerned in soule.*

Theop.

Theo. That princes may prescribe what faith they list, what seruice of God they please, what forme of administring the sacraments they thinke best, is no part of our thought, nor point of our doctrine: and yet that princes may by their lawes prescribe the christian faith to be preached, the right seruice of God in spirit and truth to be vsed, the sacraments to be ministred according to the Lords institution, this is no absurditie in vs to defend, but impietie rather in you to withstand. And that princes may punish both bishops and others for heresie, dissention, and all kind of iniquitie, by banishing and commanding them to be remoued from their Churches, which you call depriuing, can not now be counted absurd, vnlesse you reiect the stories of the Church, and lawes of christian princes, which I before cite as absurd. For there shall you find that emperors by their lawes and edicts, haue commanded bishops to be iudicially depriued by other bishops, and actually displaced by their temporall magistrats, as well for erronious teaching as vicious liuing.

God hath already by his law prescribed which way he will be serued: that princes may & must command in their realme, though the pope say nay.

* Phil. When you giue princes supreame power in matters of religion, you giue them leaue to do what they list.

Princes be not supreme to do what they list in religion, but onely free from the popes iurisdiction.

Theop. If you affirme that of vs, your report is vtterly vntrue: if you inferre it vpon vs, your reason is very ridiculous. For what a fond illation is this? princes be supreame, that is, not subiect to the popes iurisdiction, *ergo* princes may lawfully do what they will. Phil. We say not lawfully, but if there be none to controle them, none can let them to do what they list. Theop. The dreadfull iudgements of God, not the leud practises of popes must bridle princes from doing euill; if they feare not a reuenger in heauen, whom they can not escape; they will neuer regard a conspirator in earth, whom they may some preuent: and yet we dispute not what tyrants *de facto* will do, but what godly princes of dutie should, of right may do. This is it that we seeke for, and therefore you must conclude this or nothing.

The feare of God and not the practises of popes must keepe princes from doing euill.

Phil. You giue them authoritie to make lawes and punish for religion, without any mention of truth or error.

The othe toucheth our dutie to the prince, and

Theo. The oth expresseth not their duty to God, but ours to them, and as they must be obeied when they ioine with truth, so must they be endured when they fall into error, which

not the princes dutie vnto God.

which side soeuer they take, either obedience to their wils, or submission to their swords is their due by Gods law, and that is all which our oth exacteth. And yet when we professe them to be gouernors, that word restraineth them from their owne lusts, and referreth them to Gods ordinance. For they which resist God, impugne the truth, oppresse the righteous, assist error, and fauor impietie, be no gouernors vnder God as all princes ought to be, but tyrants against God; not bearers but wilfull abusers of the sword which God hath appointed for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that do well.

The prince beareth the sword vnder and not aboue God.

And this, though it be not expressed, yet is it euer imploied in the very scepters, swords, & thrones of princes. For dominion, power, and maiesty, belong of right to God alone, and are by him imparted to princes, with this condition, and to this end, that they should raigne vnder him, not ouer him, command for him, not against him, be honored & obeied after him, not before him; and therefore this quarrell sauoreth not of ignorance, but of malice, when you say we giue princes power to do what they will in matters pertaining to God and his seruice. We reiect and detest that sinfull assertion more than you do. In deed we say that the pope may not pull princes crownes from their heads, nor seeke to maister them with contriuing rebellions and treasons against them, whiles he pretendeth to depose them. In this only sense we defend them to be supreme, that is not at liberty to do what they list, without regard of truth or right, but without superior on earth to represse them with violent meanes, and to take their kingdoms from them.

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 22.

Phil. *It maketh the body aboue the soule, the temporall regiment aboue the spirituall, the earthly kingdom aboue Christs mysticall body. It maketh the sheepe aboue the pastor; it giueth her power to command them, whom & wherin she is boūd to obey. It giueth power to the subiect to be iudge of the iudges, yea & of God himselfe, as S. Cyprian speaketh.*

Epist. 55.

Theop. I am loth to bring you out of loue with your owne conceits, otherwise I neuer saw more boldnes and lesse soundnes in any man. If we did preferre earthly things before heauenly, you might iustly charge vs that we set the body aboue the soule: but betweene princes and priests that comparison is foolish, except you thinke priests to

to be without bodies, and princes without soules, which were a meary deuise.

The spirituall regiment which Christ hath ouer the faithfull in his Church, is infinitely before the tempozall regiment of princes ouer their subiects. But if by this you would inferre that good princes may not punish euil priests, you deface godlines and truth in princes as tempozall, and exact wickednes and errοr in priests as spirituall, which is moze than absurd.

The spiritual regiment of the soule is properly Christs & not the priests.

As for the right function of preachers and princes, if that be the matter you speake of, for you speake so doubtfully that we can gather no certaintie what you meane, know you that as in spirituall perfection and consolation the preacher excelleth the prince by many degrees, God hauing appointed preachers not princes to be the sowers of his seed, messengers of his grace, stewards of his mysteries: so for externall power and authozitie to compell and punish, which is the point that we stand on, God hath preferred the prince before the priest, so long as the prince commandeth that which God alloweth. And in this case, we make not tempozall aboue spirituall, as you tricke it with termes: but auouch that the same God, who teacheth the simple, and leadeth the willing by the preachers mouth; driueth the negligent, and forceth the froward by the princes sword, which himselfe, that is a * spirit and * the father of spirits, hath ordained to that end.

The preachers function excelleth the princes in perfection and comfort, but not in power to command, or meanes to compell.

The same God forceth by the princes sword that teacheth by the preachers mouth.
* Iohn 3.
*Heb. 12.

The mysticall body of Christ which is his Church, containeth not onely priests and bishops, but all the faithfull, and in heauenly graces and inward vertues far exceedeth all earthly kingdoms, and yet hath God himselfe authorized the sword on earth in princes hands to be keepers of his truth, and clensers of his Church, that is, with lawfull force to remoue such as impugne the faith, & with publike authozity to punish those that defile the Church of God with their shamelesse manners, be they priests or people; and this doth not place earthly kingdoms aboue the Church, but prepare them as aides and defences for the Church, which is the right end of all earthly states, and was the first cause why God erected them.

The kingdom is not aboue the Church, though the prince punish wicked priests.

Though ỹ sheepe may not rule their shepherds, yet giue them

The true sheepheard is onely Christ: the rest are his seruants and not the owners of the sheepe.

them leaue to discerne strangers, and flie from theeues and murderers, and giue the great and * archpastor that is in heauen leaue to gard his flocke not only with watch men, but also with armed men, that if the grædines and hardines of the woolues be such that they feare not the clamors of preachers, at least they may shrinke for the terrors of princes. And this is no such absurditie as you make it, that princes should serue ẏ true shæpheard Christ Iesus, by turning their swords against those raueners and spoilers which vnder the color and shew of fæding would kill the fattest, and gorge themselues with the fairest of Christs flocke: yea princes in their sort be shæpeheards as well as bishops; in that they beare the sword vnder God, to compell and punish such as the gentle persuasion of the preacher can not moue; and for that cause God said to Dauid, Thou shalt feede my people Israell: and Dauid maketh this report of himselfe: So he fed them according to the simplicitie of his hart, and guided them by the discretion of his hands.

*1. Pet. 5.

Princes in their vocation be sheepheards, and beare the staffe to compell where the voice wil not serue. 1. Chron. 11. Psal. 78.

The prince is bound to obey the preachers word, if he speake truth, and so is the preacher bound to obey the princes lawes, if they be good 1. Thes. 4. *August. epist.* 166.

As princes are bound to heare preachers directing them vnto truth, because ẏ words of God are in their mouths, and he that despiseth those things, despiseth not man but God: so likewise are preachers bound to obey princes commanding for truth, and who so neglecteth (that commandement of theirs) shall haue no part with God, for not doing that which truth by the kings hart commanded him. And the princes obedience to be due not to preachers persons, or pleasures, but their message deliuered them by God the Lord and ruler of all princes, appeereth by this, that princes may lawfully punish the preachers if they falsifie the word of truth, or shame their calling with their disordered liuing.

Princes be no iudges of religion.

That princes be iudges of religion, We neuer said it nor thought it, much lesse that they be iudges of God himself; this argueth rather your impudencie in reporting, than our ignorance in not affirming it. Gods name be blessed, We know what difference there is ẏ ought to be betweene God and man, as well as you: but such is the badnesse of your cause, and blindnesse of your harts, that you must and will rather childishly quarell and wittingly belie the truth, than come to a faire and euen triall.

S.

S. Cyprian hath some such words, but no such meaning as you alleadge. He saith when a bishop is orderly chosen in any Church, he that After the diuine (allowance or) iudgement, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent (and liking) of other bishops, erecteth a second in the same Church against him, maketh himselfe now the controler and iudge not of the bishop, but of God, which we beleeue to be very true; but how doth this proue that christian magistrats may not displace wicked & vnworthy bishops for their iust deserts, which is our question?

S. Cyprians words alleadged without his meaning. *Cyp. lib. 1. ep. 3.*

And as Cyprian in his sense is not against vs, so Cyprian in our case is cleare against you. For when as yet there were no princes christened, that with publike authoritie might remoue vngodly bishops, Cyprian assureth vs that the people might lawfully seuer themselues from a wicked bishop and elect an other. His words be these: Therefore the (flocke or) people obeieng the lords precepts, and fearing God, ought to separate themselues from a sinnefull bishop, and not to participate with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest, whereas they chiefly haue power to choose worthy bishops, and to reiect vnworthy, persuading and incouraging the people to go forward in that their attempt, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome tooke stitch with the party deposed, and wrote letters for his restitution; of the which Cyprian maketh no great account, as you may see by his words that follow. Neither is (the bishop of Rome) so much to be blamed that was deceiued through negligence, as this man to be detested that fraudulently deceiued him. And though Basilides could circumuent men, yet can he not beguile God.

Cyprian allowed the people to reiect their bishop, if he were vnworthie. *Lib. 1. epist. 4.*

Cypr. lib. 1. ep. 4. Though the bishop of Rome tooke his part.

Phil. *It maketh her free from ecclesiasticall discipline, from which no true child of Gods familie is exempted.*

Apol. cap. 4. Sect. 22.

Theop. It maketh her free from the popes buls and decretals, but not from the lawes and precepts of Christ, which is the true discipline of Gods children. Touching the regiment of their owne persons and liues, princes owe the verie same reuerence and obedience to the word and sacraments that euerie priuate man doth: and if anie prince would be baptised, or approch to the Lords table with manifest shew of vnbeliefe or irrepentance, the minister is bound freelie to speake, and rather to laie downe his

The prince not free from Christs precepts.

Princes must heare the word and receiue the sacraments in such sort as God hath appointed.

his life at the princes feet, than to let the king of kings be prouoked, the mysteries defiled, his owne soule and the princes indangered, for lacke of often & earnest admonitiō.

Phil. I am glad you grant that princes may be excommunicated: for that prouoketh priests to be their superiors, and ouerthroweth quite their supremacie. Theop. You reason very profoundly. The seruants of God may not receiue any mortall man to the diuine mysteries, except he bring with him a right faith in God, and an inward sorrow for his former sinnes, *ergo* the pope may depose princes, & set their subiects in open field against them, to thrust them from their thrones.

The preacher is prescribed how he shall minister the sacraments, not how he shall depose princes. We deny this argument.

Phil. We reason not so, but we say, priests may excommunicate princes, *Ergo* they be superiors to princes. Theo. I speake not of admitting princes to the sacraments, but with those conditions that God requireth of all christian men without respect of states or persons, and you by and by leape to excommunication, which word you eagerly sease on, not for any meaning you haue to guide princes right least they prouoke the wrath of God to their euerlasting destruction by the contempt of his graces, but for a cunning to defeat them of their crownes by your indirect and vngodly deuises. For first you will excommunicate them; that is you will haue no communion with them in any thing spirituall or temporall; next you descend from not communicating with them, to not obeying them; & lastly from not obeying, to open rebelling against them, and placing others in their steeds. And thus when princes displease you, you neuer leaue them till with this wreath of excommunication, you wring their scepters out of their hands. But if you looke better about you, you shall find great difference betweene not deliuering them the sacred mysteries of God, except they repent and beleeue the Gospell, and your diuelish conspiracie to denie them all obedience, and with armed violence to take their swords from them: but thereof more hereafter.

Excommunication made a wrest to lift princes out of their seats.

In the meane time your argument is verie foolish: priests must not deliuer the sacraments but on such conditions as God hath limited, *ergo* priests be superior to princes. You might haue concluded, *ergo* God is superior to them both, in that he prescribeth how ỹ one shal deliuer, and

and the other take the ſeales of his grace: but for the prieſt no ſuch illation can be made. For were you porter in any princes palace, and commanded that no man noble nor other ſhould enter the court with weapon, would you thence cõclude your ſelfe ſuperior to al the nobles & counſellors of the land, becauſe you might not ſuffer them to come within the gates, except they firſt lay their ſwords aſide; or would you rather excuſe your ſelfe, that the princes precept being ſtrait and you a ſeruant, you could not chooſe but do your dutie, and put them in mind of your Lord and maſters pleaſure.

The ſeruant muſt not thinke himſelfe ſuperior to all that his maſter may command.

Phil. Our caſe is not like. Theop. You ſay truth. You haue not ſo much reaſon to make prieſts ſuperior to princes, as this officer hath to prefer himſelfe before all other perſons. Princes haue ſouereign power ouer the goods, liues and bodie of prieſts, nobles haue not ouer the meaneſt attendant in the princes court: princes muſt be obeyed or endured with meekeneſſe and reuerence offer they neuer ſo hard dealing to their preachers and paſtours: that ſubmiſſion no man oweth to any ſubiect be he neuer ſo noble. And therefore euerie ſeruant in the princes houſe, hath better cauſe to aduance himſelfe before all the nobles of the realme, than you haue to ſet the prieſt aboue the prince whom God himſelfe hath pronounced ſuperior to the prieſts, and to whom he will haue euerie ſoule, be they monks, prieſts, or biſhops, to be ſubiect with all ſubmiſſion and dutie: much leſſe is this a warrant for you to depoſe princes, and to purſue them with armes againſt the precepts of God, againſt the generall and continuall obedience and order of Chriſts Church, as you ſhall perceiue in place where: for this preſent go on with your abſurd lies, I ſhould haue ſaid abſurdities.

In vaine ſeek they reaſons to make the prieſt ſuperior to the prince, whom God himſelfe hath made ſubiect to the prince.

Phil. *It derogateth from Chriſts prieſthood which both in his owne perſon, and in the Church is aboue his kingly dignitie.* Apol. cap. 4. Sect. 23.

Theop. Call you this a derogation from Chriſts prieſthood, if the pope may not tread princes vnder his feet? Your ſeminaries muſt needes be famous that coine vs ſuch cõcluſions. Phil. Neuer mocke at our ſeminaries, you ſhall find them too well furniſhed for your ſtoare. Theoph. So we thinke, your learning is ſo ſtrange, it paſſeth our intelligence. We fooles conceiue not how theſe things

They harp on Chriſts prieſthood, as if they were Chriſts owne fellowes in his prieſtly dignitie.

things hang togither.

Christ hath no higher title than the king of glorie, & prince of the world to come.

For first what meane you by this; *The priesthood of Christ in his owne person, is aboue his kingly dignitie?* He is king of glorie in that he is the sonne of God; can you name any thing in Christ that is aboue his diuine dignitie? Your doctrine is verie curious if it be not dangerous. The glorie of the sonne of God, as he is owner and ruler of all things in heauen and earth, hath no title nor name aboue it. As a priest he purged our sinnes in humilitie: as a king he now doth and euer shal raigne in the highest degree of celestiall and euerlasting glorie. His priesthood washed our vncleannes in this life. His kingdom placeth and preserueth men and angels in perfect and eternall blisse.

If you speake this in respect of vs, that the priesthood of Christ which washeth our sinnes, and saueth vs from the wrath to come; is more comfortable and acceptable to our weake consciences, by reason of our guiltines and daily transgressions, than the power wherewith he subdueth his enemies, besides the strangenesse of your speech that his *priesthood* should be *aboue his kingly dignitie in his owne person*: note the lolenes of your argument. The priesthood of Christ in fauour and mercie to vs ward is aboue his power, *ergo* the prince must be subiect to the pope. May not we much rather conclude; Christ compelleth and punisheth as a king, not as a priest, *ergo* power to command and punish belongeth to the kingdom and not to the priesthood, that is to the magistrate, not to the minister.

Apolog. cap. 4. Sect. 23.

Phil. *It diuideth (which is a matter of much importance) the state of the catholike Church and the holy communion or societie of all christian men in the same, into as manie parts not communicant one with an other, nor holding one of an other, as there be worldly kingdoms differing by customs, lawes and maners, each from other: which is of much pernicious sequele, and against the verie native quality of the most perfect coniunction, society, vnitie and intercourse of the whole Church and euery prouince and person thereof togither.*

The communion of saints consisteth not in obedience to the pope.

Theop. It is a most pernicious fansie to thinke the communion of Christs Church dependeth vpon the pops person or regiment, and that diuerse nations and countries *differing by customes, lawes and maners* (so they hold one and the same rule of faith in the band of peace) can not be parts of the catholike Church communicant one with an other, and

and perfectly vnited in ſpirit and truth ech to other. And ſie on your follies that racke your creed and rob Chriſt of his honor, and the Church of all her comfort and ſecurity, whiles you make the vnitie and ſocietie of Chriſts members to conſiſt in obedience to the biſhop of Rome, and not in coherence with the ſonne of God.

The communion of ſaints, and nere dependance of the godly ech of other, and all of their head, ſtandeth not of externall rites, cuſtoms, and manners, as you would faſhion out a Church obſerving the popes canons, and deſeruing his pardons as his deuote and zealous children: but in beleeuing the ſame truth, taſting of the ſame grace, reſting on the ſame hope, calling on the ſame God, reioicing in the ſame ſpirit, whereby they be ſealed, ſanctified and preſerued againſt the day of redemption. And why may not Chriſtians in all kingdoms and countries haue this communion and fellowſhip, though they lacke your holy fathers beades, bleſſings, and ſuch like babies?

Nor in externall rites and ceremonies.

The true cómunion of the Church.

To what end you alleadge S. Auguſtine in that place which you quote, we can not ſo much as coniecture; you muſt ſpeake plainely what you would haue, we be not bound to make ſearch for your meaning. As for the communion of the catholike Church, it is not broken by the varietie and diuerſitie of rites, cuſtoms, lawes, and faſhions, which many places and countries haue different ech from others, except they be repugnant to faith or good maners, as S. Auguſtine largely debateth in his epiſtle to Ianuarius; and Ireneus, when the biſhop of Rome would haue cut the eaſt churches from the communion of the weſt, for obſerning eaſter after an other manner and order than their brethren did, ſharply reproued him, and ſhewed him that Polycarpus and Anicetus diſſenting in the ſame caſe, *Communionem inter ſe habuerunt*, were, this notwithſtanding, ioined in communion; *& pacem in vniuerſa Eccleſia tum ſeruantes, tum non ſeruantes retinuerunt*, and both ſides kept the bands of peace in the catholike Church.

The communion of the Church not diſſolued by the varietie of rites.

Epiſt. 118.

Euſeb. lib. 5. *cap.* 26.

Ibidem.

For the diſcrepant obſeruation of faſting before eaſter, he ſaith the like: *Alij vnum ſibi diem ieiunandum eſſe putant, alij duos, alij plures, alij quadraginta horas. Nihilo minus tamen omnes illi pacem inter ſe retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnum, & diſſonantia ieiunij fidei concordiam commendat.* Some faſt one day, ſome two

Euſeb. lib. 5. *cap.* 23.

daies, some more, some fortie houres: and yet all these continued in peace among themselues, and to this day we continue the same, and our difference in fasting commendeth our concord in faith.

The Church from the beginning had diuersitie of rites.

Socrates hath a whole chapter purposely made to shew what diuersitie there was in the Church of Christ about lent, the Lords supper, marying, baptizing, praying, fasting, and such like ecclesiasticall obseruances, and yet all those places and countries parts of the catholike Church, and communicant one with an other in christian peace and vnitie. *Operosum & molestum fuerit imò impossibile, omnes Ecclesiarum quæ per ciuitates & regiones sunt ritus conscribere.* It were an hard and laborious thing, saith he, yea an impossible, to write all (the different customs and) manners of the Churches in euery citie and country. *Quæ eiusdem sunt fidei de ritibus inter se dissentiunt.* They that are of the same faith, differ in their rites. So that this is no breach of the christian and catholike communion which all the faithfull ought to keepe among themselues and with their head, the author and finisher of their faith.

Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22.

Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 22.

Heb. 12.

Phil. *It openeth the gap to all kind of diuisions, schisms, sects, & disorders.* Theop. Why so? Because your holy father can not marchandize the soules and empty the purses of men as he was woont to do? What sects, schisms, disorders or heresies can there arise, if we defend it lawfull for princes to command for truth within their owne realmes? May rather hath not the subiecting of princes to the popes pride wrought the bitter ruine and decay of the west Church? where rulers be many it is easie to find some good, and they will resist that which is euill, and reforme that which is amisse: where one ruleth all, if he fall as he quickly may, he draweth the whole Church into the same danger and error with him. Phil. But the successor of Peter can not erre, & therfore the Church is safest when it is ruled by him, for whose faith Christ praied that it might not faile. Theop. Proue that the pope can not erre, & we will grant not only this, but all your religion besides to be true. Phil. What, you wil not? Theo. The word is spoken, accept the condition when you list. Till you do we prefer Cyprians iudgement before yours. Therefore deere brother, saith he, writing to Stephanus bishop of Rome, is there a plentiful number

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 23.

The popes pride first decaied the west Churches.

Cyprian. lib. 3. epist. 13.

ber of priests (in the Church) ioined togither with the knot of mutuall concord & band of peace, that if any of our company make a breach, & rent and wast the flocke of Christ, the rest should helpe, & as profitable & pitifull pastors reduce the Lords sheepe to the flocke againe. The number of rulers in his opinion is no cause of sects & dissentions, but rather a remedy prouided in the Church against disorder & heresie. A number of watchmen in the Church better than one.

Phil. *It maketh all christian bishops, priests, & whatsoeuer borne out of the realme forrainers & vsurpers in all iurisdiction ecclesiastical towards vs, & that there can be no iurisdiction ouer Englishmens soules, but proceeding and depending of her soueraigne right therein.* Apol. cap. 4. sect. 24.

The. Your force is almost spent, when you come to these frozen & wooden obiections. We call those that were borne & liue out of the realme, *forrainers.* What else should we call them? And such as pretend Peters keies to dispose crowns & remoue princes from their seats, ioining rebellion with remission of sins, we thinke them *vsurpers* & abusers of ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. A maruellous ouersight in dede. We might haue spared you some sharper & quicker terms; but by these we thought good to manifest to ỹ world, your iniurious & irreligious drift to be masters of earthly kingdōs, by winding & turning Peters keies at your pleasure. Vsurpers and forrainers.

Phil. Your words exclude Christ & his apostles, (in as much as they were & be *forrainers*) from hauing any iurisdiction ouer England. Theo. It is pity you can not cauil. We striue for iudiciall authoritie to depriue princes, you vrge vs with apostolike power to preach the gospell & remit sins: we speake of that which is at this present, you tel vs what was 1500. yeres since: we reason of states in earth, you run to saints in heauen: we reiect the bishop of Rome, you wrangle with vs as though we refused the son of God. Doth not matter faile you, when you flie for helpe to such vnsauory toies? Phil. Your oth is so absurdly conceiued, that though you ment not to exclude Christ & his apostles, yet in words you do. For if No forraine person, prelat, state, nor potentate hath nor ought to haue any iurisdictiō, power, superiority, preeminéce, or authority ecclesiasticall or spirituall within this realme of England, surely neither Christ nor his apostles (*because they were & be forrainers*) haue or ought to haue any. Th. Not our speaking, but your wresting & wrēching of our words is far fet & most absurd: for The Iesuites cauill at the word Forrainer.

first where you auouch Christ himselfe to be a *forrainer*, whom we acknowledge to be the right inheritor and owner of the whole world, yea the mighty Lord and King of heauen and earth; in gibing at vs, you iest on his birth; as if Christ were a *forrainer* to the Gentiles, because he tooke flesh among the Iewes. And though you might haue taken some aduantage at his cradle, yet you should haue remembred that the creator is no *forrainer* to the worke of his hands, as likewise the head is not to the members, nor God incarnate to the sonnes of men.

God is no forrainer to men.

As for his apostles in deed whiles they liued on earth, they were *forrainers*: but that their spirits now present with God, and raigning in blisse with Christ, *be forrainers*, is a mad speech of yours, no meaning of ours. You must send vs word from Rhemes how soules can be French, Spanish, Scotish, or English. These with vs be distinctions of countries, not of soules, and after death till your new doctrine came, we tooke them to cease: with a little helpe I thinke you will make vs some men soules, and some women soules, you be so skilfull in these conceits.

Soules in heauen be no forrainers

Againe, might the soules in heauen be called or counted *forrainers*, you must tell vs what ecclesiasticall power and authoritie they now exercise on earth. We do not affirme that forrainers neuer had any such power in England, the apostles had their commission from Christ to teach and baptise all nations without exception, but we say, none hath at this present, nor ought to haue any such power within the realme: and vnlesse you will defend that soules in heauen do now preach the gospell and minister the sacraments, we see not how the apostles haue any actuall function or ecclesiasticall power on earth, here or elsewhere.

Soules in heauen exercise no iurisdiction ecclesiasticall nor spirituall on earth.

These quarrels full of spite and void of all truth and common reason, do more than you thinke impaire the credit of your religion and learning: but so great is your malice that it shutteth your senses and kindleth your choler, whiles you would say somewhat, to say you care not what, be it neuer so vntrue or vntidy.

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 24. Phil. *The princes soueraignty is directly against the commandement and commission giuen to Peter first, and then to all the apostles, of preaching, baptising, remitting, retaining, binding, loosing ouer all the world without*

without difference of temporall ſtate, or dependance of any mortall prince therein.

Theoph. That commandement and promiſe of our ſauior to his apoſtles is no way preiudiciall to our doctrine, nor beneficiall to yours, as alſo the charge which the preachers and biſhops of England haue ouer their flockes proceedeth neither from prince nor pope, nor dependeth vpon the will or word of any earthly creature: and therefore you do vs the more wrong, ſo confidently to ſay what you liſt of vs, as if your enuious reports were authentike oracles. Phil. You make the prince ſupreame gouernor in all ſpirituall and eccleſiaſtical things and cauſes, preaching, baptizing, binding, loſing, and ſuch like be ſpirituall things and cauſes, *Ergo* you make the princes ſupreame gouernor euen in theſe things. And here you may ſee that we iuſtly charge you with all the former abſurdities, though to ſhift them and vs off, you ſay we do nothing but ſlander and cauill. Theoph. And here you may ſee the truth of our ſpeech and vnruſtneſſe of your charge, and that as you beganne, ſo you continue with ſpitefull peruerting and deprauing our words. For by GOVERNORS we do not meane moderators, preſcribers, directors, inuentors, or authors of theſe things, as you miſconſter vs, but rulers and magiſtrats bearing the ſword to permit and defend that which Chriſt himſelfe firſt appointed and ordained, and with lawfull force to diſturbe the deſpiſers of his will and teſtament. Now what inconuenience is this if we ſay that princes as publike magiſtrats may giue freedome, protection and aſſiſtance to the preaching of the word, miniſtring of the ſacraments, and right vſing of the keies, and not fet licence from Rome? Is that againſt Chriſts commandement or commiſſion giuen to Peter and the reſt? Or doth that proue all eccleſiaſticall power and cure of ſoules to proceed and depend of the princes right?

Princes beare the ſword in theſe cauſes to ſee that permitted and defended in their realmes which Chriſt commãded.

None but princes can giue freedom & protection to theſe ſpirituall functiõs and actions.

Phil. *It keepeth the realme from obedience to generall councels which haue beene or ſhall be gathered in forraine countries: it taketh away all conuenient meanes of gathering, holding or executing any ſuch councels and their decrees, as appeared by refuſing to come to the late councell of Trent, notwithſtanding the popes meſſengers & letters of other great princes, which requeſted & inuited them to the ſame.*

Apolog. cap. 4. ſect. 25.

Generall councels were wont to be assistats vnto princes, not tribunals aboue princes.

Theop. Princes ought to heare and obey the truth proposed by priuate persons and preachers, much more to reuerence the same declared by a number of faithfull and godly bishops meeting in a generall councell. But the pleasures and orders of other princes and prelats, be their assembly neuer so great, the rulers of this realme are not bound to respect vnlesse their consents be first required and obtained.

Particular councels you may call without vs, and as we are not acquainted with them, so are we not obstricted to them. Generall councels you can not call, without the liking and warning of all christian princes and common-wealths; and if you neglect or skip anie, they may lawfully refuse and despise that which you shall then and there decree. For that which pertaineth to all can not be good, without the knowledge and consents of all.

A generall councel must haue the consent of all christian countries.

The late coūcell of Trent a meere faction of the popes sworne to take his part and content to refer all things to his power.

Phil. To the councell of Trent you were *requested and inuited by messengers from the pope, and letters of other great princes*. Theoph. To your chapter at Trent we came not for many good and sufficient reasons. The pope toke vpon him to call that councell which he had no right to do: none might haue voices in the councell, but such as were his creatures and sworne to be true and trusty to his triple crowne: the conclusion and resolution of all things was euer reserued to him or his legats: this realme and others were inuited to come but as suppliants to your synode, and to stand at your curtesies, and to suffer your selues to be iudges in your owne cause, and yet you thinke much that we refused to come. Let a christian councell be agreed on by all their consents that haue to do with it, let both sides haue like interest in the councell. Let your *Sala semper in omnibus apostolicæ sedis authoritate*, For prising in all things the popes power and pleasure be reiected, and the scriptures inspired from God be laid in the middest as the balance and touchstone of truth, which was the wont of former councels. Let both parts be sworne to respect nothing, but in the feare of God to examine the faith, & seeke out the ancient canons of Christs Church, and if we faile to meete you, declaime against vs on Gods name, as hinderers of peace and despisers of generall councels: otherwise

Concil. Triden. Sess. 25. decret. de reformatione cap. 21. Item Sess. 7.

wise no duty bindeth vs to resort, much lesse to be subiect to your vnlawfull routs, void of all christian authoritie, libertie, truth and indifferency.

Phil. Was the councell of Trent vnlawfully called? Theop. Proue it the popes right to call generall councels; and that none must sit there but his sworne men; and lastly that he must rule and raigne as he doth in all assemblies, and be iudge against all law and reason in his owne cause, though he be chiefe in resisting the truth and oppressing the Church, and then will we grant your conuenticle at Trent was orderly called: but if these things be repugnant to christian equity and the sincere canons of Gods Church, whereby the catholike councels of former ages were directed, as appeareth they be, then had your Tridentine chapter neither the calling, keeping, concluding, nor meaning of a generall councell.

Such wrongs were neuer offered in the councell of anciēt times.

Phil. Who should call councels, if not the pope? Theop. Shew what one generall councell the pope called, for the space of twelue hundred yeeres after Christ, and then aske vs who should call them but he, if you can not, learne that vsurpation is no right and that generall councels were called by princes and not by popes, and therefore the popes power to summon generall councels, if it be anie, grew very lately and is not yet old enough to be currant or catholike.

The prince for 1200. yeeres called generall councels, and not the pope.

Phil. To the councell of Trent other princes consented. Theoph. Certaine friers were set there to wast day light and wearie the wals with declaiming against the gospell of Christ whiles your holy father and his cardinals were eighteene yeeres prouoking and working the princes and states adherent to them, to spill christian bloud and to make hauocke of all places and persons that were not obedient to the bishop of Rome, and yet you count it some great absurdity for vs to reiect this councell as not generall.

The poore friers were eighteene yeeres disputing while the pope and his cardinals were conspiring against the godly.

Phil. You acknowledge *no subiection to councels or tribunals abroad, all other bishops, patriarks, apostles, Christ and all (because they were and be forrainers) not hauing iurisdiction or sufficient authoritie to define against English sectaries or errors. And this, when a realme or prince is in error, taketh away all meanes of reducing them to the truth againe.*

Apolog. cap. 4. sect. 25.

We yeeld more subiection to Christ and his apostles than they do.

Theoph. To Christ and his apostles we acknowledge more subiection than you do. We honor and adore him as the true sonne of God equall with his father in authoritie & maiesty. We make him no fellow to this realme as you do, but professe him to be the onely maister, redeemer, & ruler of his Church as well in this as in all other nations: to whom princes and preachers are but seruants; the preachers to propose, the princes to execute his will and commandements: and whom all that will be saued must beleeue and obey aboue and against all councels and tribunals, be they regall or papall, if they dissent from his word.

The apostles we reuerence and obey as the messengers of Christ. *Distinct. 34. ¶ Lector & caus. 15 q. 6. ¶ authoritate in gloss. Pig. Hierar. lib. 1. cap. 2. 1. Thess. 2. 1. Thess. 2. Rom. 1.*

The preachings and writings of the apostles we receiue with greater reuerence and exacter obedience, than you do. We giue no man leaue to dispence against them which your law witnesseth of the pope. *Papa contra apostolum dispensat*, The pope dispenseth against the apostle: We neuer said as Piggius saith, The apostles wrote certaine things, not that their writings should be aboue our faith and religion, but rather vnder. We confesse, The apostles were men allowed of God, to whom the gospell should be committed, and therefore we receiue the word from them, not as the word of man, but, as it is in deede, the word of God, assuring our selues, it is the power of God to saue all that beleue, and detesting your erronious and hainous presumptions, that take vpon you to adde, alter, diminish, and dispence with that which the spirit of Christ spake as well by the pens as mouths of the apostles.

We owe communion not subiection vnto councels. Reuel. 22.

To councels, such as the Church of Christ was wont by the helpe of her religious princes to call, we owe communion and brotherly concord so long as they make no breach in faith, nor in christian charity: subiection and seruitude we owe them none: the blessed angels professe them-selues to be fellowe seruantes with the saints on earth, what are you then that with your *Tribunals & iurisdictions* would be lords and rulers ouer Christs inheritance?

Cypr. ad Quirinum. Peter claimed no subiection to his tribunall.

Peter, saith Cyprian, whom the Lord made first choice of & on whom he built his Church, when Paul after stroue (with him) for circumcision did not take vpon him, nor chalenge any thing insolently or arrogantly, nor aduance himselfe as

primate

This land not subiect to the popes tribunall.

primate, and one to whom the nouices and punees should be subiect. And as it were in open defiance of your *Tribunals* and *iurisdictions* which Stephen the bishop of Rome began then to exercise, he directeth the bishops assembled in a councell at Carthage on this wise: It resteth that of this matter we speake euerie one of vs what we thinke, iudging no man, nor remouing anie man from the communion, though he be not of our mind. For none of vs maketh himselfe bishop of bishops, or by terror like a tyrant, forceth his colleagues to yeeld him obedience whether they will or no, considering euerie bishop by reason of his (episcopall) power and freedom, hath the rule of his owne iudgement, as one that can not be iudged of an other, nor he him-selfe iudge an other: but let vs all expect the (tribunall or) iudgement of our Lord Iesus Christ, which onlie and solely hath power to set vs in the gouernment of his Church, and to iudge of our acts.

In sententijs Concilij Carth.

The popes councels are tyrannicall.

And because you be so earnest with vs for subiection to *Tribunals abroad*, to be plaine with you, it is boies plaie, before you name them, or proue that we owe them anie subiection, to shoe it vp as an absurditie, that we acknowledge none vnto them; and yet least you should thinke vs the first that refused *Tribunals abroad*, you shall see that ancient and worthie fathers haue done the like before vs.

Many before vs haue refused forraine tribunall.

What *Tribunals abroad* did Cyprian, and the 80. bishops at Carthage with him acknowledge, when he said as you heard: *Christus vnus & solus habet potestatem de actu nostro iudicandi*, Christ onlie and none else hath authoritie to iudge of our act. And againe, *Episcopus ab alio iudicari non potest, nec ipse possit alterum iudicare*: A bishop may not be iudged of others, nor iudge others. *Expectemus vniuersi iudicium Christi*; Let vs all (both abroad and at home) expect the iudgement of Christ.

Cypr. in sententijs Concil. Car.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

What *Tribunals abroad* did Polycrates and the bishops of Asia with him acknowledge, when he replied to the bishop of Rome, threatning to excommunicate him and the rest: *Non turbabor ijs, quæ terrendi gratia obijciuntur*, I passe not for these threats that are offered to terrifie me.

Polycrates.

Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 25.

What *Tribunals abroad* did S. Augustine, and the 216. African

Augustine.

This land not subiect to the popes tribunall.

Concil. African. cap. 92. Concil. African. cap. 105.

African bishops acknowledge when they decreed that none Appealing ouer the sea (to tribunals abroad) should be receiued to the communion within Africa? And when they repelled the bishop of Rome, laboring to place his legats *a latere* within their prouince, and willed him not to bring *Fumosum seculi Typhum*, That smokie pride of the world into the Church of Christ.

The Britons. Galfri. Monemutens. lib. 8. cap. 4.

What *tribunals abroad* did the bishop of the Britons acknowledge, when they prooued to Augustine the monke that was sent from Rome, that they ought him no subiection.

Lib. 7. indict. 1. epist. 30. This bishop of Rome claimed no tribunall ouer other countries.

May what *tribunall abroad* did Gregorie the bishop of Rome chalenge, when he wrote thus to Eulogius bishop of Alexandria: *Vestra beatitudo mihi loquitur dicens, sicut iussistis, quod verbum iussionis peto à meo auditu remouete: quia scio quis sum, qui essis. Loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ergo iussi, sed quæ vtilia visa sunt iudicare curaui.* Your blessednes (in your letters) saith to me as you commanded, which word of commanding, I beseech you remooue from mine eares, because I know who I am, & what you are. In calling you are brethren to me; in behauior fathers. I did not then command you, but aduertise you what seemed best to me. The same Gregorie teacheth you what it is for anie one man to require vniuersall subiection of the whole Church, as your holie father now doth. If Paul, saith he, would not haue the members of the lords bodie to be subiect to anie head but to Christ, no not to the apostles themselues; what wilt thou answere to Christ the head of the vniuersall Church in the last daie of iudgement which goest about to haue all his members in subiection to thee by the title of vniuersall? Whom doest thou imitate in so peruerse a name, but (Lucifer) that despising legions of angels his fellowes, would needs aspire to be singular and alone to be ouer all?

Greg. lib. 4. epist. 38.

No tribunall ouer the whole Church, but only Christ.

To let one man haue all the members of Christ in subiection vnder him, is not the meane to reduce princes and their people to truth, as you falslie suppose, but the high waie to wrap them and the whole Church in blindnes and error. *Ecclesia vniuersa corruit, si vnus vniuersus cadit*; If he that is vniuersall fall, the whole Church falleth with him.

Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 24.

The popes tribunall

Yea this verie subiection of all kingdoms and countries to the popes beck, made him first forget his dutie to God

and

and man, whiles his clawbacks aduanced him to the height of heauen, and gaue him all power both in heauen & earth, and so quailed and disabled al others that they neither might reprouue nor durst resist his wicked and wilful fansies were they neuer so pernicious to the faith, or opprobrious to ꝑ Church. For you made it Sacrilege to dispute of his fact, Heresie to doubt of his power, Paganisme to disobey him, Blasphemie against the holy Ghost to do or speake against his decrees and canons; and that which is more horrible, you made it Presumption not to go to ꝑ diuel after him without any grudging. O shamefull and sinfull subiection, such as Lucifer himself neuer offered the bondslaues of hell! Phil. May rather, O shamefull and sinfull report: doth he require any such subiection? Theop. If your law do not auouch as much as I report, let me beare the shame. *Sacrilegij instar est, disputare de facto (Papæ)* It were no lesse than sacrilege to dispute of the popes fact. And the capitall register of your decrees, *Committunt sacrilegium, qui contra diuinæ legis sanctitatem, aut nesciendo committunt, aut negligendo offendunt. Similiter de iudicio summi pontificis alicui disputare non licet.* They commit sacrilege which of ignorance transgresse, or of negligence breake the law of God. Vnder the like paine (of sacrilege) it is vnlawfull for anie man to dispute of the popes iudgement. For all the sanctions of the apostolike see (of Rome) are to be receiued as confirmed with the diuine voice of Peter himselfe.

made him first forget both God and man.

A tribunal sit for the diuell himselfe.

Distinct. 40. ¶ *Non nos glos. ibidem* ¶ *quis enim. Caus.* 17. *quæs.* 4. ¶ *Si quis.*

Sacrilege to doubt of the popes fact, or dispute of his iudgement. *Distinct.* 19. ¶ *Sic omnes. Distinct.* 22. ¶ *Omnes.*

He, saith pope Nicolaus, that defraudeth anie Church of her right doth vniustlie, but he that indeuoreth to take from the Church of Rome her priuilege, *hic procul dubio in hæresin labitur & est dicendus hæreticus*, he out of all doubt slideth into heresie and is to be counted an heretike. Vpon the warrant of this and such like texts your glozer as it were falling on his knees, and holding vp his hands to that idoll exalting him-selfe in the temple of God, pronounceth distinctlie and leasurablie: *Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur:* To thinke that our Lord God the pope could not decree as he hath decreed, must be counted hereticall. For as pope he might do manie things, and not onlie declare, but also bring in a new article of faith.

Heresie to mutter against the popes pride. *Extrau. Iohan.* 22. ¶ *cum inter nonnullos; glos. ibidem* ¶ *declaramus. Extrau. Iohan.* 22. ¶ *quia quondam. glos.* ¶ *non vt Papa. Extrau. communium, de maioritate & obedient.* ¶ *Vnam sanctam.*

Bonifacius the 8. would needs haue it to be Manicheisme, and

Manicheism & paganisme not to obeie the popes word.

and that he found by the first booke of Moses: Whosoeuer, saith he, resisteth (the popes) power, resisteth the ordinance of God, vnlesse with Manicheus he dreame of mo beginnings (than one) which we adiudge to be false and heretical, because, as Moses saith in the beginning God made heauen and earth, not in the beginnings. Therefore we declare, affirme, define, pronounce, that it is a necessarie point to saluation, for euerie humane creature to be subiect to the bishop of Rome. Gregorie **the seuenth produceth** Samuel **to proue that it is idolatrie and infidelitie to disobey the pope.** He that will not obeie this most holsome precept of ours (forbidding priests their wiues vnder the colour of fornication,) incurreth the sin of idolatrie, as Samuel witnesseth; Not to obeie is the sin of witchcraft, and not to be content is the wickednes of idolatrie. Therefore he falleth into paganisme, whosoeuer obeieth not the apostolike see (of Rome.) They may be well said to blaspheme the holy Ghost, saith pope Damasus, which willinglie or frowardlie do or dare speake against the holie canons. For this presumption is plainlie one kind of blasphemie against the holie Ghost. And as though this were too little, the gloze addeth Blasphemie, nay *ipso facto* he is accursed, and an heretike.

Distinct. 81. ¶ Si qui sunt.

What said Samuel more of God, than the pope here applieth to himselfe.

Caus. 25. quæs. 1. ¶ violatores. Ibidem. glos. ¶ Blasphemare.

Phil. You wrest that to the popes decrees which was spoken of the canons of councels. Theop. If I wrest it not, the same place will tell you, the word comprised as well the popes decrees, as canons of councels. *Sancta Romana Ecclesia ius & authoritatem sacris canonibus impertitur, habet enim ius condendi canones.* The holie Romane Church giueth strength and authoritie to the sacred canons, for she hath right to make canons. And againe, *Sic summæ sedis pontifices canonibus siue à se, siue ab alijs sua authoritate conditis reuerentiam exhibent:* So the bishops of the supreme see, do reuerence the canons which them-selues make, or others by their authoritie. And lastlie, speaking of the bishops of Rome, *Ipsi soli canones valent interpretari qui ius condendi eos habent:* Popes onlie may interpret the canons, which haue right to make canons.

Caus. 25. quæs. 1. ¶ ideo permittente.

Ibidem.

No canons but what the pope maketh or alloweth. *Ibidem.*

Or if you thinke popes would not accompt it blasphemie to breake their decrees, read the words of pope Adrian in ỹ same section. *Generali decreto censemus & constituimus vt execrandum anathema sit, & velut prævaricator fidei catholicæ semper*

Caus. 25. quæs. 1. ¶ generali.

semper apud Deum reus existat, quicunque regum, episcoporum, vel potentum de inceps Romanorum pontificum decretorum censuram in quoque crediderit vel permiserit violandam: By a generall decree we order and determine that he shall be execrably accursed and guiltie for euer before God, as a transgressor of the catholike faith, whatsoeuer king, bishop, or noble man hereafter shall beleeue the censure of the popes decretals may be broken in any thing, or shall permit the same. That horrible curse which the apostle pronounceth, If any man loue not the Lord Iesus, this Apostata thundreth on them that do but doubt of his decretals.

A breach of the faith to violate the popes decrees.

1.Cor.16.

This is bad enough, and yet this is not the worst. For Bonifacius a martyr as you make him, requireth all men to follow the bishop of Rome to the diuell of hell without making any words. *Si papa suæ & fraternæ salutis negligens deprehenditur, inutilis & remissus in suis operibus, & insuper à bono taciturnus qui magis officit sibi & omnibus, nihilominus innumerabiles populos cateruatim secum ducit primo mancipio gehennæ: huius culpas iste redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus.* Your forgeries be as grosse as they be wicked, the Latine is so good that I can skant English it; yet thus it is, or should be: If the pope be found to neglect the saluation of himselfe and his brethren, vnprofitable and slacke in his office, silent in that which is good, hurtfull to himselfe and all others, yea though he lead with him innumerable soules by heapes to the diuell of hell, yet let no mortall man presume to find fault with him, or reprooue him for his dooings.

Distinct.40. ¶ Si papa.

No man must find fault with the pope for leading men to hell by heapes.

This is the subiection which your holy father would haue, and which you count vs absurd for not acknowledging: but may we not iustlie saie to you as S. Augustine said to the Donatists? This which you affirme, that all the world must be subiect to one man as to Christs vicar, Did God or man tell it you? If God, read it vnto vs out of the law, the prophets, the psalmes, the apostolicall or euangelicall writings. Read it if you can, which (hitherto) you neuer could. But if men haue said it (or rather no men but your selues) behold the deuise of men, behold what you worship, behold what you serue, behold wherefore you rebell, you rage, you waxe mad?

Contra 2. Gaudentij epist. lib.2.cap.25.

Phil. If you will not be subiect to the pope, as Christs vicar and head of the Church, which no doubt he is, yet haue

The pope not patriark ouer England.

haue you no color to withstand his authoritie, as he is and euer was patriarke of the west. Theop. His vicarship to Christ and headship ouer the Church, be things that you speake much of, but shew smal proofe for. It were good you would either proue them, or not presume them as you do: they be matters of greater weight than that you may cary them away with your faire lookes.

Patriarke of the west we grant he was, which is a foule fall from head of the Church and vicar generall to Christ himselfe, and yet this way you come to short of your reckoning.

Patriarks not erected by Christ but by consent of bishops.

For first the title and authoritie of archbishops and patriarks was not ordained by the commandemēt of Christ or his apostles, but the bishops long after, when the Church began to be troubled with dissentions, were content to lincke themselues together, and in euery prouince to suffer one (whom they preferred for the worthines of his city and called their Metropolitane, that is bishop of the chiefe or mother city) to haue this prerogatiue in all doubts of doctrine and discipline to assemble the rest of his brethren or consult them absent by letters, and see that obserued, which the most part of them determined.

Hier. in epist. ad Tit. cap. 1. Before there beganne schismes in religion the Churches, saith S. Hierome, were gouerned by the common councell of the seniors. And therefore *Episcopi nouerint, se magis consuetudine quam dominicæ dispositionis veritate presbyteris esse maiores:* Let the bishops vnderstand that they be greater than (ministers or) elders, rather by custome, than by any truth of the Lords appointment, and that they ought to gouerne the Church in common. And in his epistle to Euagrius hauing fullie proued by the scriptures that the apostles called themselues but *Presbyteros*, Elders or seniors, he addeth, *Quod autem postea vnus electus est qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est ne vnusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet:* That after their times, one was chosen in euerie Church, and preferred before the rest to haue the dignitie of a bishop, this was prouided for a remedie against schismes, least euerie man drawing some vnto him, should rent the Church of Christ in peeces. For what doth a bishop, except ordering of others, which an elder may not do?

Ibidem.

Hier. Euag. tom. epist. 2.

And least you should thinke he speaketh not as well of the chiefe as of the meaner bishops, he compareth those of the greatest patriarks with those of the poorest bishops he could name. *Vbicunque fuerit episcopus, siue Romæ, siue Eugubij, siue Constantinopoli, siue Rhegij, siue Alexandriæ, siue Tains, einsdem meriti, einsdem est & sacerdotij. Potentia diuitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorē episcopum non facit: cæterùm omnes apostolorū successores sunt.* A bishop of what place so euer he be, either of Rome, or of Eugubium, or of Constantinople, or of Rhegium, or of Alexandria, or of Tains, hath the same merit and the same (function or) priesthood. Abundance of riches or basenes of pouertie, doth not make a bishop higher or lower, for they all be successors to the apostles. So that the bishop of Rome by commission from Christ, and succession from the apostles, is no higher than the meanest bishop in the world. *Hieronym. Ibidem.*

The superiorities which he and others had as metropolitanes in their owne prouinces came by custome, as the great councell of Nice witnesseth, not by Christs institution. Let the old vse continue in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the bishop of Alexandria be chiefe ouer all those places, for so much as the bishop of Rome hath the like custom. Likewise at Antioch, and in other prouinces, let the Churches keepe their prerogatiues. *The patriarks grew by consent and custom. Concil. Nicen. cap. 6.*

The generall councell of Ephesus confesseth the same. It seemeth good to this sacred and œcumenicall synod to conserue to euery prouince, their right priuiledges whole and vntouched, which they haue had of old, according to the custom that now long hath preuailed. *Concil. Ephes. 1. decretum postquam Cyp. episc. accessissent ad concil.*

Next, their authoritie was subiect not onely to the discretion & moderation of their brethren assembled in counsel, but also to the lawes & edicts of christian princes, to be granted, extended, limited and ordered as they saw cause. *Patriarks alwaies subiect to princes and their ecclesiasticall lawes.*

For example, the first councell of Constantinople aduanced the bishop of that citie to be the next patriarke to the bishop of Rome, which before he was not. And the councell of Chalcedon made him equall in ecclesiasticall honors with the bishop of Rome, and assigned him a larger prouince than before he had. *Concil. Chalc. actio 16.*

So Iustinian gaue to the citie in Africa that he called after his owne name, the see of an archbishop, *Archiepiscopale munus* *Nouel. constit 131.*

Princes gaue bishops their prerogatiues ouer others.

munus, quod Episcopo Iustinianeæ Carthaginis Africanæ Diœceseos dedimus, conseruari iubemus. Sed & aliæ ciuitates atque horum Episcopi, quibus passim in diuersis locis ius Metropoliticum concessum est, in perpetuum hoc priuilegio perfruuntur. The *Archiepiscopal* dignitie which we gaue to the bishop of Iustinianea within the prouince of Africa, we command to continue still. And likewise let other cities and their bishops to whom in diuers places and countries the right of metropolitanes hath beene granted, enioy that priuilege for euer.

Constit. 123. The prince commanded the patriarks by name.

The same prince as you heard before commanded the archbishops and patriarks of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis and Ierusalem, and generally subiecteth them in ecclesiasticall causes and iudgements to the sacred canons and his (imperiall) lawes, as appeareth expressly in his publike edicts made to that end.

This realme not in the pops ancient prouince.

Thirdly by the right and ancient diuision of prouinces this realme was not vnder the bishop of Rome. For when the bishops of Africa praied Innocentius either to send for Pelagius the Britan or to deale with him by letters to shew the meaning of his lewde speeches tending to the derogation of Gods grace, the bishop of Rome made answere; *Quando se nostro iudicio, quibusuis acceptis literis, cum sciat damnandum esse, committet? Qui si accersendus esset, ab ijs melius fieret qui magis proximi & non longo terrarum spacio videntur esse disiuncti.* When will he commit himselfe to our iudgement, write I what letters I will, whereas he knoweth he shal be condemned? And if he were to be sent for, they may better doe it that are neerer (to him) & not so far distant (from him as I am.) Innocentius 400. yeeres after Christ confesseth he had not sufficient authoritie to call one poore Briton out of this realme. And two hundred yeeres after that the bishops of Britannie would yeelde no subiection to him that was sent from Rome, nor accept him for their archbishop. And euen their manner of baptizing, obseruing easter, and other ecclesiasticall institutions contrarie to the rites and customes of the Church of Rome, as Augustine the monke then obiected vnto them, make manifest proofe that they were neuer vnder the iurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

Inter August. epist. 95.

Ibidem epi. 96.

Beda hist. gentis Anglor. l. 2. c. 2.

The pope affecting to be

Fourthly the pope coueting and affecting to be that he was not, disdayned and refused euer since the conquest to be

be that he was: and so by his owne fact hath extinguished his owne right, if anie he gate in the time of the Saxons, who to settle themselues in the possession of this realme, after the chasing out of the Britons, were soone entreated to receiue the bishop of Rome for their patriarke. And seeing the headship of the Church, which he violentlie and wrongfullie enforced vpon the Normans by Gods law is not his, no reason he should now claime by his patriarkship, which him-selfe aspiring to higher titles so manie hundred yeres disused and contemned.

Christs vicar neglected his patriarkdom.

Lastlie, the kings of England for the most part of them from the conquerour to this day, in the right of their crowne, haue either resisted or rebated the iurisdiction ecclesiasticall which the pope claimed in this land. Wherefore he was neuer anie long time in full and quiet possession of his pretended power in this realme: and her Maiesties father and brother excluding him both from that authoritie which he would haue ouer this Iland, as vnlawfull and repugnant to the word of God, and also from that which for these fiue hundred yeres and vpward himselfe neglected and omitted; had Gods lawes and mans lawes for the warrant of their doings, and for their leauing him no kind of power or preheminēce within this realme.

The kings of this land resisted the popes power in whole or in part euer since the conquest.

So that his vicarship to Christ must be proued by stronger and plainer euidence than yet you haue shewed, before we may grant it: and as for his patriarkship, which you would now take hold of, by Gods law he hath none; in this realme for sixe hundred yeres after Christ he had none; for the last sixe hundred, as looking to greater matters, he would haue none: aboue or against the sword which God hath ordained, he can haue none; to the subuersion of the faith, and oppression of his brethren in reason, right and equitie he should haue none: you must seeke farther for subiection to his tribunall, this land oweth him none.

This land subiect to him neither as Christs vicar, nor as patriark of the west.

Phil. *Finallie, if this iurisdiction spirituall be alwaies of right a sequele of the crowne and scepter of all kings, assuredlie Christ nor none of his apostles could otherwise enter to conuert countries, preach and*

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 25.

exercise iurisdiction spirituall, without Cæsars and others the kings of the countries licence and delegation.

Bishops may preach without Cæsars leaue, if they submit themselues to Cæsars sword as the apostles did.

Theop. Finallie, if this be all you can say, you may wipe your bill and go to rest. You were told before that princes haue no right to call or confirme preachers, but to receiue such as be sent of God, and giue them libertie for their preaching, and securitie for their persons; and if princes refuse so to do, Gods labozers must go forward with that which is commanded them from heauen, not by disturbing princes from their thrones, nor inuading their realmes, as your holie father doth and defendeth he may do, but by mildly submitting themselues to the powers on earth, and meekely suffering for defence of the truth what they shall inflict.

How you gather out of this or anie words of ours, that Christ and his apostles might not preach the Gospell without Cæsars delegation, and licence from others the kings of the countries, whither they went, I see not, except you take the word supreme for superior to Christ, and all which, as I haue often signified vnto you, standeth neither with our assertion nor intention, but is a verie pestilent and impudent sophistication of yours, which you still repeate, though we still refute.

The Iesuits cunning in playing with the word supreme as they do.

Phil. The word supreme is such a laberinth that we know not what to make of it. Theop. You know well enough, but you will not acknowledge the true meaning of the word, least you should discouer your selues & discredit your cause. For then either you must shew which you are no way able to do, that the pope as a superior iudge may lawfully command, punish and displace princes if they withstand him: or else with vs confesse princes to be supreme, which your stomacks will not abide. And therefore finding your proofes too slender to beare vp the heigth of his pride and the loade of your follie, you thought best to skip it ouer, and in all your apologie not so much as to offer vs one halfe word for the confirmation of the superiozitie which the pope claimeth ouer princes, that being the right construction of the word supreme, and the first occasion why princes were so called, but to braul rather with vs about some words of ours, and therefore to make such monstrous and impious

ptous imaginations, that the simple should be afraid at the verie sound of them, as though we made the prince supreme, that is, superior to Christ himselfe, and Christs maister, and gaue her absolute and infinite power to do what she listed in all ecclesiasticall matters, and taught that truth and faith, scriptures and sacraments, vocation of ministers, remission of sinnes, preaching, baptising and seruing God must proceed from her soueraigne right, and depend on her only will, and in this vaine you run on with a iollie persuasion of your selues, that you worke wonders, when in deed you do nothing but leudly peruert our words, and falsely charge vs with your owne fictions. Phil. Neuer burthen vs with the peruerting of your words, we take them as we find them; and as you said before to vs, we be not bound to search for your meaning; if there be anie generalitie or ambiguitie in your words, which you meant not, the blame is yours that made choise of such. Theop. Cease you to wrest them against the grounds of faith and rules of speech receiued and vsed on both sides, we aske you no fauor, our words be sound and good. We call her highnes the Gouernor of this realm, that is the publike magistrat bearing the sword, which God hath ordained to command good things and punish euill as wel in religion as ciuil policie: how else should we call her? Phil. Not gouernor, but prince or ruler. For bishops be gouernors in their kind as well as princes. Theop. As though these words were not subiect to the same cauils with the former. Bishops be princes and rulers in their kind as well as gouernors. Your selues proue them to be rulers by S. Paul, Obey your rulers: and againe, The holie Ghost hath set you to rule the Church. And where you saie rulers in S. Paul, S. Hierom saith, *Parete principibus vestris.* Obey your princes. And elsewhere; A bishop must be irreproueable, or he shall be no prince of the Church. Yea, Gregorie doubteth not to call them kings. The holie preachers of the Church, saith he, be kings. And S. Hierom bentereth to call them Queenes. The kings and Queenes that nurce the Church be plainlie the apostles and apostolike men.

What the Iesuits imagine of the word supreme.

The words of the oth be sound inough if they ceaie peruerting them.

Ruler and prince, be as doubtfull as gouernor if mē be disposed to cauill. Bishops be called rulers, princes, kings & Queenes. Heb. 13. Act. 20. *In 1. cap. epist. ad Titum. Idem in 3. cap. 1. ad Tim. Lib. 4. cap. 33. Morali. in Iob. In 49. cap. Esaiæ.*

So that if we were disposed to plaie with words, as you be, we could driue you to seek new names not only for

Euerie of the faithfull is a king and a priest. Reuelat. 1. 1. Peter. 2.

kings and princes, but also for priests and bishops. S. Iohn saith of himselfe and of al the faithful (Christ hath) made vs kings and priests vnto God his father: and S. Peter confirmeth the same, You are a roiall priesthood. Eusebius writeth of Constantine, that He called the seruants of God to synods as a common bishop appointed by God: and sate among them, and made himselfe partaker of their consultations; and that in his hearing the prince Named himselfe a bishop with these words, You are bishops of things within the Church, I am appointed by God a bishop of those things that are without the Church. And this he might well do. For ἐπίσκοπος, a bishop, is in Greeke nothing else but an ouerseer, or a superintendent, which word Hierom vseth; and πρεσβύτερος, whence our english word priest seemeth to be deriued, he saith, is *nomen ætatis*, a name of age, and signifieth an elder, and nothing in the scriptures more common than to call princes and rulers πρεσβυτέρους elders, as the seuentie elders, all the tribes of Israell and their elders, princes and iudges: the princes and elders of Sucoth: the elders of Bethulia; and infinite other places; where ye word πρεσβύτερος is vsed of the Septuagint.

Lib. 1. cap. 37. Idem. lib. 4. cap. 24. Ibidem. Princes are bishops and priests. *Euagrio, tom. epist. 2. Idem Occano eodem tom.*

Exod. 24. Iosua. 24. Iudges. 8. Iudith. 6.

Phil. We know you may confound all things if you list to dallie with equiuocations, but S. Paul hath expreslie prohibited all good teachers strife of words. Theop. You saie well, and since all your absurdities haue none other ground but the carping at our words, or rather the manifest abusing and peruerting of the same, what are your labors, to requite you with S. Paul, but vaine brables of men corrupted in mind and depriued of truth.

The ground of all their absurdities is the cauilling at our words.

If the word gouernor were common to bishops with princes as you would haue it, yet are their offices and regiments manie waies distinguished. The gouernment of princes is publike, of bishops is priuate; of princes is compulsiue, of bishops is persuasiue; of princes is lordly with rule, of bishops is brotherlie with seruice; of princes is externall and ordereth the actions of the bodie, of bishops is internall, & guideth the motions of the mind; to be short, princes haue the sword with lawfull authoritie from God, in his name to command and prohibit, reward and reuenge that which he prescribeth and appointeth: bishops haue the word and sacraments committed

The gouernment of princes & priests are distinct.

to

to their charge with fidelitie and sinceritie to diuide and dispence the same in his Church according to his will. And therefore though bishops may be called gouernors in respect of the soule, yet onely princes be gouernors of realmes: pastors haue flocks, and bishops haue dioceses; realmes, dominions, and countries, none haue but princes and magistrats, and so the stile Gouernor of this realme, belongeth onely to the prince, and not to the priest, and importeth a publike and princely regiment with the sword, which no bishop by Gods law may claime or vse.

Gouernors of this realm none is but onely the prince.

Philand. We could grant you with a good will that the prince is the onely gouernor of this realme, but you adde, as well in all spirituall or ecclesiasticall things or causes, as temporall: which is most absurd and direct against your owne distinction. For if the prince be the onely gouernor of all spirituall things and causes, *Ergo* bishops be no gouernors of the word nor sacraments, rites nor ceremonies, prayers nor preachings of the Church, but all must be as please the prince: and so you fall into that shamefull error againe from the which you seeke to cleare your selues.

This is the profound logike of Rhemes.

Theop. Is it for weakenes of wit, that you can not, or for rustines of hart that you will not see the defect of your argument? Phil. The reason to my thinking is very sure. For if onely princes be gouernors in those cases, *Ergo* not priests. Theop. A childish sophisme. Your antecedent hath a speciall acception of the word Gouernor, and your conclusion a generall. Princes onely be gouernors in things and causes ecclesiasticall, that is, with the sword. For so their vocation inferreth, and your assertion witnesseth, and so must you limit your antecedent before it will be good or agreeable to the doctrine which we teach, and other which we take. Then if you conclude, *Ergo* bishops be no gouernors in those things with the sword, your illation is sound and sufficient: for in all things and causes ecclesiasticall and spirituall, princes beare the sword, and not bishops. But if you infer, *ergo* bishops be no gouernors in those things, meaning thereby no dispencers, guiders, nor directors of those things, your conclusion is larger than your antecedent, which neuer maketh good consequent.

A right frier that will neuer be answered, though the sophisme be neuer so grosse.

Phil. I see your meaning: you will haue princes onely

to be gouernors of their realmes and dominions, that is, to beare the sword within their realmes and dominions in all things as well spirituall as temporall. Theop. You see what we say, peruert it no more, but confute it if you can.

Onely princes beare the sword within their owne dominions.

Phil. That princes and none else should beare the sword within their dominions, I meane not to confute, I confesse it as well as you: but what hath the temporall sword to do with ecclesiasticall things and causes? Princes should meddle with common-wealth matters, and not busie themselues with Church causes. Theop. Runne you backe againe to this issue, that princes may not meddle with causes ecclesiastical? Haue you forgotten how largely that is proued before; and sealed with your owne consent as irreuocable?

Phil. Meddle they may with some spirituall things and causes, but when and as they shal be required by the priest. Theop. We are not at this present to heare what you can imagine, but to see what you can impugne in our oth as absurd. And thus far you agree with vs, that princes be the onely gouernors of their realmes and dominions, taking gouernors for magistrats which beare the sword in Gods behalfe with publike power to compell or punish.

If onely princes beare the word, they beare it in all things as well spiritual as temporall, where the sword is required.

Phil. And what of this? Theop. Thus much, that if onely princes beare the sword and no man else by Gods appointment, *ergo* they beare it in all things, where the sword must or may be vsed, as well spirituall as temporall.

Phil. No doubt where the sword must or may be borne, they beare it: but how proue you that in spirituall things and causes the temporall sword must or may be vsed? Theop. Pitch that for the question, and try how well you shall speed with it.

Phil. We neuer denied but in some sort the temporall sword might be vsed for spirituall things and causes, as namely to defend the faith and canons of the Church, and to put them in execution. This princes may do and must do with their roiall power, but they may not command what they list in ecclesiasticall causes, as you would haue them. Theoph. You snarle still when you see your selfe brought to the wall. What we would haue princes to do, shall soone appeare, if you cease from slandering, and keepe

to

to the matter. Our tongs ake with telling you that we hold no such opinion, and yet you neuer leaue grating at vs as if we did.

The point that now we stand at, is this, whether in a christian common-wealth the temporall sword, as you call it, that is, the publike authoritie of the magistrate must be vsed to receiue, establish, and defend the true faith of Christ, and wholesome discipline of his Church, and to prohibite, displace, and punish the contrary: say nay if you dare. Phil. We neuer ment it. Theop. Then in all spirituall things and causes, princes onely beare the sword, that is, haue publike authoritie to receiue, establish, and defend all points and parts of christian doctrine and discipline within their realmes, and without their helpe, though the faith and canons of Christes Church may be priuately professed and obserued of such as be willing, yet can they not be generally planted and setled in any kingdom, nor vrged by publike lawes and externall punishments on such as refuse, but by their consents that beare the sword. This is it that we say, refell it if you can.

The sword must be vsed in spirituall things and causes, as wel as temporall.

Phil. This is not your opinion but ours. We confesse princes to be defenders of the faith, and assisters of the Church, with their secular might and power: you auouch them to be supreme moderators and directors of all spirituall things and causes, without restraint. Theop. We auouch you to be supreme liars, and that which is worse, you thinke with facing in time to get some credit to your fabling. You finde no such thing in our words nor deeds, as you report of vs. We confesse princes to be supreme gouernors, that is, as we haue often told you, supreme bearers of the sword, which was first ordained from aboue, to defend and preserue as well godlines and honestie, as peace and tranquillitie amongest men. We giue princes no power to deuise or inuent new religions, to alter or change sacraments, to decide or debate doubts of faith, to disturbe or infringe the canons of the Church. The publike power and outward meanes, which God hath vnited and annexed to their swords, as namely to command by their edicts, and dispose the goods and bodies of such as resist them, this power and meanes, we say

Princes can not be defenders of the faith and officers of the Church, but by meanes of the sword.

1. Tim. 2. The sword ordained chiefly to preserue godlines and honestie among men.

must be conuerted and vsed first to the seruice and glorie of God, next to the profite and welfare of their realmes, that is as much or rather more for things spirituall than temporall.

Phil. If you giue princes no iudiciall nor spirituall power in matters of religion but an externall and temporall power to permit and establish that which God commandeth, how can they be supreme? Theop. Supreme they be for that by Gods law they be not vnder the popes check and correction, though to leade on the simple sort with a better shew, you conceale that superiority which the pope chalengeth ouer princes, and enter your wholaction for the Church; which word you knew was more gratious, and will in no case be brought to take our meaning right, lest you should be driuen either to proue your assertion, which you can not; or to confesse ours, which you wil not. And therefore you wrest the word supreme against the very grounds of our common faith and rules of your priuate speech, to make it seeme false and absurd; and then as valiant captains you wrestle with the fancies which your selues haue deuised, and fighting thus with your owne shadowes you thinke your seminaries the only lights and lanternes of christendome; but you must go more sincerely to worke, before you can winne the cause.

The sword of princes is supreme in that it is not subiect to the pope, & must be obeied of all in things that be good.

Phil. Supreme is superior to all and subiect to none. Theop. And so be princes superior to all men within their realmes, and subiect to no man without their realmes. Phil. What, superior to Christ, the Church and all? Theop. Haue you neuer done with that idle and eluish obiection? We compare not man with God, nor bodies on earth with spirites in heauen; but we confer mortall men with their like, bearing flesh about them which the sword may touch: and in comparison of them we say princes are superior to all men within their dominions, bishops and others, and subiect to no man without their dominions, prelate nor pope, to be commanded, corrected and deposed by their tribunals. This is the supremacie which we attribute to princes, that all men within their territories should obey their lawes or abide their pleasures, and that no man on earth hath authoritie to take their swordes from them by iudiciall sentence or martiall violence; leaue wrangling

These be right Iesuitical conceits.

The true supremacie of princes.

ling and rouing and speake directly to this question.

Phil. I will, if you first grant that your meaning is not so large as your wordes be. Theop. You would faine seeme with your eloquent nifles to worke some masteries: but it wil not be. Our words are no larger than our meaning, and both be true.

Phil. Why? Supreme is superior to all none excepted, no not Christ himselfe. Theop. And what are these phrases, the most holy, the most mighty, the most blessed, which you applie to the pope; do they except Christ or no? Phi. If nothing else be added, they do not by rigor of comparison, but common vse of speech vnderstandeth them of earthly men, and alwaies excepteth first God with whom there can be none compared, and next his saints which be farre from vs in an other and better life. Theop. I crie you mercie. You may salute your Romish Pharaoh when you will, with the most mightie priest, the most blessed father, the chiefe pastor, and many such lofty stiles, and we must come after with salt and spoones and conceiue that Christ is excepted though he be not, because your flatteries be common: and if we to signifie that princes by Gods law be not vnder the popes yoke, defend them to be superior to all men at home and subiect to no mans courts or consistories abroad, and therefore call them supreme gouernors of their owne people and countries, you sound alarme against vs as if we went about to defeat Christ of his kingdome and dissesin the Church of her inheritance, when your selues euerie day if that speech be not tolerable commit blasphemies innumerable.

The papists in euery stile which they giue the pope make him supreme.

Caus. 25. qu. est. 1. § Nulli fas. Acclamationes in fine Concil. Triden. Sess. 25.

If other examples do not stay your wisedomes, remember your vsuall stile for the pope, is *Summus pontifex*, Supreme bishop; *Summus* and *Supremus* being all one I meane not in sense onely but in speech also. For they both be superlatiues from the same comparatiue *Superior*, and *Summus* is nothing else but the verie contraction of the word *Supremus*. So that if supreme bishop with you do not spoile Christ of his priesthood, how can supreme gouernor with vs lift him out of his kingdome, he claiming expressely to be chiefe pastor and bishop of our soules and renouncing in words, & refusing in deeds to be an earthly

Supreme gouernor doth not touch Christ so neere as supreme bishop doth, which is the popes vsuall stile.

1. Pet. 5.
1. Pet. 2.

My kingdom is not of this world. Iohn. 18. Who made me iudge ouer you. Luke 12.

ly prince and iudge in temporall things as the scripture plainely recordeth? And therefore first confesse and correct your owne ouersight, if not error, which taketh from Christ or at least diuideth with him his speciall and peculiar title: and then if we proue not that all men haue written and spoken in like sort as we do, you shall finde vs readie, if that be your feare to retract euerie syllable that is preiudiciall to the honne of God, and to giue him as much honor as you can wish, or we deuise: which when it is most, is no more than he well deserueth.

Phil. You content vs somewhat if you stand to this which you say, that you giue princes no power against the faith nor canons of the Church, and that the gouernmēt which you acknowledge in them for spirituall things and causes is nothing else but their temporall and externall might and meanes to see the rules and precepts of Christ & his Church receiued and setled in their realmes, and to punish the neglecters & resisters of the same. And yet your termes were so large that your owne friends reproued them as well as we.

Princes must be indured whatsoeuer they command, but not obeied against the faith or canons of the Church.

In temporall things princes may not frustrate the laws of their progenitors, nor the liberties of the people.

Theoph. Neither misplace nor mistake my words: against the precepts of Christ or canons of his Church we giue princes no power: most true, we do not, mary by the canons of the Church we do not meane the popes buls or decrees, nor the partiall iudgements of such councels as he hath assembled for his faction and framed to his fansies: these be late, violent and wicked intrusions, but the ancient and godly rules of Christs Church generally receiued of all good Christians and generally confirmed of all good princes, these be the canons which princes in duty should not, in equitie may not subuert, if they will be taken for faithfull defenders and not for wilfull oppressors of Christs Church. For if in temporall things princes may not dissolue the lawes of their progenitors, nor frustrate the liberties of their people against reason and iustice, how much lesse ought they to violate the true canons, and euacuate the good orders and discipline of the Church, concluded by so many godly fathers, confirmed by so many worthy princes, and setled in so many sundry places and ages?

Constantine,

Conſtantine, ſaith Euſebius, confirmed with his authority the canons which the biſhops had agreed on in their ſynodes, leaſt the rulers of (his) prouinces ſhould infringe them. We decree, ſaith Iuſtinian, that the ſacred eccleſiaſticall canons concluded and confirmed in the foure (firſt generall) councels, haue equall force with (our) lawes. For we keepe the canons of the foreſaid councels as lawes. And againe, It hath beene rightly ſaid of emperors before vs and of vs alſo, that the ſacred canons ought to take place as lawes. Athanaſius obiected this to Conſtantius as a note of a tyrant, that he did abrogate the canons with violence, and ordered all things againſt the canons. And Gregorie, when it was written to him that the emperor commanded an other to be choſen for the biſhop of Iuſtiniana within his prouince, by reaſon of the ſickenes which the ſaid biſhop was troubled with in his head, made this anſwer: The canons do no where command that a biſhop ſhould looſe his office for ſickenes. And therefore it is againſt iuſtice, if a biſhop fall ſicke, that he ſhould be depriued of his honor. If the ſaid reuerend biſhop for his owne eaſe do require to be diſcharged of his epiſcopall function, when he deliuereth that petition in writing, it muſt be granted. Otherwiſe I dare not do it, for feare of almightie God. Whatſoeuer the emperor commandeth, is in his owne power. Let him prouide as he ſeeth cauſe: onely let him not cauſe me to be partaker of this mans depoſition. That which he doth, if it be according to the canons, we follow it; if it be againſt the canons, we beare it (with ſilence) ſo long as we may without ſinne on our parts.

Lib.4.cap.27.

Conſtit. 131. de eccle. canon. All godly princes haue admitted the canons of the Church.

Conſtit.6. Athanaſ. ad ſolitar. vitam agentes.

Gregor. lib.9. epiſt.41.

The pope obeied the princes laws not againſt the canons.

Phil. Where haue you this place? Theop. Why do you aſke? Phil. Becauſe we finde the former words in our decrees but not the latter. Theop. In deed you ſay truth, they were not for your diet; they ſhew that the biſhop of Rome was obedient to the emperor in eccleſiaſticall cauſes, ſo long as the prince did ioyne with the canons, and that he was ſilent when the prince went beſides the canons ſo farre forth as he might without ſinne in himſelfe. And therefore the collector of your decrees, left out the laſt words and changed the firſt by putting the popes perſon in ſtede of the princes. For where Gregorie beginneth, *Scripſit mihi tua dilectio piiſſimum*

The popes name put in ſteed of the princes.

Cauſ.7.quæſt. 1. ¶ Scripſit.

Dominum

Dominum nostrum reuerentissimo fratri meo Ioanni primæ Iustinianæ episcopo, pro ægritudine capitis quam patitur præcipere succedi: Your louingnes wrate vnto me that our most religious lord commandeth an other to be chosen in the place of our reuerend brother John bishop of Iustiniana, because of the griefe of his head: Your law reporteth it thus, *Scripsit mihi tua dilectio, me reuerentissimo fratri Dom. &c.* Your louingnes wrate vnto me that I commanded an other to be chosen, &c. which is a detestable and inexcusable forgerie: but my purpose is to shew that good princes obserued and esteemed the canons of the Church no lesse than their owne lawes, and toke them for paternes to guide their edicts in causes ecclesiasticall, as saith Iustinian; Our lawes do not disdaine to followe the sacred rules (or canons.)

Nouel. cōst. 83. Item const. 6.

Phil. It abateth the supreme power of princes verie much to be bound to the canons of the Church. Theoph. No more than it doth in ciuill regiment to be tied to the grounds of nature, reason, and equity, from which no wise nor sober prince would wish to be losed. And princes be supreme not in respect that all things be subiect to their wils, which were plaine tyrannie, not christian authority, but that all persons within their realmes are bound to obey their lawes, or abide their paines, and themselues not depriueable by the pope but reserued to the righteous and terrible iudge, if they abuse their swords to the maintaining of error and oppressing of innocents.

To be tied to the faith & canons of the Church doth not diminish their supremacy.

Phil. Yet this is cleare that the sword which princes beare is temporall and therefore the power which princes haue is not spirituall. Theop. We neuer said that princes had any spirituall power, it is a false collection of yours, it is no part of our confession, and the sword which they beare we neuer called but externall and temporall. For the true spirituall and eternall sword is the word of God. The sword of the spirit, saith Saint Paule, which is the word of God, and S. Iohn describing the sonne of God, saith Out of his mouth went a sharpe two edged sword. The word of God, as S. Paul writeth, is more percing than any two edged sword, and entereth through euen to the parting in sunder of the soule and spirit.

The princes sword is not spirituall.

Ephes. 6. Reuel. 1. Hebr. 4.

The word of God is the spirituall sword.

And

And as for both these causes it is spirituall, so it indureth for euer and is eternall.

The magistrats swoord compared with this, is but corporall and temporall. Corporall in respect it toucheth the body, but not the soule. Our sauior forewarning his disciples that they should be brought before gouernors and kings for his sake, addeth to encourage them, Feare not those which kill the body, but can not kill the soule. Temporall it is in respect either of Gods ordinance which lasteth no longer than the time of this world, or of mans vengeance which ceaseth by death, and rageth no farther, or if you will for that it ordereth the things of this life, and praiseth or punisheth the sensible and externall actions of the body which be temporal. The things which be seene are temporal, saith S. Paul, but the things which are not seene are eternall. Phil. You take temporal for that which dureth for a season and is not eternall; and we take temporall as it is opposit to spirituall. And in that sense because the swoord hath to do with temporall men and matters onely, we call it the temporall swoord: and haue good reason to defend that temporall princes should not meddle with spirituall persons or causes.

The magistrats swoord is corporall. Mat. 10. Mat. 10. And temporall. 2. Cor. 4.

Theo. The distinction of spirituall & temporall persons, things & causes as you limit them sprang first from your selues without all authority, or rather in deed against the authority of the holy scriptures: & was nothing else but a meere deuise of yours to increase your courts & to wind the swoord by little & little out of other mens fingers and hang it at your owne girdles. For when you saw that the things which be truly spirituall, as faith, hope & charitie, with other vertues & fruites of the spirit, belonged only to God and not to man, and therefore by the resolution of our Sauiour, must be giuen to God and not to Cæsar, first you would needs be termed spirituall men, taking the name which is common to all the sonnes of God, as proper to your selues and your seruants, and by that colour exempt not onlie priests, but also doorekeepers, torchbearers, belringers, Churchswæpers, and all your retinue, from subiection to temporall magistrats.

How the papists abuse the word spirituall in extending it to men and matters that they should not.

They be spirituall which haue the spirit of God.

But S. Paul calleth them spirituall men which haue the spirit of God, as all his children haue, and the rest

carnall

1.Cor.3. carnall or naturall men. I could not speake to you brethren as vnto spirituall men, but as vnto carnall, euen as vnto babes
1.Cor.2. in Christ. For where as there is yet among you enuieng,
Gal.6. strife, and dissention, are you not carnall? And againe, The naturall man sauoreth not the things of the spirit of God, but the spirituall man discerneth all things. And so, Brethren, if a man be fallen into any fault, you that be spirituall, restore
Iude epist. such a one with the spirit of meekenes. As also S. Iude:
1.Pet.2. These be fleshly men, hauing no spirit. And likewise S. Peter: Be you made as liuely stones, a spirituall house. What wrong then you do the faithfull when you name them temporall, as if the hope of their calling reached no farther than this life, let the wise and godly iudge. That reproch of temporall, and pride of spirituall men, no learned nor ancient father euer vsed. Secular S. Hierome calleth
Hieron. ad Iulian. tomo epist.1. them, laymen & clerks that were not monks. Temporal no man euer called the people of God besides your selues.

Next, that your lands and liuings might spede no worse than your selues, for gaine was the mother of your early and daily deuotion, you toke order to haue them go
Their lands and liuings must be spiritual though S. Paul call them carnall. for spirituall things also, notwithstanding S. Paul expressely called them carnall. If we haue sowen vnto you spi-
1.Cor.9. rituall things, is it a great matter if we reape your carnall
Rom.15. things? And speaking of the poore saints at Ierusalem, If the Gentils be made partakers of their spirituall things, their duty is also to minister vnto them in carnall things. And
Matth.22. where the Lord himselfe willed the scribes & high priests to giue vnto Cæsar the things that were Cæsars, and vnto God the things that were Gods, you, as if that grant had beene too liberall, thought it expedient vpon some wiser consideration belike, to set the image and superscription of God and his Church vpon your corruptible & earthlie mammon, and by that cunning to keepe it from Cæsar.
Ambros. epist. lib.5.orat. contra Auxent. Far better S. Ambrose: If the emperor aske for tribute, we denie it not. The lands of the Church paie tribute. If he affect the lands themselues, he hath power to take them, no man amongst vs is anie let vnto him. The almes of the people is enough for the poore. Let them neuer procure vs enuie for (our) lands, let them take them, if they please. I do not giue them to the emperor; but I do not denie them.

Thirdly

Thirdly to enlarge your kingdome and stretch your wynges ouer all men and matters as far as you nœded or listed, you toke the punishment of incest, adulterie, fornication, dronkennes, vsurie, periurie, simonie, sorceric, blasphemie, witchcraft, apostasie and such like grosse and fleshly vices out of the magistrats hands vnder the color of spirituall thinges, and fastened them to your consistories: and not therewith content, you caught hold of tithes, testaments, legacies, intestates, patronages, mariages, diuorces, dowries, espousals, funerals, affinitie, consanguinitie, bastardie, bondage as of spirituall causes and questions: and if the matter concerned the goods and lands of Churches or Church men, you made no bones to venter on giftes, sales, exchanges, possession, alienation, restitution, conuentions, conditions, exactions, sureties, pledges, payments, damages, iniuries, forgeries, hyring, lending, farming, & a thousand such, as if all actions, causes & contracts that any way touched your gayne or ease must by and by go for spirituall, and the magistrate by that power shift be secluded from ordering and entermedling with those things, which were wont to be wholy guided by the princes lawes. The Romish kalender of spirituall things. See the tytles of their decretals.

Phil. Mislike you that priests should punish sinne, or that bishops should deale in those cases which be incident to the lawes of G O D and canons of the Church? Theo. I do not mislike that malefactors of all kindes, not onely dronkards, raylers, periurers, adulterers, vsurers and such like, but also theeues, robbers, rauishers, murderers, plagiaries, incendiaries, traytors and all other haynous offendors, when their liues be spared by princes, should be driuen to earnest and open repentance before they be receiued into the Church, or admitted to the diuine mysteries: yea rather I thinke it very nœdefull in a christian common-wealth that God be pleased and the Church preserued from all fellowship with these monsterous impieties, as well as the scepter is intreated for their liues; but that you should exempt or saue the workers of wickednes from the princes sword and their iust desertes by your priuileges or penances in stœde of punishments, that is quite repugnant to the sacred scriptures. Saint Paul saith, the prince is Gods minister to Malefactors of all sortes should openly repent before they be receiued to the sacraments. Rom. 13.

reuenge

reuenge him that doth euill, and not the priest. You may not reuenge malefactors, you may separate your selues from them, and haue no communion with them: the prince must punish them. It palleth your commission to beare the sword, and without the power of the sword your corporall correcting and afflicting of them is vnlawfull and wrongfull violence.

The goods, lands, and liuings of clergie men be Cesars right.

And so for tythes, testament, administrations, seruitude, legitimations and such like, you went beyonde your bondes, when you restrayned them to your courtes, and without Cæsar, made lawes for thinges that belonged vnto Cæsar. The goods, lands, liuings, stats and families of lay men and clerkes are Cæsars charge, not yours; and therefore your decrees, iudgements and executions in those cases, if you claime them from Christ as thinges spirituall, not from Cæsar as matters committed of trust to you by christian princes, are nothing else but open and wilfull inuasions of other mens rightes, you changing the names and calling those thinges spirituall and ecclesiasticall, which indede be ciuill and temporall, and shouldering princes from their cushings, who first suffered bishops to sit iudges in those causes, of honor to their persons and fauour to their functions, which on your part is but a bad requitall of their princely graces and benefites.

What things christian princes first committed to bishops for their learning and integritie, the pope afterward toke them vp as his own.

Phil. Affinitie, consanguinitie, contractes, mariages, diuorces, and a number of those which you recken, are thinges that depend vpon the lawes of GOD, and haue often times such questions incident to them as none but bishops are fit to resolue. Theop. All vertues and vices, all the parts of mans life both priuate and publike, as namely the duties of princes, counsellors, captaines, iudges, parents, husbandes, masters, subiectes, souldiers, children, wiues, and seruants, yea the words, thoughts and actions of al men depend in this respect vpon the word of God, whether they shall be followed as lawful or auoyded as vnlawfull, and haue often tymes in them such questions, as none but diuines are fit to resolue: Will you therefore infer that all crimes, causes and consultations domesticall, politicall and martiall are within the limites of your spirituall iurisdiction, to be guided, ordered and ended,

Bishops the fittest men to deale in these causes, but by the princes power and lawes.

ended, as it seemeth good to your ghostly fathers?

Phil. Bishops haue power to bind and lose as well in all sinnes as in some. Theop. Bishops are to teach and instruct men what the will of God is in all priuate, publike, spirituall, temporall, yea ciuill and warlike affaires, but their authoritie goeth no farther than to denounce the word and dispence the sacraments in such sort as God hath prescribed them: it passeth their power to make lawes and appoint externall and corporall punishments for any sinne: that is proper to the sword, which God hath ordained of purpose to compell and punish for the better execution of his will and obseruation of his law, which be things of all other most spirituall. And therefore as preachers by their office haue instruction and direction in all things both temporall and spirituall, to compare them and pronounce them consonant or dissonant with the law of God, so princes haue compulsion and correction annexed to their swords as well for spirituall causes as temporall, or rather of the twaine to see godlines and honestie preserued amongst men, than food and raiment prouided.

Bishops by their functiō may deny the sacramēts to such as will not repent, but they may not compell or punish any man without commission from the prince.

Compulsion & correction in all things is the princes right.

Phil. This were a paradoxe in deede that the princes sword was first ordained by God rather for spirituall things and causes than for temporall. Theop. None at all if you marke it well. To build & plant, sow and reape, eat and drinke there needed no sword on earth, but to preserue the rules of pietie, charitie, sobriety and equitie amongst mē, for this cause were magistrats first ordained by God, and these be things precisely and properly called spirituall in the sacred scriptures. The law is spirituall, saith the apostle, and the commandement (both the whole and euery part of it) is holy, iust and good, which be the right notes of spirituall vertues. If then the sword were first erected by God to defend and execute the parts and branches of his law, and the contents of his law be spirituall, *Ergo* the princes power was first ordained of God for things spirituall and not onely for temporal, as you fondly dreame and are fouly deceiued.

The sword ordained chiefly for things spirituall.

Rom. 7. *Ibidem.*

And this is the meaning of S. Paul when he saith that Princes are not to be feared for good works but for euill. With whom S. Peter agreeth calling the king prehemi-

Rom. 13. 1. Pet. 2.

nent for the punishment of euill doers, and the praise of them that do well. Now good and euill are to be measured by Gods law, not by mans: for as no man is good but onely God, so no mans law is the rule of good and euill but onely Gods. And temporall things be neither good nor euill, but altogether indifferent, *ergo* princes were not ordained of God for temporal things, but the goods, bodies, and liues of their subiects were committed to their hands for spirituall respects, that is, for the preseruation of faith and good maners, which shall go for spirituall things and causes, when your tithes and testaments shall stand back for temporall.

Mark.10. Worldly things be neither good nor euill: for which two causes princes beare the sword.

Phil. Vnderstand you what temporall is? Theoph. It should seeme you do not by your diuiding tẽporall against spirituall. Repugnant to spirituall is carnall, corporall & naturall, not temporall, as you counter set them; & opposit to temporall is not spirituall, but eternall. And here you may see the falsenes and absurdnes of your diuision. The spirituall things which your courts discusse be temporall not eternall: for after this life there be no such questions nor actions. The keies & sacraments in which consisteth your spirituall power be not eternall but temporall, they serue for the Church in earth, not in heauen. S. Paul will teach you that Prophecyings, toonges and knowledge, notwithstanding they be gifts of the spirit, and namely rehearsed among spirituall things by the holy Ghost, yet shal they cease & be abolished. So that all the spirituall things which we striue for, are but temporall, and things eternall be neither vnder the priests power nor the princes, but reserued onely to God and expected onely from God.

The spirituall things which the pope claimeth are temporall.

1.Cor.13.

1.Cor.14.

Phil. Eternall they be not, but spirituall they be. Theoph. Then may the selfe same things be both spirituall & temporall, which ouerthroweth cleane your loose diuision of temporall against spirituall.

Phil. Temporal we cal those things that serue to maintaine this temporall life. Theoph. The necessities of this life are nourishment & raiment, the rest are superfluities. When we haue food and apparell, saith the apostle, let vs be therewith content, whatsoeuer is aboue is needelesse and noisome. Our sauior willing his not to be carefull for their life, expresseth all things that be needefull for this

Princes were not ordained to cloath the backe & feed the belly.

1.Tim.6.

this present life. Take no thought saying what shall we eat? Matth.6.
What shall we drinke? Or wherewith shall we be cloathed?
Your heauenly father knoweth that you haue neede of these
things. These things we need, and therefore are they pro-
mised: other things are not promised, and therefore we
neede them not. If princes were first ordained of God for
those things onely which are needefull to maintaine this
temporall life (for things superfluous are besides the pro-
mise and without the protection of God) the power and
charge of princes should consist in meats, drinks and ap-
parell, and princes haue no farther care of their people
than they haue of their hounds and horses, to see them
well fed and smoothly kept, which is a very wicked and bru-
tish opinion.

Phil. They are besides to maintaine peace and quietnes
among their subiects. Theop. You might haue ioined god-
lines and honestly therewithall, as S. Paul doth, and then
had you done well. I exhort, saith he, that praiers and sup- 1.Tim.2.
plications be made for kings and for all that are in authori- Godlines &
tie, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godli- honesty the
nes and honestie. Praiers must be made for kings, that chiefest cau-
they may discharge their duties according to Gods ordi- ses why prin-
nance, which is, that their subiects by their helpe and ces were or-
meanes, may lead an honest, godly and quiet life, godlines dained.
and honestly being the chiefest ends of our praiers & effects
of their powers. For God hath not put the goods, lands,
bodies and liues of men into princes hands to cloath their
backs and fill their bellies, but with praise to prouoke
those that be willing, and to driue those that be not wil-
ling with punishments, to imbrace pietie toward God,
sobrietie towards themselues, and charitie towards their The prince
neighbors. hath the
same charge

This you may learne by the regiment of euery priuate in the cómon
family, which is both a part and a paterne of the common- wealth that
wealth. All parents and masters haue a farther charge o- euery priuate
uer their children and seruants than to see them defended man hath in
from hunger and cold. A wicked father is he that feedeth his family.
and cloatheth; and nourtereth not his children. Ye fa- Ephes.6.
thers, saith S. Paul, bring vp your children in the instructi- The parents
on and information of the Lord. Come children, saith Da- charge to-
uid, hearken vnto me, I will teach you the feare of the Lord. wards their
children.
Psal.34.

Moses admonishing the whole people of the Jewes and as it were speaking to euery particular man: Take heede, Deut.4. saith he, to thy selfe that thou forget not the things which thine eies haue seene, and that they depart not out of thine hart all the daies of thy life: but teach them thy sonnes and Deut.4. thy sonnes sonnes: and so God himselfe said to Moses, Gather me the people togither, and I will cause them to heare my words, that they may learne to feare me al the daies that they shall liue vpon the earth, and that they may teach their children. This diligence God commended and rewarded Gen.18. in Abraham as the best part of a fathers dutie: I know him, saith God, that he will command his sonnes and his household after him that they keepe the way of the Lord, to do righteousnes and iudgement, that the Lord may bring vpon Abraham that (good) which he hath spoken vnto him. If priuate men be bound to traine vp their families in the feare of God and loue of vertue, much more are princes (the publike fathers of their countries and exalted to farre greater and higher authority by Gods ordinance than fathers or maisters) I say much more are they in conscience charged and by calling licenced to frame their subiects to the true seruice of God and right obedience of his law, which be things not temporall but spirituall.

This king Dauid protesteth and promiseth vnto God Psalm.101. Dauids charge in his kingdome. he will do in his kingdom. Him, that priuily slandereth his neighbor, will I destroy. Mine eies shall be to the faithfull of the land, that they may dwell with me, he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serue me. There shall no deceitfull (or proud) person dwell within mine house, he that telleth lies shall not remaine in my sight. Betimes will I destroy all the wicked of the land that I may cut off all the workers of iniquity from the city of the Lord.

This christian princes, as you heard before, made not Religion the princes chiefest charge. *Nouel. const. 6. Legum Theod. Nouel. tit. 2. de Iudeis & Samaritanis.* only a part but the chiefest part of their duty. The true religion of God & honest conuersation (euen) of priests (them selues) is our chiefest care, saith Iustinian. And so Valentinian and Theodosius: The search of true religion we find to be the chiefest care of the imperiall maiesty. With whom S. Augustine agreeth defending Felix a catholike bishop against the Donatists, for that he was cleared at a temporal bar by the princes commandement, of such crimes as were

were obiected to him notwithstanding they were ecclesiasticall. One (of you) saith a bishop ought not to be cleared at the proconsuls bar, as though he sought it and not rather the emperor commanded that kind of triall to be had, to whose charge that matter did most pertaine, and whereof the prince was to render an account to God.

Aug. epist. 162. The sifting and examining of a bishop did most pertaine to the princes charge by S. Augustines iudgement.

Of this mind were the bishops of Rome themselues in former ages. Eleutherius not long after Christ wrote to Lucius king of this realme amongst other things in this wise: You are Gods vicar in that kingdom. The nations and people of Britanie are yours, whom you ought to gather and bring vnto concord & peace, vnto the faith & law of Christ, & vnto his (holy) Church, and to nourish, maintaine, protect and rule, and alwaies to defend from iniuries, mischiefs and from enemies. A king you shal be, whiles you rule well, which except you do, you shal be vnworthie the name of a king and loose it, which God forbid.

Epist. ad Lucium inter leges Edward. ca. 17. Eleutherius opinion of the princes charge.

Inter leges Edward. reg. cap. 17.

So pope Iohn made answere to Pipin & Charles. *Illos decet vocari Reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt ecclesiam Dei & populũ eius imitati regem psalmographum dicentem, non habitabit in medio domus meæ, qui facit superbiam, &c.* We must cal those kings, which do carefully defend and rule the Church of God and his people, after the example of king Dauid in his psalms, a proud mã shal not dwell in mine house.

Pope Iohns opinion of the princes charge.

This Gregorie the great earnestlie exhorted Edelberth vnto, the first that was christened of the Saxon kings in this land. For this cause the almightie God bringeth good princes to the regiment of his people, that by them he may bestow the gifts of his mercie vpon all that are vnder them. Therfore glorious sonne, the grace which you haue obtained at Gods hands keepe with a careful mind, and hasten to extend the faith of Christ in the natiõs vnder you. Increase the zeale of your vprightnes to their cõuersion, subuert the wõrship of idols, ouerthrow their temples, edifie the maners of your subiects by exhorting, threatning, faire intreating, correcting, & shewing examples of wel doing, that you may find him a rewarder in heauẽ, whose name & knowledge you haue dilated in earth. For so Constantine a most religious emperor, reuoking the Romane empire frõ the peruerse seruice of idols subdued the same with himselfe to the almightie God, our Lord Iesus Christ, and turned himself together with the people vnder him to God with all his hart. And now let your

Beda hist. gentis Anglor. cap. 32. Gregories confession of the princes charge.

excellencie labor to powre the knowlege of one God the Father, the Sonne, & the holie Ghost into the princes & people that are subiect to you, that he may make you partaker of his kingdom, whose faith you cause to be receiued and obserued in your kingdom. This the kings of England before and since the conquest were taught to be their dutie, & sworne to execute faithfully as the lawes of king Edward the good make proofe, which William the conquerer receiued & confirmed: where the office and charge of a king are thus expressed: A king, because he is the lieutenant of the most high king, was appointed to this end that he should regard & gouerne the earthly kingdom and the people of God, & aboue all things his holy Church, and defend her from wrongs, and root out malefactors from her, yea scatter and destroy them. Which except he do, he can not iustly be called a king. A king ought to feare God, and aboue all things to loue him, and to establish his commandements throughout his kingdom. He ought also to keepe, nourish, maintaine, and gouerne the holie Church of his kingdom with all integritie and libertie according to the constitutions of (his) fathers and predecessors, and to defend it against enimies, so as God may be honored aboue all, and euer had in mind. He ought to establish good lawes and approoued customs, and abolish euill (lawes and customs) and remoue them all out of his realme. He ought to do right iudgement in his kingdom, and execute iustice by the councell of his nobles. All these things ought the king to sweare in his owne person before he be crowned.

The king of Englands oth expressing his charge.

Inter leges Edward. cap. 17. de regis officio.

Ibidem.

The verie heathē were of the same opinion.

Politic. lib. 3. cap. 11.

Ibidem, cap. 5.

In all kingdoms and commonwealths since the foundation of the earth, religion hath been setled and defended by the magistrats sword.

The verie heathen perceiued and confessed this to be true. Aristotle a prophane philosopher writing of the first institution of kings, sheweth how manie things they were by office to meddle with, στρατηγὸς ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν θείων τῶν θεὸς κύριος, A king (in old time) was the leader in wars, pronouncer in iudgements, and ouerseer of religion. And againe, τὰ θεῖα τῶν θεῶν ἀπονέμειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, Diuine things were committed to princes (as part of their charge.) All monarchies, kingdoms and common-wealths, Assyrians, Persians, Medes, Græcians, Romanes, Iewes, Gentiles, Pagans, Christians, haue euer kept this for a generall rule, that religion should be setled and established by publike lawes, and maintained by the magistrats sword. So that if

if you take the defence of pietie, the reward of honestie, and balance of equitie from the princes charge, you run headlong against God and man to feed your owne appetites, and see not that which reason and nature taught the heathen to confesse, that as euerie priuat man is bound to seeke and serue God aboue all things, so euerie societie of men, be it familie, citie or countrie, is likewise bound to haue a speciall and principall care of his seruice, which can not be done, vnlesse it be planted and preserued by publike lawes: and of these lawes as of all other amongst men, only magistrats be the makers, keepers and reuengers.

Phil. Princes be charged after a sort with godlines, and honestie. Theop. Your delaies do not answere our proofes. We shew the chiefest part of their charge to be godlines and honestie, which be things spirituall, not temporall.

Phil. What if that be granted? Theop. If their dutie stretch so far, their authoritie must stretch as far. Their charge ceaseth where their power endeth. God neuer requireth princes to do that which he permitteth them not to do: but rather his commanding them to care for those things is a full authorizing of them to meddle with those things. If then godlines & honestie be the chiefest part of their charge, *ergo* they be likewise the chiefest end of their power, and consequentlie princes beare the sword chieflie for spiritual things & causes, and not, as you defend, only for temporall. Phil. You put all things temporall, spirituall & ecclesiasticall into their hands. Theop. In all these things & other things whatsoeuer, we say, they beare the sword, and why should that displease you? God hath giuen them the sword euen in those things which himself commandeth and prescribeth, as namely faith and good manners, which be the chiefe contents of his law and respects of our life, and do you thinke it much that they beare the sword in those indifferent matters which bishops haue agreed on for semelinesse and good order to be kept in the Church, no way comparable to those things which God hath put thē in trust with, & made them defenders & auengers of? And if princes shal not beare the sword in things and causes ecclesiasticall, you must tell vs who shall. The priest or the prince of force must do it; and since by Gods law the priest may not meddle with the sword, the

Their authoritie must stretch as far as their duty.

God hath giuen princes the sword in those things which himselfe cōmandeth.

The priest in no cause may beare the sword.

consequent is inuitable, that princes alone are Gods ministers, bearing the sword to reward and reuenge good and euill in all things and causes, be they temporall, spirituall or ecclesiasticall, vnlesse you thinke that disorders and abuses ecclesiasticall should be fræly permitted and neither preuented nor punished by publike authoritie, which in these froward ages, would breed a plaine contempt of all ecclesiasticall order and discipline, and hasten the subuersion of those kingdoms and common-wealths where such confusion is suffered.

The confirming of rites and ceremonies needeth the sword.

Phil. The rites and ceremonies of the Church are not in the princes power. Theop. To deuise new rites and ceremonies for the Church, is not the princes vocation, but to receiue and allow such as the scriptures and canons commend, and such as the bishops and pastors of the place shall aduise, not infringing the scriptures or canons. And so for all other ecclesiasticall things and causes, princes be neither the deuisers nor directors of them, but the confirmers and establishers of that which is good, and displacers and reuengers of that which is euil, which power we say they haue in all things and causes, be they spirituall, ecclesiasticall or temporall.

Phil. And what for excommunications and absolutions, be they in the princes power also? Theop. The abuse of excommunication in the priest, and contempt of it in the people, princes may punish; excommunicat they may not, for so much as the keies are no part of their charge. But these particulars if we seuerallie discusse, we shall neuer end: the generall rules on which our assertion is grounded, may be sooner proposed and resolued.

The abuse or contempt of excommunication reuenged by the sword.

The sword committed to the prince Rom. 13. His apostles forbidden the sword. Matth. 26.

First, to whom hath God committed the sword, to the priest or the prince? Phil. To whom say you? Theop. S. Paul expressely writeth of the prince that He beareth the sword not without cause, and is Gods minister to reuenge him that doth euill. And our sauiour seuerelie forbiddeth Peter & the rest of his apostles to meddle with the sword: All that take the sword shall perish by the sword; and to them all, You know that kings of nations raigne ouer them, and they that be great exercise authoritie, with you it shall not be so. The sword is but the signe of publike & princelie power, and where the thing is not lawful, the signe is vn-

Matth. 20.

lawfull.

lawfull. Since then the Lord interdicteth his apoſtles & meſſengers all princely power, it is euident, the ſwoord which is but a ſigne thereof, is likewiſe interdicted them.

Thus much Bernard ſticketh not to tell pope Eugenius to his face. It is the Lords voice in the goſpell: kings of nations are lords ouer them, and they that haue power on them are called gracious, and the Lord inferreth, you ſhall not be ſo. It is a cleare caſe, the apoſtles are forbidden dominion. Go thou then, ſaith Bernard to the pope, and vſurpe if thou dare, either an apoſtleſhip, if thou be a prince, or dominion if thou be apoſtolike. Thou art expreſly forbidden one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou ſhalt looſe both. The paterne of an apoſtle is this, dominion is interdicted, ſeruice is inioined. Gird thy ſelfe with thy ſword, the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. And this pope Nicholas fairely confeſſeth. The Church of God hath no ſword but the ſpirituall, wherewith ſhe quickeneth, ſhe killeth not.

Bernard. de conſiderat. li. 2.

Dominion interdicted the pope himſelfe.

Cauſ. 33. queſt. 2. ¶ Inter hæc.

Your owne law ſaith: It is eaſily prooued of biſhops and other clergy-men whatſoeuer, that they may not either by their owne authoritie, or by the authoritie of the biſhop of Rome, take weapon in hand (and exerciſe the materiall ſword) and addeth this reaſon, For euery man beſides him and his authoritie which hath lawfull power, and which, as the apoſtle ſaith, beareth the ſword not without cauſe, to whom euery ſoule ought to be ſubiect, euery man, I ſay, that without this authoritie taketh the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.

Can. 33. queſt. 8. ¶ De epiſc.

No clergy-men may vſe the ſword, no not by the popes authoritie.

He that beareth the ſwoord may lawfully put malefactors to death, and wage warre with his enimies, when nœd ſo requireth, which biſhops may not do. The weapons of our warfare are not carnall, ſaith Saint Paul. *Quid epiſcopis cum bello?* What haue biſhops to do with battell, ſaith Athanaſius; and Ambroſe, *Pugnare non debeo:* I ought not to fight. If they may not fight, much leſſe kill, if they may do neither, they can not beare the ſwoord which is appointed by God, and receiued of men to do both.

2. Cor. 10.

Ad ſolitarium tam agentes.

Ambroſ. lib. 5. epiſt. 33.

The ſeruants of Chriſt may haue no earthly kingdome, ſince their maiſter had none. Iohn. 8. Mat. 10.

The words of our ſauior are cleare with vs for the negatiue. My kingdom, ſaith he, is not of this world. If then your prieſts, prelats, and popes, will be the ſeruants of Chriſt, they muſt chalenge no worldly kingdom as from him or in his name. The ſeruant is not aboue his maiſter.

ster. If the maister with his owne mouth haue denied it, the seruants may not affirme it, or vsurpe it. The soul-
2.Tim.2. diers of Christ must not intangle themselues with secular affaires, much lesse make themselues lords and iudges of earthly matters, which office properly belongeth to the sword, and must be sustained of all those that beare the sword.

Distinct.96. ¶ Cum ad verum. A bishop may not vsurpe an emperors name, much lesse his sword.

The popes themselues before their power and pride grew so great, were of this opinion with vs. When the truth (which is Christ) was once come, after that, saith pope Nicholas, neither did the emperor take vpon him the bishops right, nor the bishop vsurpe the emperors name, because the same mediator of God and man, the man Christ Iesus, distinguisheth the offices of ech power with proper actions and different dignities, to this end, that (the bishop) which is a soldier vnto God, should not intangle and snare himselfe with worldly affaires; and againe (the prince) which is occupied in earthly matters, should not be ruler of diuine things.

Distinct.10. ¶ Quamiamidem. Cyprian writeth to Iulian an 100. yeeres before Iulian was borne. The disciples of Christ straitly charged not to meddle with princely swords.

The very same text, word for word, your decrees make Cyprian write to Iulian the emperor, if those be Cyprians words, and not rather an impudent forgerie in his name. For how could Cyprian that died vnder Valerian 260. after Christ, write to Iulian that began his raigne 360. after Christ? But such props are fittest to bolster vp your kingdom of darkenes and error.

Sure it is which the words of our sauior apparantly proue, that all the disciples and apostles of Christ are straitly charged not to meddle with princely scepters and swords, and therefore out of all question, onely princes beare the sword within their owne realmes and dominions, for so much as that honor and power is expresly prohibited and interdicted by the Lord himselfe to al preachers and bishops. Phil. This we would haue granted you with halfe these words. Theop. And this we would haue depend not on your grant, which is fickle, but on such proofs as we might make iust account of. Phil. How then?

Theo. As the first is apparant, that onely princes haue the sword committed to their charge by Gods appointment, so the next is as euident, that the sword, I meane, the publike authoritie of magistrats in christian commonwealths,

wealths, haue bene, may be, and should be vsed for the receiuing, establishing, and defending of that which is good, and prohibiting, abolishing, and punishing of that which is euill in all spirituall and ecclesiasticall things and causes, as well as in temporall: which the sacred scriptures, the ancient fathers, the church stories, the lawes and examples of all ages and countries do sufficiently proue, as you saw before.

The sword hath bene, may be, and should be vsed for that which is good in all spirituall things and causes.

Phil. This is not it that we stand on, Theo. This is that we affirme, stand you on what you list. Phil. If this be granted, what wil you conclude? Theo. If this be proued you shall see what we conclude. If it be not, shew where the defect is. Phil. That onely princes beare the sword within their owne realmes, which may be and should be vsed for the receiuing, establishing, and defending of the faith and canons of the Church, and all things incident or pertinent to the same, and for prohibiting and punishing whatsoeuer is repugnant to either, in this we find no defect; let vs therefore see what you will infer.

Theo. First then the words of our oth, that her highnes is the onely gouernor of this realme (bearing the sword) as wel in all spiritual, or ecclesiastical things & causes, as temporal, be not only tollerable and reasonable, but such by your owne confession as we may truly defend, and you can not iustly confute. Next, the absurdities which you bring against vs, as if we deriued ꝑ spiritual power of preaching, baptizing, binding, loosing, imposing hands & offring prayers to God, from ꝑ princes soueraigne right & title, which we do not: all those absurdities, I say, be mere follies, grounded vpon the careles mistaking, if not spitefull peruerting of our words. Thirdly, your defacing & impugning the princes sword, & aduancing & defending against all princes, one that shall command them & depose them at his pleasure, what els is this but a resisting of the powers which God hath ordained, & erecting an idol in ꝑ church of Christ without authority, ꝑ vnder the couert of binding & feeding, shal make himself lord of al kingdoms & cõtries?

The oth cleared.

Their absurdities returned on their owne heads.

The popes power ouer princes vsurped.

Phil. Supreme is the word that we most impugne. Theop. And supreme is the word which you shall neuer ouerthrow, being a plaine and manifest deduction out of the words of Saint Paul. Let euery soule, saith he, be

Rom. 13.

subiect

Supreme is a manifest deduction out of S. Paul.

subiect to the superior powers. If all men must be subiect to them, *ergo* they be superiors to all, and superiors to all is supreme. Consult both your Seminaries, and refel this one sequele if you can: mary cauill not as your apology doth, that supreme bringeth Christ and his saints in subiection to princes. The apostle speaketh of mortall men, and so do we: and in comparison with them, if S. Pauls words be true, that euery soule must be subiect to princes as vnto superiors; our consequent is irrefutable, that princes be supreme.

Supreme ouer persons, not ouer things.

Phil. S. Paul maketh them superiors ouer all persons, but not ouer all things. Theop. That distinction is ours, not yours: we did euer interpret supreme for superior to all men within their dominions. Phil. And so we grant them to be, but not in all things. For in tempozall things they be superiors to all men, in spirituall they be not. The. That restraint commeth too late. The holy ghost charging you to be subiect to them simply without addition, it passeth your reach to limit in what things you will, and in what things you will not be subiect.

We may not limit where we will obey the sword, & where not.

Againe, we haue inuincibly proued, and you haue clearly confessed, that princes may command for truth, and that they beare the sword for the perfect obseruation and execution of Gods law, and publike defence of the faith and canons of the Church, which be things not tempozall but spirituall; and out of all question, where they may by Gods law command, all men must obey them, not onely for feare of wrath; but also for conscience sake.

Where they may command, we must obey.

Lastly, what better proofe can you wish that in all things they be superiors to all men, than that their sword may not be resisted for any tempozall or spirituall cause, but must be rather indured with meekenes and reuerence, though they persecute truth, & shew themselues enimies to God and his Church? For so the Lord in his owne person taught vs, and his apostles after him, in their writings and sufferings followed the same course.

We may not resist them, but with reuerence indure them, though they command against God and his truth.

Phil. Had heathen tyrants lawfull power ouer Christ and his apostles in spirituall things? Theop. Lawfull power of the sword to reward and punish, they had ouer Christ and his apostles in things and causes spirituall. The Lord of grace and life being deliuered by the priests

Heathen tyrants had power of the sword ouer Christ & his apostles.

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to the magistrate for blasphemie which is a spirituall crime, refused not the iudge, but submitting himselfe to the princes deputy, confessed Pilats power ouer him to be from heauen, notwithstanding Pilats sentence against him was wrongfull and wicked. S. Paul imprisoned for preaching the gospell, required to be sent to Cæsar, & to make answer before Cæsar concerning his doctrine and doings. Saint Peter patiently endured Neroes sword euen vnto death, for teaching the truth, and warned all Christians to do the like. Let none of you suffer (publike punishment) as a murderer, or as a theefe, or a malefactor, or as a medler with other mens matters: but if (any man suffer) as a Christian (that is, for religion) let him not be asnamed, but glorifie God in this respect. They that resist (especially when they be punished for religion) shall receiue to themselues iudgement) and damnation; for God is then most dishonored when we make religion a buckler for rebellion. If none must resist that suffer as Christians, *Ergo* by Gods ordinance, all men be subiect to the princes sword, euen in spirituall causes as well as in temporall.

Christ submitted himselfe to the magistrate.

So Paul and Peter both did & taught

1. Pet. 4.

Rom. 13.

Phil. To suffer, but not to obey. Theop. Suffering is as sure a signe of subiection as obeying. And yet whom you must indure commanding that which is euill in matters of religion, those you must obey when they command that which is good in the selfe same causes: which you heard concluded out of S. Augustine before. Whosoeuer wil not obey the lawes of emperors which are made for the truth of God, incurreth a grieuous iudgement. And againe, When emperors hold truth they command for truth, which whosoeuer despiseth, purchaseth to himself iudgement. So that all men are bound to be subiect to the sword in all things, be they temporall or spirituall, not only by suffering, but also by obeying; mary with this caution, that in things which be good and agreeable to the law of God, the sword must be obeied: in things that be otherwise, it must be indured.

Whom we must indure in that which is euill, those must we obey in that which is good.

Aug. epist. 50.

Idē epist. 166.

This then is the supreme power of princes which we soberlie teach, and you so bitterlie detest; that they be Gods ministers in their owne dominions, bearing the sword, freely to permit, & publikely to defend that which God commandeth in faith and good maners, and in ecclesiasticall discipline to receiue & establish such rules & orders as

The summe of the doctrine which we teach cõcerning the princes supremacie.

as the scriptures and canons shall decide to be needful and healthful for the Church of God in their kingdoms. And as they may lawfully command that which is good, in all things & causes, be they temporall, spiritual, or ecclesiastical, so may they with iust force remooue whatsoeuer is erronious, vitious, or superstitious within their lands, and with externall losses and corporal paines represse the brochers & abetters of heresies and all impieties: from which subiection vnto princes, no man within their realmes, monke, priest, preacher, nor prelat is exempted: & without their realmes no mortal man hath any power from Christ iudicially to depose them, much lesse to inuade them in open field, least of all to warrant their subiects to rebell against them. These be the things which we contēd for, & not whether princes be Christs masters, or the functions to preach, baptise, impose hands & forgiue sins must be deriued from the princes power & lawes, or ẏ apostles might enter to conuert countries without Cæsars delegations, those be iests & shifts of yours, no branches nor sequeles of our opinion. You see the parts and proofes of our doctrine, neither draw backe, nor dally, but go to the matter: and say what fault you finde with our assertion.

The Iesuits iests wherewith they mocke the reader.

THE DIRECTION of PRINCES VNTO TRVTH.

Phil. The former branches of your assertion might be receiued, if it were agreed, by whom the sword should be directed. We our selues confesse that the princes sword should permit, defend and execute that which is good in al spirituall & ecclesiasticall things, causes and iudgements, & repell and punish the contrary. But least princes should wade too far or tread awry, we would haue their swords guided, and if need be, restrained by such as haue greater experience & better intelligēce in those affaires. For ecclesiastical rules & canons be not incident to the princes vocation, and therefore no maruell if princes be raw in those things wherewith they be not acquainted. And since the danger is great if they cōmand for error, & their skil not so great but that they may soone misse the truth, why should you be loth ẏ others of deeper iudgement & exacter knowledge, whom God hath placed to teach both priuat men & princes their duties in those cases, should direct & moderat the swords of princes, for feare least they should be misled to the ruine of themselues, & many thousands with them.

Theop.

Theop. We be not loth they should be directed, but rather exhort all princes to take great care, and spare no paines to come by faithful and true direction in those things that pertaine to God. For if in temporall matters where the losses are but temporall, they do nothing without the mature and sound aduise of their graue and trustie counsellors, how inexcusable is their negligence, if in heauenly things where the bodies and soules of them-selues and their subiectes may be lost for euer, they serue their affections & seeke not his will that set them in place, & gaue them power to maintain his truth, and safegard his Church? Princes must take good care to come by faithfull direction.

Phil. We then agree on both sides, that princes must be directed. Theop. We do. Phil. If they must be directed, *ergo* by bishops. Theop. Bishops for their calling and learning are the likeliest men to direct them right, but yet your *ergo* doth not hold. It is not enough for them to be bishops, they must also be teachers of truth, before they may claime to be directors of princes. Phil. Who be more likely to teach truth than bishops? Theop. I said before they were likely, but your conclusion inforceth a necessitie which you can not proue. Many bishops haue taught lies and seduced princes in the Church of God, and therefore not their dignitie, but their doctrine is it that princes must regard: for neither prince nor people stand bound to the persons of men, but vnto the truth of God, and vnto their teachers so long as they swarue not from truth. The right directors vnto truth must be discerned by their doctrine not by their dignity.

Phil. And who shall be iudge of truth? Theop. Absolute iudge of truth, neither prince nor priest may chalenge to be. Phil. Why so? Theop. God is truth, and of God I trust no man may be iudge. The son of God saith of himselfe, I am truth: and S. Iohn giueth this record of the spirit of God, The spirit is truth. Ye can therefore be no iudges of truth vnles ye will be iudges of God. Phil. Who shal then be iudge of truth? Theop. Who but Christ? Phil. He shal be iudge at the last day. Theop. He shal then giue generall and finall iudgement of all men, but in the meane time he onely is the soueraine and supreme iudge of truth). The Father hath committed all iudgement to the sonne, and * my iudgement, saith Christ, is iust. This strife, saith Augustine, requireth a iudge. *Iudicet ergo Christus:* Let Christ be therefore iudge. In earth, saith Optatus, of this matter there Iohn. 14. 1. Iohn. 5. * Iohn. 5. & 8. *De Nuptijs ad Valentin. lib. 2. cap. 33. Optat. lib. 5. ad Permenianum.*

can

can be no iudgement, we must seeke for a iudge from heauen. But why knocke we at heauen, when as we haue his will here in the gospell?

Iohn. 17. Bishops no iudges of the word of God.

Phil. They meane that Christ speaketh in his Church at this day by his word, and so iudgeth. Theop. And we meane that his word is truth, and therefore your bishops can not be iudges of the word of Christ, but they must be iudges of Christ himselfe, that speaketh by his word, which is no small presumption.

The Church is not iudge of the scriptures. Iohn. 10. * Iames 4.

Phil. Shall not the Church be iudge of the scriptures? Theop. My sheepe, saith Christ, heare my voyce, they be no iudges of his voyce. A iudge of the law is no * obseruer of the law, as S. Iames auoucheth: and since the whole Church is bound to obey the law of God, they be no iudges of the law. *Inferius est nobis quicquid iudicamus.* It is inferior to vs whatsoeuer we be iudges of: * *Eternam igitur legem mundis animis fas est cognoscere, iudicare non fas est.* The eternall law of (God) therefore, it is lawfull for cleane harts to know, it is not lawfull for them to iudge. We * must not, saith Augustine to God, iudge of so high authoritie, neither of the booke which is thine, because we submit our vnderstanding to it. And againe: to the canons of the scriptures pertaine * certaine bookes of the prophetes and apostles, *quos omnino iudicare non audeamus*, the which in any case we may not dare to iudge. And this is the reason, there may be no iudge of truth, where no danger of error is: and of the scriptures S. Austen saith, *Quod omni errore careant dubitare nefarium est*, It is a wickednes to make a doubt whether there be any error in them or no: therefore there may be no iudges of them: but the whole Church must be subiect to them, and with all humilitie beleeue them.

August. in Psal. 2.

* *Idem de vera religione, cap.* 31.

* *Idem confess. lib.* 13. *cap.* 23. * *Contra Cresc. lib.* 2. *cap.* 31.

Idem epi. 19. *ad Hieronym.*

Iudging taken for discerning.

Phil. The bishops be no iudges of the scriptures whether they be true or no; that as you proue is no doubt, and therefore needeth no iudge: but in this they be iudges, whether the scriptures be mistaken of others or no. Theo. Then be they no iudges of truth, which is the thing that I first affirmed, but of themselues and others which be subiect to error and ignorance. Phil. Yet they be iudges of error, though not of truth. Theop. If you take iudging for discerning, as the word doth often signifie, they can not be teachers of truth, vnlesse they can discerne truth

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from error: but onely God is to limit and appoint by his word, what shall stand for truth, and what for error. With that bishops haue nothing to do, they must heare and beleeue the voyce of the great sheepheard Christ Iesus, as well as the meanest sheepe in his fold. Onely God must limit what is truth, and what error.

Philand. We grant you that, so you grant vs this, that onely bishops be discerners of truth. Theoph. A liberal offer: you wil grant vs a known truth vpon condition that we shall grant you a manifest vntruth. Make earth and ashes if you dare, to be iudges of their lord & master, which is in heauen, or deny bishops when they be at the highest, to be the seruants of Christ; yea happie be they if they be so much: in these things we neither stand at your almes, nor aske your consents, we be right sure you dare not denie them, and therefore our assertion is without contradiction: yours is vtterly false, that onely bishops be discerners of truth. For as bishops ought to discerne which is truth before they teach, so must the people discerne who teacheth right before they beleeue. To discerne truth belongeth to all.

Phil. Shall the people iudge their pastors? you be so new fangled that you say you know not what. Theo. We haue the words and warrant of the holy Ghost for that which we say. Beleeue not euery spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone out into the world. Prophets be teachers, and if they must be tried before they be trusted, *ergo* pastors must be discerned before they be beleeued, and by whom trow you; but by those that should beleeue them, that is by their hearers? The same precept our sauior gaue to the multitudes that followed him. Beware of false prophets (or teachers) which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they be rauening woolues. By their fruits you shall know them. If all must beware them, and are taught how to know them, *ergo* they may lawfully trie them, before they beleeue thē. This wisdome the Lord himselfe commendeth in his sheep. My sheepe heare my voice, and they follow me. A stranger they will not follow but flie from him. God willeth all men to trie spirits. 1. Iohn. 4. Matth. 7. And to discerne false teachers. Iohn. 10.

Phil. Yet they be no iudges of doctrine. Theop. If you take iudging for discerning, as it is often vsed, the people must be discerners and iudges of that which is taught: S. Paul himselfe alloweth them that leaue. I speake as vnto them The people must discern teachers by their doctrin, 1. Cor. 10.

them that haue vnderstanding; iudge ye what I say. And a-
1.Cor.11. gaine, Iudge with your selues, is it seemly that a woman pray vnto God vncouered? And to that end belongeth this exhortation of the Lord, which is often found in the scriptures: Looke that no man seduce you. For the people of God should haue their senses * exercised in the word of truth, to discerne both good and bad, and in that respect the apostle sticketh not to say: Let * the prophets speake two or three, and let the rest iudge.

* Matt.24. Colos. 8. Ephes. 5. 1.Iohn.3. * Heb. 5. 1.Cor.14.

Origen in teaching the people, submitteth himself to the apostles rule in these words: *Vos facite quod scriptum est, ne vno dicente, omnes examinent. Me ergo dicente quod sentio, vos discernite & examinate si quid rectum est, aut minus rectum.* Do you that which is written; one speaking, all (the rest) examine. Whiles then I say what I thinke, trie and iudge you what is right, and what is not. Ambrose when Auxen. offred to dispute before som that were heathen men, and not christened, thus traduceth him to the people of Millan. Auxentius knowing you not to be ignorant of the faith, hath shunned your iudgment and chosen foure or fiue heathen men. Then in that he hath chosen infidels, he is woorthy to be condemned (of Christians) because he hath reiected the apostles precept, where he saith, Dare any of you hauing ought against another, be iudged vnder the vniust, and not rather vnder the saints? You see then, that which he hath offered, is against the apostles authoritie. But what speake I of the apostle, when the Lord himselfe proclaimeth by his prophet, Heare me my people that know (what belongeth to) iudgement, in whose hart my law is? God saith, heare me my people that know iudgement: Auxentius saith, You know not how to iudge: you see that he contemneth God in you, which refuteth the sense of (this) heauenly oracle. For the people, in whose hart the law of God is, doth iudge. Who then doth you wrong, he that refuseth, or he that referreth himselfe to your audience?

The fathers referred themselues to the iudgement of the hearers. *Ambro. ep. lib. 5. orat. in Aux*

Phil. The people must depend on their teachers mouths, and not be iudges ouer them. He that heareth you, heareth me, saith our sauior to his apostles and their successors, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me. And whosoeuer shall not receiue you, nor heare your words going foorth out of the house or citie, shake of the dust from your feete. Amen, I say to you, it shall be more tollerable for the land of the Sodomits

Luke 10.

Matth. 10.

The people are charged to discerne the truth. *The second part.*

domits and Gomorrheans in the day of iudgement, than for that citie. Theoph. As the pastors haue authoritie from Christ to preach the truth, and wo be to them that resist the preachers of truth; so haue all hearers both libertie to discerne, and a charge to beware seducers, giuen them by the same Lord, and wo be to them that do it not. Take heed, saith our Sauior, that no man seduce you. For many shall come in my name, saying: I am Christ, and shal deceiue many. Then if any shal say to you, lo here is Christ, or there, beleeue it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders. Behold, I haue told you before: wherefore if they shall say vnto you, behold, he is in the desart, go not foorth: behold, he is in the secret places, beleeue it not. He that requireth all men to receiue such as he sendeth, chargeth all men to auoid such as pretend his name when they are not sent: and how can the people do either, if they haue not skill and leaue to discerne them both?

The people haue libertie to discerne, and charge to beware seducers. Matth. 24.

Phil. Our Lord gaue that honor to his very enemies, that the people should obey them, in regard of Moses chaire. Vpon the chaire of Moses haue sitten the Scribes and the Pharisies. All things therefore, whatsoeuer they shall say to you, obserue ye and do ye, but according to their works do ye not, for they say and do not. Theoph. Think you that Christ commanded the people to beleeue the Pharisies, whatsoeuer they taught, or that he affirmed, the Pharisies could not teach amisse, bicause they sate in Moses chaire? Phil. He willed the people to beleeue them, for that they succeeded Moses. Theop. Though the Pharisies were wicked hypocrites, yet because it was their function to teach the people in their synagogs, he willeth them to be obeyed so long as they said nothing, but that which the hearers knew to be agreeable to the law of GOD, but if they speake any thing of their own besides the law, that the people were to reiect and detest. And so S. Augustine expoundeth the place, *Sua vero si velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere:* But if they will teach their owne (deuises besides the law,) neither heare (them) nor do (as they bid you.) Which is plainly commanded by Christ himselfe in the gospell, Take heed and beware of the leauen of the Pharisies and

Matth. 23.

The people not bound to beleeue the Pharisies doctrine, except it accorded to the law of God.

August. in Iohan. tract. 46.

Matth. 16.

The second part. The people must discerne teachers and try spirits.

Ibid. vers. 12. Saduces, that is (as the holy Ghost doth interprete in the same chapter) of the doctrine of the pharisies and saduces.

This then is evident. The law of God the people were to receive and obey at the pharisies mouthes, though they were hypocrits, because they were appointed by God for the time to be teachers: but the leauen of the pharisies, that is their mixtures wherewith they tempered and infected the law of God, the people were to beware & avoid: *ergo* the people were required to discerne betweene the law of God and the leauen of the pharisies, and charged to follow the first and forsake the last.

1. Iohn. 4. 1. Thes. 5. Ephes. 5. Rom. 12. Philip. 1. And why impugne you that which the holy Ghost so often commandeth and therfore permitteth? Try the spirits whether they be of God, as you heard before. Try all things and hold fast that which is good. Be not vnwise but vnderstand what the will of the Lord is. Be renued in your minde that you may discerne what the good and acceptable and perfect will of GOD is. This I pray that your loue may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all iudgement, that you may discerne the things which are best. He that is spirituall discerneth all things. You may haue a thousand like both places and proofes that the faithfull should looke and take heed that they be not seduced. And except you will excuse the people before God, if you misleade them, why should you bar them all triall and vnderstanding whether they follow faith vnto saluation, or withdraw themselues vnto perdition: when the blind leadeth the blind and they fal both into the pit of destruction, is not he that followeth as sure to perish as he that leadeth.

1. Cor. 2. The whole scriptures giue the people leaue to discerne the truth and require them so to do.

Phil. We be content they shall be discerners but no iudges of their pastors. Theop. And bishops themselues be no iudges but discerners of truth. Philan. We be from the matter that we began with: We were speaking of princes.

Princes haue the same libertie to discerne & trie spirits that priuate men haue. Theo. We be right enough. Princes haue the same charge to obey the truth and beware false prophets that priuate men haue; *ergo* they must haue the same freedome to discerne spirits, and refuse strange doctrines, that all the faithfull haue. Christ hath not appointed one way for princes, and an other for their people to come by the know-

knowledge of his will, but the same way for both: ergo the precepts, which I last alleadged, and also the former, pertaine to magistrates as well as subiects; and to make the rule more generall, in discerning, beleeuing and obeying the truth, there is no distinction of persons with God. The former precepts comprise the prince as well as the people.

Phil. We receiue your rule, and infer vpon it, that these words of Saint Paul, Obey your rulers, bind as well princes as priuate men to be subiect to bishops. Theoph. Take with you this limitation, (which haue spoken to you the word of God) which Saint Paul giueth euen in the same chapter and infer what you can. To bishops speaking the word of God, princes as well as others must yeeld obedience: but if bishops passe their commission and speake besides the word of God, what they list, both prince and people may despise them. Heb. 13. Verse. 7. No man bound to the preacher farther than he speaketh truth.

With this limitation our sauior sent his apostles into the world: Go, teach all nations: but what? To obserue all things whatsoeuer I haue commanded you. And this the apostles themselues do not conceale in doing their message. The word of the Lord, saith Peter, indureth for euer, and this is the word which is preached among you. That which we haue seene, saith Iohn, and heard, that declare we to you, that ye may haue fellowship with vs. Let a * man, saith Paul, so thinke of vs as of the ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of GOD. And as for the rest it is requisite in stewards that euery man be found faithfull. And to the Galathians. Though we (our selues) or an angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise than that we haue preached vnto you, let him be accursed. Preach I now man or God? I certifie you brethren, that the Gospell which was preached of me, was not after man: for I neither receiued it of man, neither was I taught it (by man) but by the reuelation of Iesus Christ. And this maketh him so diligently distinguish the precepts of Christ from his own counsels, To the maried I command, not I, but the Lord: to the rest I speake, & not the Lord: yea he requireth of them no more, but that they follow him, so far forth as he followeth Christ: Be ye followers of me, euen as I am of Christ, that is, no longer nor farther than I follow Christ. The apostles tied to that condition. 1. Pet. 1. 1. Ioh. 1. * 1. Cor. 4. Galat. 1. The angels themselues limited to that rule. 1. Cor. 7. 1. Cor. 11.

Chrysostom alledging the words of S. Paul, Obey your ouerseers, doth thus limit them, *Si quidē fidei dogma peruertat, etiamsi Angelus sit, obedire noli :* But if he peruert any point of faith, though he be an angell, obey him not. And streight after, *Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet si quid dixerit proprium, si quid humanum, sed apostolo Christum in se loquentem circumferenti.* We must not obey Paul himselfe, if he speake any thing of his owne, or as a man, but (we must obey) the apostle bearing Christ about that speaketh in him. * *Nobis nihil ex nostro arbitrio indulgere licet :* It is not lawfull for vs, saith Tertullian, to deuise any thing of our selues, nor to follow that which others haue deuised. We haue the apostles of the Lord for our authors, who deuised nothing of their owne heads, but deliuered faithfully to the nations, the doctrine which they receiued of Christ. Therfore though an angell frō heauen should preach otherwise, we should count him accursed. * Euery teacher is a seruant of the law, because he may neither ad of his owne sense vnto the law, nor according to his owne conceit take any thing from the law, but preach that onely which is found in the law. If apostles and angels be tied to this cōdition, much more others, & our first addition, (which speake vnto you the word of God) is euery where intended in the bishops function though it be not expressed.

Chrysost. in 1. cap. 2. epist. ad Timoth. hom. 2.

** Tert. de præscript. aduers. hæreticos.*

** Chrysost. operis imperfect. hom 20. in 7. c. Mat.*

Much more teachers that are but seruants of the law: and therefore bound vnto the law.

Phil. If bishops then speake the word of God, princes must obey them. Theo. If princes resist the word of truth in the preachers mouth they resist not the messenger, but the master that sent him.

Phi. Hence we conclude that bishops be superior to princes. Theo. By what logick? Phil. Princes must obey bishops speaking the word of God, *ergo* bishops be superior to princes. The. If bishops spake to princes in their owne names, your argumēt were somwhat; but since they speak to them as seruants in their masters name, which is Lord of al & ouer al, your consequent is very foolish. For let any prince send his seruant in a message to the nobles of his realme: Wil you reason thus? The seruant speaking in the princes name that which is cōmanded him, must be obeied of the nobles, *ergo* the seruant is superior to the nobles. I thinke you will not, or if you do, you reason very lowsely.

Princes must obey bishops because they speake in Gods name and not in their owne.

Phil. If the seruant haue commission from the prince though

though he be neuer so meane, and the nobles haue none, well they may excell him in nobilitie, but sure he excelleth them in authoritie. Theo. He doth in those things which his commission reacheth vnto. Phil. But bishops haue commission from God to rule the Church, *ergo* they be superior to princes in the regiment of the Church. Our assumption we proue by S. Paul: Take heede to your selues and to the whole flocke, wherin the holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to rule the Church of God. Acts. 20.

Theoph. Your lucke is euill to light on such vnperfect proofes, I told you before, ποιμαίνειν did signifie to feed the Church or flocke of Christ, & not to rule. You now catch hold of the same corruption again, & make it the ground of your conclusion. If you trust not vs, your selues in your Rhemish testament haue so translated the word in S. Peter. Feed the flock of God which is among you, which is in the Greeke, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ. The very children knowe that these words ποιμήν, ποίμνιον, ποιμαίνειν, A shepheard, (his) flocke, and to feede, haue one and the same deriuation, and therfore one and the same signification. The holy Ghost himselfe vseth βόσκειν and ποιμαίνειν as *Synonima*, that is, words of the same power and force. For when Christ repeated this charge, feed my sheep, thrise to Peter in the Gospell of S. Iohn, his words are the second time ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου: & the third time, βόσκε τὰ πρόβατά μου. Now draw your assumption from S. Pauls words rightly translated, & what conclude you? Bishops haue cōmission from God to feede the Church (or flocke of Christ) which princes haue not, *ergo* bishops by their calling may preach, and princes may not. This is al you can infer, and this is nothing against vs. Bishops haue commission to feede, not to rule their flocks. 1. Pet. 5. Iohn. 21.

Philan. They be superiors to princes in feeding the flocke of Christ: *ergo* they be their superiors. Theop. That sequele is not good. In building, masons be superior to princes, in saying mariners, in fighting, souldiers; be these men *ergo* simplie superior to princes? I trow not. They be superior in teaching, not in power to command and punish.

Phi. Preaching the word, dispensing the sacraments, and pardoning the sins of men, which are the bishops charge, be things far greater and higher than any that princes haue. Theoph. The perfection and operation of these

The second part.

Their function is more perfect and excellent because God worketh by their hands & mouthes.

things which you name, depend not on the wils of men, but on the power of God, and therefore the honor and estimation of them must serue for the praise of Gods glorie, and not for the increase of mans pride: the ghostly worke is Gods, the bodily seruice is the priests: wherein Iudas the theefe, Simon the sorcerer, and Demas the runnagate, may chalenge as much as Iames the iust, Peter the zealous, and Iohn the faithful, the three pillers of Christs Church.

Aug. contra Cresc on. lib. 4. cap. 6. August. in psal. 10.

Per ministros dispares Dei munus æquale est, quia non illorum, sed eius est. By the ministers (far) vnlike, the gift of God, saith Augustine, is the same, because it is not theirs but his. Christ sent him that betrayed him, with the rest of his disciples to preach the kingdom of heauen, to shew that the gifts and (graces) of God are bestowed on them, which receiue the same with faith, though he that deliuereth them be as bad as Iudas. The things which God giueth, saith Chrysostom, cannot be made perfect by the holines of the priest: for all is done by his heauenly grace. Onely the priests office is to open his mouth, but it is God that worketh all: the priest doth onely accomplish the (externall signe or act.) Men, saith Ambrose, in the remission of sinnes *ministerium suum exhibent, non ius alicuius potestatis exercent*, do their seruice, but exercise no right of authoritie. They pray, God giueth; the seruice is by man, the gift is from the heauenly power.

In 1. cap. 2. epist. ad Tim. hom. 2.

De spiritu sancto. li. 3. ca. 19.

Preaching the word, is a worthier part of apostolike dignitie, than ministring the sacraments, by the witnes of S. Paul himself saying, Christ sent me not to baptise, but, to preach the gospell. And yet of preachers the scripture saith, Neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giueth the increase. So that neither in the word, nor sacraments, you may chalenge any thing to man, but onely the corporall seruice which is common to the godly, with heretiks and hypocrits: the rest is proper to God, and may not be ascribed to men, without iniurie to him that is the true author of them, and mightie worker in them. And therfore the reason which you draw from the perfection of Gods graces in the Church, to the preferring and aduancing of the bishops person before the princes, is very vitious, because the subiection and reuenge due to the sword, is imparted to the princes person, the dignitie and vertue of the word and sacraments

1. Cor. 1.

1. Cor. 3.

The word & sacraments serue not to aduance the preachers person.

ments is not to the bishops.

Phil. The priests commission is higher than the princes, and why should not the priests person be aboue the princes? Theo. The priest hath his commission as a seruant to cal for subiection & obedience, not vnto himselfe, but vnto his lord and master that sent him. And this subiection, because it is giuen to God, infinitly exceedeth that which princes may looke for. But what is this to the priests person who must preach himselfe, to be The * seruant of meaner men than princes, and make himselfe The seruant of all men, if he note well the words of the commission, and not striue with princes for superiority?

The preachers call for subiection & reuerence to their master, not to themselues.

* 2.Cor.4. * Mark.10. 1.Cor.9.

Phil. For their persons I will not greatly stand with you, but certainly their power is aboue the princes. Theo. You run so fast that you forget where you should be. We were debating who should direct princes in matters of faith: you be slipt from that, and entring a new question who shal correct them, where the former is yet vnfinished. Phil. You did confesse that princes must obey bishops so long as they speak truth. Theo. And you would not denie but princes might refuse bishops if they swarued frō faith. Phil. But who shall be iudge whether they swarue from faith or no? Theo. That is the question which I said was not yet resolued. If bishops teach truth, surely princes must obey thē, I mean the word of truth in their mouths. If they go from truth, then princes must auoid them. To this we both consent, but the doubt is whether truth be tied to some certaine persons or places where princes may find it, & whence princes must fet it, or else whether princes as all others, must vse the best means they can to discerne true preachers from false, and so be directed by such as they thinke to be sent from God.

The truth of God is tied to no certain persons nor places.

Phil. You would haue princes and others leane to their own iudgements, and follow their own fancies. We would haue them stick to the Church, and looke to those pastors whose faith cannot faile. Theop. Such pastors be worth the following, if you can point vs to them. Philan. Peters faith cannot faile: follow that faith, and you cannot misse the truth. Theoph. He that keepeth Peters faith in deed, can not want the truth, because Peter beleeued the truth: but we be nothing the nearer for this. Pauls faith

Peters faith is truth in deede, but that must be taken out of his owne writings, not other mens reports.

faith was likewise truth, and so was the faith of Matthew, Iames, Iohn, Iude, and others: but who must be credited what faith Peter and the rest preached? Shall we take that at your hands by report, or at their owne mouths by writing?

No successor may be trusted against or besides the apostles writings.

Phil. If their writings were not darke or might not be wrested, the scriptures were the best witnesses of their doctrine: but now their successors must rather be trusted than euery man suffered to take what faith he list out of their writings. Theo. Rather so than worse, doth not answere my question, but must we trust their successors in matters of faith against or besides their writings? Phil. Against their writings we must not, besides their writings we must. For many things are beleeued which are not expressed in the scriptures. Theo. With you, but not with the Church of God. Phil. The Church we say beleeueth many things which she receiued by tradition, & not by writing. Theo. Your Church I know doth, but the Church of Christ I say neuer did, nor doth. Phil. Had the Church of Christ no traditions that were not written? Theop. Rites & ceremonies she had, but no points of faith that were not written? Phil. This is the ground of all your errors: vpon this pretence you reiect the vnwritten verities of the Church.

No point of faith vnwritten.

Theo. If this be an error, S. Paul himselfe was the first author of it, and all the fathers of Christs Church with one consent auouch the same. Phil. Neuer tel vs that tale. Theo. Yes we will tell it and proue it to you. Phil. You can not. Theo. We can and will.

Rom. 10.

S. Paul is short but sure. Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: whence we collect, *ergo* faith is by the word of God, and not without it nor besides it. You heard S. Basils opinion before, It is an euident sliding from the faith, & a point of the greatest pride (that may be) either to depart frō that which is written, or to receiue that which is not written. To that you may ioine this conclusion of his, If euery thing that is not of faith be sinne, as Saint Paul affirmeth, and faith come by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, *ergo* whatsoeuer is without (or besides) the diuine scriptures, because it is not of faith, it is sinne. Seekest thou for faith emperor, saith Hilarie to Constantius. Heare

Basil. in sermone de fide.

Idem in Ethicis definit. 80.

Hilar. ad Constantium August.

it

it not out of the late scroles, but out of Gods bookes. Heare I beseech thee that which is written of Christ, least vnder pretence therof, things not written be preached. And in an other place pressing his aduersary, Thou, saith he, which denyest things written, what remaineth but that thou beleue things vnwritten: counting that for a passing absurditie which you now would establish as the surest way to discerne the truth.

Idem de Trin. lib. 9.

Euen so doth Hierom against Heluidius. As we deny not those things that are writté, so we reiect vtterly those things which are not written. For Our Lord and sauior speaketh to vs in the scriptures of his princes: that is, of his apostles and euangelists which were, not which are (in the Church) to this end that his apostles excepted what soeuer thing besides should afterward be said, might be cut off and not haue authoritie. Tertullian speaking in the person of all Christians, We need no farther search after the Gospell. When once we beleeue, we desire nothing else to beleeue: for this we first beleeue that there is nothing, besides (the Gospell) which we ought to beleeue. And refelling the heretike Hermogenes, I adore, saith he, the fulnes of the scriptures. Let Hermogenes shew me where this (that he teacheth) is written. If it be not written, let him feare the curse prouided for adders and diminishers. Yea saith Ambrose, We iustly condemne all new things which Christ did not teach, bicause to the faithfull Christ is the way. So then if Christ did not teach that which we teach, euen we our selues do iudge it to be detestable.

Hieron. aduersus Heluidium

Idem in ps. 86

Tertul. de præscrip. aduersus hæreticos.

Idem aduersus Hermogenem.

Ambros. de virginibus. lib. 3.

The rest are of the same mind. The disposition of our saluation, saith Irenæus, we knew by none other, than by those, by whom the Gospell came vnto vs: the which at first they preached by mouth, but afterward by Gods appointment they did deliuer it to vs in writing, that it should be the foundation and piller of our faith. It is necessarie for vs, saith Cyril, to solow the diuine scriptures, and in nothing to go from their prescription. The mountaines of Israel, (whereon God promised to feed his flocke) are saith Augustine, the writers of the diuine scriptures. Feeding there you feede safely: what soeuer you learne thence, count it sauorie, what soeuer is besides them refuse it. Therefore whether it be touching Christ or his Church, or any matters else which

Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 1.

Cyril. de recta fide ad Reginas lib. 2.

Augu. de Pastoribus, ca. 11.

Idem contra literas Petiliani. lib. 3. cap. 6.

which concerneth our faith and life, I say not if we, but as followeth (in Paul) if an angell from heauen teach any thing besides that which you haue receiued in the scriptures of the law and the Gospell, hold him accursed. Isidorus, as your own law produceth him, saith, A prelate, if he teach or bid any thing besides that which is euidently commanded in the holie scriptures, let him be taken for a false witnes to GOD and a committer of sacrilege. Neither prelate, pope, councel nor angel, may be receiued or trusted in matters of faith, I say, not against the scriptures, but not without or besides the scriptures. Therfore you seek to lead princes vnto truth you must guid them therto by the word of truth, otherwise you do but deceiue them, you do not direct them.

Caus. 11. quæst 3. § si is qui præest.

No person nor place may be trusted in matters of faith besides and without the scriptures.

The best direction for princes is the word of God.

King Dauid will teach you, by what meanes himselfe was, and all other godly princes ought to be directed. Thy word is a lanterne to my feete and a light vnto my paths. I haue sworne and will performe it, that I will keepe thy righteous iudgements. And God by Moses appointing his law to the direction of princes, commandeth a copie therof to be deliuered vnto the king sitting on his throne, that he should read therein all the daies of his life, and learn to feare the Lord his God, and to keep al the words of that law. This charge which God giueth, bindeth princes as well as others. Whatsoeuer I command, that shall you do; thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there from. And Esay speaketh not of priuate persons onely but of commonwealths also, when he saith, Should not a people consult their God? And shewing immediately which way they might consult and aske counsell of God, from the liuing, saith he, to the dead? to the law (rather) and the testimonie: and if they speake not according to this word (it is) because there is no light in them. They haue Moses and the prophets, let them heare them, is the surest way to saue prince & people from the place of torment, and consequently the best direction for them both.

Pſal. 119.

Deut. 17.

Deut. 12.

Esai. 8.

Luk. 16.

Phil. The word of God is, we doubt not, the best direction for princes and priuate men, if it be rightly vnderstood, but All heretiks patch thence the pillowes which they lay vnder the elbowes of all flesh, as Saint Hierom saith, and They talke of scriptures and persuade by scriptures as

Hieron. cap. 1. in epist. ad Galatas. Tertull. de præscriptionib.

Tertullian

Tertullian noteth. And therefore the scriptures being but dumbe records that may be diuersly construed and easily wrested, there must needes be some iudge on earth that may personally pronounce, which is the true meaning and right sense of the scriptures, before princes may trust that direction. Otherwise men may broch what blasphemies they wil, and pretend scripture when they haue don, as the Arrians, Sabellians, Macedonians and all other heretikes did and do. Theo. That heretikes couet a shew of scriptures is a case so cleare that it needeth no words. For how could they treat of matters of faith, except it were out of the bookes of faith, or who would trust them in diuine causes without some color of diuine scriptures? But what meanes the Lord hath left his sheepe to distinguish true shepheards from woolues dissembling their habite, and theeues pretending his name, this is the question that now we be in.

Tertullian. vt supra.

Heretikes therfore couet a shew of scriptures because they be the grounds of all truth.

Phil. It is. And there must, we say, be some certain tribunall on earth, where truth may be found at al times and of all men that be willing to seeke for it; otherwise there should be no stay for religion nor end of contention, euery man pretending his faith to be truth, and no man hauing authority to decide which is truth; which were most absurde. Theo. A tribunall in earth to decide which is truth? Whose tribunall shall that be?

No tribunall on earth to the which truth is fastened.

Phil. The Churches. Theo. We be now as neere as we were before. If the truth be doubted of, the Church must needes be much more doubted of, because the Church is the number of men professing the truth. And how can the professors of truth be seuered from others so long as the truth by which they should be knowen, is in question? You do but waste your breath, if you go not more directly to worke. Phil. You would faine call the Church in question but that you cānot. Theo. Away with these follies. Where faith faileth, the Church faileth; and he that affirmeth your doctrine to be false, denieth your assemblies and multitudes to be the Church. The supposing your selues to be the Church when your faith should be tried, is a fonde and vaine delay. Shall that be truth which you professe, though Christ say nay. Phil. We say not so. Theoph. Then suffer those to be his sheepe, that heare his

Where truth is in doubt the Church is in more doubt.

his voice; and claime not his fold, vntill you be his sheep.
Phil. We do not.

The shepheards voice is not known by the sheep, but the sheepe by hearing the shepheards voice. *Iohn 10.

Theop. We must be first resolued which is his voice, before we can agree who are his sheep. Phil. I know that: and yet which is the shepheards voice, the sheepe must iudge, and not the wolues. Theo. In deed our sauiour saith, * The sheep follow (the shepheard) for they know his voice. A stranger they will not follow, but flee from him, for they knew not the voice of strangers: and applying this to himselfe, My sheep, saith he, heare my voice, and follow me. The reason went before, for they knew the voice of their shepheard. So that by the position of our sauiour, his sheep must be able to discerne his voice from a strangers. Phil. What else? Theo. His voice is his word, his sheep are the faithfull, his fold is his Church. If the Lord himselfe referre his sheep to their exact knowledge of his voice, for their perfect direction, why would you force the flock of Christ to the court of Rome, there to learne at your hands, and vpon your onely credite, the voice of their shepheard?

Philan. We would haue them follow the direction of Christs Church, in discerning the sound of Christs voice. Theo. And the Church of Christ neuer directed any man by prescribing certaine places or persons, where truth could not faile, but onely by the generall and constant profession of the same faith from the apostles downe-ward, in all ages and countries. Phil. The Church commendeth succession, councels, and apostolicall seates, as good helps to hit the right sense of the scriptures. Theop. But neuer as infallible notes to discerne the truth.

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 28. Succession is no sure direction vnto truth. *Ireneus, lib. 4. cap. 43.*

Phil. *The bishops of the vniuersall Church haue (as S.* Irenæus *saith) receiued with their episcopall succession, the grace and gift of vnderstanding the truth.* Theoph. You do that ancient father wrong in the place which you bring. Irenæus limiteth succession after the same maner that we do, noting succession to be nothing worth, vnles sound doctrine and holy conuersation be thereunto ioyned. His words be: We must therefore obey those priests which are in the Church, I mean those which haue their succession from the apostles, which together with their succession in office, haue receiued *charissima veritatis certum*, the sure (doctrine or) gift of truth.

The

The rest we must suspect either as heretikes, or as authors of schismes, and pleasers of themselues, or else as hypocrites, vaine-glorious, and couetous. From all such we must abstaine; and cleaue to them, as I said, which keep the doctrine of the apostles, and with the order of their priestly calling, yeeld wholesom doctrine and conuersation without offence. Cap. 44.

And shewing what he meaneth by *charisma*, he saith, *Vbi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi dicere oportet veritatem:* Where (these) blessings and gifts of God are, there must we learne the truth, with whom is that succession of the Church which is from the apostles, and also sound and irreproueable doctrine. Cap. 45. **So that orderly succession, sound doctrine, and conuersation without blame, are the gifts and graces of God which he meaneth, and the one he will not haue to be regarded or trusted without the other.**

Philan. **Make you no more account of succession?** Theo. **We commend succession to exclude ambition and dissention in the Church of Christ, and in that respect we detest such as inuade the pastorall function without lawfull vocation and election, but that succession in place should be taken for a warrant of true doctrine, is an error of yours, and so palpable, that euery child can refel it. For who knoweth not that an infinite number of bishops, and those orderly succeeding, if you looke to their dignitie, and not to their doctrine, haue been heretikes? And that** S. Paul **thus forewarned the bishops of Ephesus,** Out of your selues shall rise men speaking peruerse things to draw disciples after them. Act. 20. **And the Lord when he saith,** Beware of false prophets, **noteth, there shall be prophets by their calling, which shall be found false in their teaching;** as S. Peter also witnesseth, There were false prophets among the people (of the Iewes) euen as there shall be false teachers amongst you, **distinguished from godly teachers not by office, but by doctrine.** Matth. 7. 2. Pet. 2. Saint Paul **granteth many to be the ministers of Christ in outward profession and shew, which in workes and deeds be the ministers of Sathan.** Such false apostles, saith he, are deceitfull workers, and transforme themselues into the apostles of Christ. 2. Cor. 11. 2. Cor. 11. **The prince of darkenesse that can conuey his agents to be teachers, prophets and apostles, in the**

the Church of Christ, can place them in bishoprikes at his pleasure, and therefore the chaire is no sure defence against erroꝛ.

Phil. We know some bishops haue been heretikes, but not all. Theo. Neither do we say that all were: God forbid. But by this that some were; we proue succession to be no sure direction vnto truth. If Berillus, Paulus, Samosatenus, Photinus, Nestorius, Dioscorus, Petrus, Apameus, Sergius, Cyrus, Theodorus, Macarius, and infinite others canonically succeeding in seates and Churches of no smal account, fell afterward into pestilent heresies; that which was often and easie then, is contingent and possible still, and succession which saued not them from erring, cannot defend others from the like danger. Phil. Succession alone is not sufficient to keepe men in the right fayth. Theo. If you ioyne truth and holines with it, as Irenæus doth, no doubt they be marks of faithfull and godly pastoꝛs, but succession of it selfe, doth neither priuilege the teachers from erroꝛ, noꝛ conduct their hearers vnto truth, because there haue been thousands in the Church whose opinions you may not allow, though you cannot disproue their elections.

Bishops haue beene heretikes.

Phil. Admit that, and how then? Theo. If bishops singled may erre; why not bishops assembled, which you call councels? What assurance hath their meeting to keepe thē from erring? Phil. The promise of our Lord, where there be two or three gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them. Theo. Doth our sauioꝛ speake onely of bishops and councels, oꝛ else of all faithfull persons and resoꝛts gathered to prayer, preaching, oꝛ any other good intent? Phil. The woꝛds be generall, and therefoꝛe belong as well to councels as other conuents. Theop. In deed the woꝛds be generall, and therfoꝛe belong no moꝛe to councels than to any other christian conuents. And did they specially pertain to councels, as they do not, a councell of two oꝛ three by the purpoꝛt of the very woꝛds, hath as much assurance of truth, as a councell of three hundred. It is not the number, but the name in which they be gathered, that guideth and directeth them vnto truth. Philan. If our LORD haue promised to assist three gathered in his name, how much moꝛe will he assist three hundred? Theo.

Bishops assembled may erre as wel as bishops seuered. Matt. 18.

Two or three haue the same promise of assistance that two or three hundred haue.

And

And yet three may see the truth, when three hundred may misse it. Which I speake not to deface religious and godly councels, but to stay the multitude from presuming their fansies to be true religion, when they be nothing neere.

Phil. May councels erre? Theo. Why not? Phil. What councels? Theop. Yea councels. Rebaptising of heretikes was defended by Cyprian, and a councell of bishops with him, and as Eusebius reporteth out of Dionysius, decreed *In maximis episcoporum synodis*, in very great councels of bishops. The Arrians in twenty six yeeres gathered and framed sundry councels for their purpose at Tyrus, Jerusalem, Philippi, Sirmium, Arminum, Seleucia, Constantinople, and two at Antioch. In the councell of Millan, * aboue three hundred of the west bishops consented that Athanasius should be thrust from his bishoprike, and onely fiue said nay. To the wicked edict of Basiliscus against the councell of Chalcedon, subscribed * fiue hundred bishops. Gregorie Nazianzene was so out of loue with the councels of his time, that when he was sent for, he praied Procopius to haue him excused to the emperor for sickness, and addeth, I, to write you the truth, am determined to forbeare all councels of bishops, because I haue not seene any good euent of any councell, but rather an encrease than a redresse of (our) euils. So that a number of bad bishops may do much hurt euen in councels, and the better part is not alwaies sure to be the greater.

Councels may erre.

*Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 5.

*Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 9.

*Euag. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Epist. 55. ad Procopium.

Phil. Particular councels haue erred, but neuer generall. Theop. If particular councels may erre, why may not generall? What difference find you betweene prouinciall and generall councels, but onely the number of persons that be called, & places whence they be called? Now, what warrant I pray you, haue three hundred bishops more than two hundred, or the bishops of some countries more than the bishops of other countries, that they can not erre? If truth go by tale, particular councels haue often matched and passed many generall for number of bishops. The second and sixt generall councels, had present at either but one hundred fiftie bishops, the third had but one hundred, as Beda writeth, and as it appeareth by their * subscriptions, not aboue one hundred fifty, whereas the

A generall councel doth not differ from a particular but only in number of persons and places.

Vide distinct. 16. § sexta § primo.

Tom. 1 concil. primo.

councell of Sardica had * three hundred, and so had the councell of Millan, and the fourth and first councels of Carthage had aboue two hundred bishops in either of them. If it go by countries, then shew vs which countries haue this priuiledge, that their bishops can not erre, & which haue it not: for as yet we see no cause why truth should be tied to some numbers or nations, and not to others; and before we may grant them that prerogatiue, we must see great cause and good proofe.

* Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 20.
* Idem li. 2. ca. 36. Tomo concilior. primo.

Phil. We do not hold that generall councels are defended from error by reason of any number or nations there gathered, but it is we say more likely, that many men assembled out of diuers nations should light on truth, than a few out of one. Theop. You come with likelihoods when we seeke for certainties. Can you shew forth any grant from God, that generall councels shall not erre?

A generall councell erring, the Church doth not erre.

Phil. If general councels might erre, the Church might erre, which is not possible. Theo. As though none were of or in the Church but onely bishops? Or all the bishops of christendom without exception, were euer present at any councell? Or the greater part of those that are present might not strike the stroke without the rest? When 300. are assembled in a councell, & 149. take one part, and 151. the other, is this your profound learning, that the odde voices which make vp the greater part, can neuer erre? Or doth the whole church erre, when falshood hath for her selfe ten or twelue bishops more than truth hath?

A councell may be reuersed by the rest that be present or absent.

Phil. If a councell once giue iudgement in matters of faith, who can reuerse it? Theop. The rest present or absent may lawfully contradict the councel, if it wade beside truth, or against the faith. When the fathers in the great councell of Nice were about to decree that bishops, priests, and deacons should not vse their wiues, Paphnutius alone rose vp in the middest of their councell, and freely contradicted it. The same Paphnutius, when secret enimies labored in the councell of Tyrus, wrongfully to depose Athanasius, caught Maximus the bishop of Jerusalem by the hand, and willed him to rise and forsake that conuenticle of euil men. In the councell of Millan, when 300. had consented to the deposition of Athanasius, Dionysius, Eusebius, Paulinus, Lucifer, and Rhodamus (but fiue against

Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 23.

Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 25.

Sozo. lib. 4. ca. 9

fiftene

sifteene score) openly and plainly withstood it. The second councell of Ephesus was reiected by many godly bishops that were not present, as iniurious and wicked, and Leo himselfe writeth of the famous and generall councell of Chalcedon, *Tanquam refutari nequeat quod illicitè voluerit multitudo*; as though that might not be refused, which a multitude hath vnlawfully decreed. And making there no more account of their number, though there were aboue six hundred fathers in that councell, he saith, *Nulla sibimet de multiplicatione congregationis concilia blandiantur*. Let no councels flatter themselues with the great number of persons assembled.

Leo epist. 5 Anatholiu

Ibidem.

Phil. You are the first that euer were of this opinion, that generall councels might erre. Theop. Your owne fellowes haue bene of that opinion before vs. Panormitan the best of your canonists, and proctor for pope Eugenius, against the councell of Basill, affirmeth plainly, *Concilium potest errare, sicut alias errauit super matrimonium contrahendum inter raptorem & raptam, & dictum Hieronymi melius sentientis posteà fuit prælatum statuto concilij.* A councell may erre, as otherwise a councell hath erred about marriage to be contracted betweene the rauisher and the rauished, and the saying of Hierom, as being of the sounder opinion, was after preferred before the statute of the councell. And your argument, that the Church should faile in faith if councels should erre; he reiecteth as friuolous. *Nec obstat si dicatur quòd concilium non potest errare, quia Christus orauit pro Ecclesia sua vt non deficeret.* It hindereth vs litle, if it be said that a councell can not erre, because Christ praied for his Church that it should not faile. For though a generall councell represent the whole vniuersall Church, yet to speake truth, the vniuersall Church is not there precisely, but by representation; because the vniuersall Church consisteth of all the faithfull. And this is the Church which can not erre. Whereby it is not vnpossible but the true faith of Christ may continue in onely one person. Therefore, (the Church) is not said to faile nor to erre, if the true faith remaine in any one. If you would be farther taught, that a generall councell is neither the vniuersall Church, nor representeth the vniuersall Church, & that it hath erred & may erre, we can send you to a marchant of the same stampe that your selues are of, where

Their own fellowes haue confessed that generall councels might erre.

Panor de el & electi pot state ¶ sign casti.

Panorm. Jl

A generall councell is not the Church.

you shall see as much as I say, debated and commended with no small bravery.

Pigh. hierarch. eccles. iast. lib. 6. cap. 5. & 4. Pighius is earnest that generall councels haue erred in decision of faiths.

Certum est concilia non esse vniuersalem Ecclesiam. In nullo vniuersalium conciliorum omnium hoc sibi præsumpsisse patres inueniens vt dicerent catholicam se repræsentare Ecclesiam præterquam in his quæ nunc impugnamus, Constantiensi & Basiliensi nouissimus. It is certaine that councels are not the vniuersall Church. In none of all the generall councels shall you find the fathers to haue arrogated thus much to themselues, as to say they represented the catholike Church, besides these two last councels of Constance and Basill, which we now impugne. And that generall councels may erre, no man more resolute than Pighius. *Neque enim hæc sola quæ nunc impugnamus, concilia, turpiter grauiterque errasse certum est, sed & alia plurima.* It is certaine, that not only these councels (of Constance and Basill) which we now disprooue, haue shamefully and absurdly erred, but also many others. And againe, *In fidei definitionibus errasse, etiam vniuersalia etiam sanctorum patrum concilia comperimus. Testimonio sunt de vniuersalibus conciliis, inprimis Ariminense, vniuersale haud dubiè, &c. Insuper Ephesanum secundum & ipsum vniuersale, &c. testimonio inquam hæc sunt errare posse etiam vniuersalia concilia, etiam legitimè congregata.* We find that generall councels euen of holy fathers haue erred in decrees of faith. For example of generall councels, the councell of Ariminum, vniuersall no doubt, and also the second councell of Ephesus, and that likewise vniuersall, these I say, are witnesses that euen general councels, and those lawfully gathered, may erre.

Lib. 6 cap. 7.

Lib. 6 cap. 13.

August. de baptist. lib. 2. cap. 3. S. Augustine confesseth that councels may erre

If Panormitane and Pighius might happily be ouerseen in impairing the credit of councels; S. Augustine was not when he said, Who can be ignorant that prouinciall and nationall councels yeeld without any stay to the authoritie of generall councels, gathered out of the whole christian world, and that generall councels themselues are often amended the former by the latter, with catholike peace and christian charitie. Phil. He saith, Plenarie councels are amended, but not from errors. Theop. What needeth amending where no fault is? The condition which S. Austen repeateth in the first, indureth to the last. *Si quid forte à veritate deuiatum est,* If in ought they swarue from truth. And except that be vnderstood, he answereth not the thing which

Ibidem.

was

was obiected by the Donatists. They opposed Cyprians letters, Cyprians iudgement, Cyprians councell in a matter of doctrine not of discipline. Saint Augustine replieth, bishops might be deceiued and so might councels. In what now but in matters of doctrine?

Phil. Can you name vs any generall councell that erred in matters of doctrine? Theop. Your owne fellow nameth the councell of Ariminum and of Ephesus the second, besides the councels of Constance and Basill. Phil. I doubt not whether that of Ephesus were a wicked councell, but whether it were generall or no. Theop. The patriarks of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Hierusalem, and Constantinople were called vnto it and present at it, with the bishops of diuerse and sundry prouinces, as their subscriptions declare, which are extant in the councell of Chalcedon. The * bishop of Rome by his legats as his wont was in other councels; the * rest in person, and therfore out of question it was no prouincial councel. Againe the emperor that called the councell in his epistle to the same saith, We thinking it not safe that this question of faith should be handled without your sacred synode, and the bishops of the holy Churches of all places, thought it needefull that your sanctities should assemble. Phil. The bishops that were present at Ephesus complained after in the councell of Chalcedon that they were threatned and forced. Theop. The greater the disorder that was committed in the councell, the stronger is our argument, that councels may be miscaried; if bishops may be forced, they may likewise be circumuented, as they were in the councell of Ariminum, or deceiued in opinion as they were in the councels of Carthage, Constance and Basill, by the confession of your dearest friends. If al these waies they may be peruerted when they are assembled, *ergo* they may make both an erronious and iniurious conclusion.

The second councell of Ephesus was generall.

* *Actio.1.*
* *Euagrius lib. 1.cap.10.*
Reperitur Chalcedon. concil.actio.1.

Chalced.concil.actio.1.

And for this cause S. Augustine teacheth that ecclesiasticall iudges may be deceiued, in that they be but men, & calleth their councels Humane iudgements which may be circumuented and beguiled. His words be, *Non igitur debet ecclesia se Christo præponere: cum ille semper veraciter iudicet, ecclesiastici autem iudices sicut homines plerumque fallantur.* The Church may not prefer her selfe before Christ, forsomuch

Ecclesiasticall iudges are often deceiued. *Cõtra Crescon. lib.2.cap.21.*

as he alwaies iudgeth rightly, and ecclesiastical iudges as being but men are often deceiued. And rehearsing two episcopall iudgements that passed against the Donatists in the councels at Rome and Arle, he addeth, *Sed hæc humana iudicia deputentur, & circumuenire, ac falli, vel etiam corrumpi potuisse dicantur.* But let these be counted the iudgements of men, and let it be said they might either deceiue or be deceiued, & perhaps corrupted.

August. epist. 167.

August. cõtr. Maximinum lib. 3. cap. 14.

The like he saith of the councell of Ariminum. This is that which the catholike fathers in the councel of Nice had establisshed against the Arrian heretiks by authoritie of the truth, and which afterward in the councell of Ariminum, hereticall impietie vnder an hereticall emperor assaied to ouerthrow, *Multis paucorum fraude deceptis*, the multitude (there) being deceiued by the subtiltie of a few. And therefore he concludeth, *Sed nunc nec ego Nicenum nec tu debes Ariminense tanquam præiudicaturus proferre concilium: nec ego huius authoritate, nec tu illius detineris.* But now (since there be contrary councels) neither ought I to produce the councell of Nice, nor you the councell of Ariminum for a preiudice (to either part:) for neither am I bound to the authoritie of this (latter councell of Ariminum) nor you to the authority of that (former Nicene councell:) confessing not only that councels might erre, but that his aduersarie was not tied to the authority of the great Nicene councell, comparable to the which, no councell euer was or shall be in the Church of Christ.

Ibidem lib. 3. cap. 14.

The Arrians not bound to the authority of the Nicene councell.

Phil. There was great difference betweene the councell of Ariminum and the councell of Nice. Theoph. In the sincere profession of the true faith there was difference betwixt them, but in the maner of calling these councels and number of the persons present, Saint Augustine found no great aduantage for his side. The Arrians had a councell as great and as general for that which they refused as the catholiks had for that which they professed, and therefore this learned father saw no remedy but he must yeeld vp the Nicene councell as no sufficient conuiction of their heresie.

Phil. The councell of Ariminum was not generall.

The councell of Ariminum was generall.

Theop. The councell was farre greater, as it should seeme, than the councel of Nice, though the story of the Church

do

do not lay downe the certaine number of the bishops that met. Phil. What reason leadeth you to thinke it was greater? Theoph. It is euident by the storie that the emperor assembled all the bishops both of the east and of the west Church, of purpose if it were possible, to bring them to some concord: and the bishops of either Church, no doubt, farre exceeded the number of three hundred. Phil. They were not all at Ariminum. Theoph. The number was so great and the iourney so long that the emperor made them sit in two seuerall places, the east bishops at Nicomedia, the west at Ariminum: but that all the bishops of both Churches were gathered in these two places Socrates doth witnes.

(Imperator) vniuersale concilium congregare voluit vt cunctos orientis episcopos in occidentem accersitos, concordes, si posset, redderet. *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37.*

The emperor intended to gather an vniuersall councell, that all the bishops of the east comming into the west parts, he might get them to agree, if it might be. And when the length of the iourney appeared ouer tedious, he commanded the councell to be diuided, and willed the west to assemble at Ariminum, the east to resort at Nicomedia. What a company there were of the west bishops, their owne words to Constantius will declare. *Ariminum ex cunctis occidentis ciuitatibus omnes episcopi conuenimus.* We assembled at Ariminū euen all the bishops out of all the west cities. S. Hierom writing of this very councell saith, *Illo tempore nihil tam pium, nihil tam conueniens seruo Dei videbatur quam vnitatem sequi, & à totius mundi communione non scindi.* At that time nothing seemed so religious, nothing so conuenient for the seruant of God as to follow vnity, and not to cut himselfe from the communion of the whole world. The communion of the whole world was in the councell of Ariminum: no councell therefore could be more generall than that was. And this no doubt Saint Augustine saw when he gaue ouer the councell of Nice, as no greater preiudice to his aduersaries than the councell of Ariminum was to himselfe & the faith which he defended.

Ibidem epistole synodi Ariminen. ad Constant. Hier. aduers. Luciferanos.

In the councell of Ariminum was the communion of the whole world.

Phil. The councell of Ariminum condemned the error of Arius, as their epistle to Constantius declare. Theoph. The bishops assembled at Ariminum were religious and Catholike, but not sounding the drift of some

The councell of Ariminum erred.

craftie heretikes amongst them, and led with a colour of concord and peace which the emperor vrged, they relented from the Nicene creede vpon pretence made that the word ὁμοούσιον was new and offensiue, and consented the word should be abolished, and subscribed to an other creede that professed the sonne of God to be like to his father, according to the scriptures. Phil. Wherein then did that councell erre? Theoph. Not in decreeing any falsehood, but in exacting lesse to be beleeued than the christian faith required, and reiecting that word, which the Nicene councell had established for the righter expressing of the christian faith. In this councell saith Saint Hierome, *Nomine vnitatis & fidei infidelitas scripta est*, In the name of vnitie and faith infidelitie was (decreed and) written: and vpon the conclusion of the councell, *Ingemuit totus orbis, & Arrianum se esse miratus est*, The whole world groned and wondered to see it selfe in Arrianisme.

Hier. aduers. Luciferanos.

Hier. aduers. Luciferanos.

Ibidem.

Phil. The fathers made more account of councels than you do. Theoph. No father euer said that councels could not erre. Phil. S. Augustine saith, their authority is most wholesome in the Church. Theop. But he neuer said they were free from all errour. That is the perfection and reuerence which S. Augustine reserueth to the scriptures onely, to be without all suspition of errour. *Solis eis scripturarum libris qui iam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, vt nullum eorum authorem scribendo aliquid erraſſe firmiſſime credam.* I haue learned to yeeld this feare and honor to the canonicall scriptures onely, that I firmely beleeue none of the authors of them to haue any thing erred in penning them. If this honor be free from errour, be due to the canonicall scriptures onely, then may you not impart it either to succession, councels or sees apostolike. It must stand for a perpetual difference betweene the precepts of God and decrees of men that God is true and all men liars. If (ought) saith Augustine, be prooued by the manifest authoritie of diuine scriptures which in the Church are called canonicall, it must be beleeued without anie doubting. Other witnesses or testimonies, thou maiest beleeue or not beleeue, according as thou shalt see cause to trust them.

Epiſt. 118.

Epiſt. 119. Onely the scriptures can not erre.

Rom. 3. *Epiſt. 112. ad Paulin.*

And

Consent without staggering due only to the scriptures. *The second part.*

And distinguishing the canon of the scriptures from the writings and resolutions of all that followed; were they fathers, councels, or whatsoeuer, he saith, In that canonicall preeminence of the sacred scriptures if it appeare that but one prophet, apostle or euangelist set downe anie thing in his writings, it is not lawfull to doubt of the truth of it. In the works of those that came after them, comprised in bookes that be infinite, in which soeuer of them the same truth is found, yet the authoritie is far inferior. Therefore in them, if happilie some things be thought to dissent from truth because they be not vnderstood as they were spoken, *tamen liberum ibi habet lector auditorue iudicium, quo vel approbet quod placuerit, vel improbet quod offenderit*, yet hath the reader or hearer in those writings his iudgement free to allow what he liketh, and reiect what he misliketh: so that in all such except they be fortified by euident reason, or by that canonicall authoritie, if a man mislike or will not beleeue he is not reprooued. Which libertie Saint Augustine else-where chalengeth vnto himselfe *In quorumlibet hominum scriptis*, in the writings of all men whatsoeuer, and addeth this reason, *Quia solis canonicis debeo sine vlla recusatione consensum*, because I owe consent without anie staie to the canonicall scriptures onlie.

Augustin. cõtra Faustum Manichæum, lib. 11. cap. 5.

In all other writings the reader is free and not bound to beleeue them. Augustin. de natura & gratia contra Pelag. cap. 61.

Ibidem.

The authoritie to be beleeued without anie refusing is proper only to the scriptures, because the certaintie, not to erre, is annexed onlie to them and to no writings else. The rest must be read, as S. Augustine teacheth, *non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum iudicandi libertate*, not with a necessitie to beleeue them, but a libertie to iudge of them, and must be distinguished from the authoritie of the canon, for that * the authoritie of the sacred scriptures can neither deceiue nor be deceiued, and by * those bookes, *de cæteris literis fidelium vel infidelium libere iudicemus*, we may freelie iudge of (all) other writings both of christians and infidels. If we must iudge, then they may erre. Where no danger of error is, there is no freedom of iudgement left vs to receiue what we see cause, and reiect what we thinke good. The scriptures we may not iudge of, because they can not erre: all other writings we must examin before we beleeue, *ergo* they be not free from erring.

*We may judge freely of councels. Contra Faustii lib. 11. cap. 5. * epist. 48.*

** De pecca. meritis & remiss. li. 1. ca. 22. *Contra Cresc. lib. 2. cap. 31.*

This

S. Augustine refused councels both with him and against him.

This made S. Augustine disputing with the Donatists to reiect the councels that were against him, and resigne the councels that were with him as he did before refuting the Arrians, and to tie both himselfe and his aduersaries to the scriptures. Let (the Donatists) if they can, saith he, shew their Church, not in rumors and speeches of the men of Africa, not in the councels of their bishops, not in the discourses of anie writers whosoeuer, not in signes and myracles that may be forged; but in the prescript of the law, in the predictions of the prophets, in the verses of the psalmes, in the voices of the shepheard himselfe, in the preachings and works of the euangelists, that is in all the canonicall authorities of the sacred scriptures. And binding himselfe to the same condition, he saith, *De vnitate ecclesiæ, cap. 16.*

Quia nec nos propterea dicimus nobis credi oportere quòd in ecclesia Christi simus, &c. Because we our selues do not saie we must therefore be beleeued, for that we are in the Church of Christ, or else for that *Optatus*, Ambrose and infinite other bishops of our communion, haue commended the Church, which we hold, or because our Church hath been published in the councels of our collegues. S. Hilarie was nothing afraid to be condemned in manie councels. Now let him gather what councels he will against me, saith he, and openlie prescribe me for an heretike, as he hath often done. *Ibidem.*

Hilar. contra Auxentium & Arrianos.

Princes are not bound to councels.

Phil. By whom then shall princes be directed if neither by bishops nor councels? Theop. I do not say that princes should not be directed by them, but only that princes and others are not bound vnto them with like subiection, as they be to the word of God. For that can not erre, and may command, because God is the author of it. Councels may erre, and can not command, because they consist of men, which be not alwaies assured of truth, and owe subiection to the princes sword.

Christ hath a vicar on earth that can not erre, which is the holy Ghost.

Phil. Were this exception good against councels, against Christs vicar it is not good. He may command, as Christ might if he were present, and hath a promise that his faith shall not faile. Theop. In deed Christ hath a vicar on earth that may command, and can direct vnto truth, but I thinke you meane not him. Phil. I meane the vicar generall which Christ left behind him to guide the Church

Church after his ascending. Theop. And so do I, and yet I doubt we be of two minds. Phil. What bicar hath Christ left but Peter and his successors in the Romane see, which can not erre, and may command as well princes as others? Theop. His holie spirit, which hath better right to command, and skill to direct, than either *Peter* or *Peters* successors. Phil. Call you the holie Ghost his bicar? Theop. Why should I not? Tertullian did so before me. The rule of faith is, saith he, that Christ was taken vp into heauen, and sate downe at the right hand of his father and sent *Vicariam vim spiritus sancti qui credentes agat*, the power of the holie Ghost to be his vicar, and to leade the faithfull. And in an other place he giueth him the same title. *Vicarius Domini Spiritus sanctus*, the holie Ghost the Lords vicar. But what ancient father euer called the bishop of Rome Christs bicar? Phil. If Peter were, no doubt he is. Theop. We aske not now for ifs, shew one that euer called him so. Phil. What if that verie word be not found in them? Theop. Then forbeare it till you find it, and go on with some other name.

Tertull. de præscriptio. aduer. hæreticos. *Idem de virginibus velandis.*

The pope neuer called Christs vicar but by his owne flatterers.

Phil. Call him as you list, but this we be sure that he can not erre, and may command both prince and people. Theop. He neuer biteth that barketh much, you make your selfe sure of these things, which when we come to triall will be most vnsure. How proue you either of these points which you affirme?

The pope may erre, and command neither prince nor people.

Phil. The Gospell proueth the first, I praied for thee that thy faith faile not: and thou once conuerted, confirme thy brethren, *which is to saie, that Peter is that man, whom he would make superior ouer them and the whole Church.* Theoph. Which is to saie, that you belie the words of the Gospell. For who but Iesuits would make this collection, Confirme thy brethren, that is, be *superior ouer them and the whole Church?* Phil. None may confirme but a superior. Theoph. Why so good sir? May not one brother comfort and encourage an other? Phil. Yes, but Peter must confirme his brethren. Theoph. And what was confirming in this place but recalling them from the feare they were in, when they fled from their maister, and leading them by his example to be more constant? Phil. It was his charge so to do. Theoph. So is it euerie Christian mans, in

The Rhem. Testament vpon the 22. of S. Luke.

One brother may cõfirme an other.

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the like case to do no lesse. Dauid after the defiling of Berseba and murdering of Vriah, promiseth to do that which Peter is heere appointed to do. Restore me to the ioy of thy saluation, and establish me with thy free spirit; then will I teach thy waies vnto the wicked, and sinners shall be conuerted vnto thee. Will you therefore infer that Dauid was supreme pastor ouer all the wicked? Are you not profound men, of a christian dutie and common charitie prescribed to Peter in respect of them that were fallen into the same temptation with him, to conclude a singularitie and superioritie for him ouer his fellow disciples, and ouer the whole Church besides?

Psal. 51.

The Rhem. Testament vpon the 22. of S. Luke.

Phil. By this, *We learne that it was thought fit in the prouidence of God, that he who should be the head of the Church, should haue a speciall priuilege by Christs praier and promise neuer to faile in faith, and that none other either apostle, bishop or priest, may chalenge anie such singular or speciall prerogatiue either of her office or person otherwise than by ioining with Peter and by holding of him.*

Christ praied for Peter not that he should not erre, but that he should not vtterly perish

Theop. By this we learne that you abuse both the prouidence of God, and the promise of our sauiour to serue your wicked fansies. For Christ did not promise that Peters iudgement should neuer erre, but that in this temptation now at hand, his faith shall not vtterlie faile. *Ego pro te oraui ne deficeret fides tua: Hoc est ne in fine pereas.* I haue praied for thee, that thy faith shall not faile, that is, saith Chrysostom, that thou finallie perish not. And againe, *Non dixit quippe, non negabis, sed vt non deficiat fides tua. Cura enim ipsius & fauore factum est ne omnino Petri fides euanesceret.* (Christ) did not say, thou shalt not denie me, but thy faith shall not (wholy) faile. For by his care and fauor it came to passe that Peters faith should not vtterlie be extinguished. And so Bede, Our Sauiour praied for Peter, not that he should not be tempted, but that his faith should not faile, that is, that after he was fallen by denying him, he might rise againe by repentance to his former state. Now frame your reason, as in deed you must, and marke your illation how absurd it is. I haue praied for thee, that thy faith shall not vtterlie vanish, though thou shalt thrise denie me, and shamefullie forsweare me; *ergo* neither Peter, neither his successors can erre in anie matter of religion. I aske not what boie, but

Chrysos. in Ioh. homil. 72. Idem in Mat. homil. 83.

Bede in cap. 22. Luca.

but what bedlem would thus dispute?

Phil. Peter denied not the faith but the person of Christ. To deny Christ is worse than to be deceiued in some point of faith

Theop. And he that denieth the person of Christ, denieth not a part, but the whole faith of Christ. It is a surer and a more dangerous fall to deny the Lord himselfe, than to be deceiued in opinion of faith, euen by the very confession of Peter. For thus he placeth them in the second epistle. There shall be false teachers amongst you, which shall priuily bring in damnable sects, yea, denying the Lord that hath bought them. Our sauiour in his admonition to the seuen Churches of Asia, sheweth, that he which denieth his name, denieth his faith. Thou holdest fast my name, saith he, and hast not denied my faith. Wherefore not to hold fast the name of Christ is to denie the faith of Christ. And how can you doubt of this, since the missing of ante point of faith, is but heresie, and the denying of Christs name which Peter fell into, is Apostasie, farre worse than the former? See then how lewdly you peruert the words of our sauiour. Where Peter is forewarned of his fall, you make the words a warrant that he shall not fall. And where the Lord promised him repentance, you turne the text as if Peter were free from all such offences. Phil. He offended, but not in faith. Theoph. Could he denie Christ and not denie his faith and hope in Christ? Or can there be greater infidelitie than to denie the sonne of God? And yet Peter not onely denied him thrise, but with an othe and a curse ratified his deniall. 2. Pet. 2. Reuel. 3.

Phil. Peter denied that he knew him. Theop. And he that knoweth not Christ, what faith or hope hath he in Christ? S. Ambrose giuing the cause why Peter did not speake but weepe after his fall, saith, *Petrus iam non vtitur sermone quo fefellerat, quo peccaueratt, quo fidem amiserat.* Peter now doth not vse speech by the which he had lied, by the which he had sinned, by the which he had lost his faith. And againe, *Fidelior factus est postquam fidem se perdidisse defleuit.* Peter became more faithfull, after he had bewailed the losse of his faith. Peter lost his faith when he denied Christ. *Ambros. sermo. 46.* *Idem serm. 47.*

Phil. *The danger (saith S. Leo) was common to all the apostles, but our Lord tooke speciall care of* Peter, *that the state of all the rest might be the more sure, if the head were inuincible.* The Rhem. Testament vpon the 22. of S. Luke.

Theop.

Theop. Leo may be borne with in shewing himselfe somewhat fauorable to Peter, the founder of his Church; but what reason we should beare with you when you corrupt and falsifie that which Leo saith? His words are, *Pro fide Petri propriè supplicatur tanquam aliorum status certior sit futurus, si mens principis victa non fuerit.* Praier is made particularly for Peters faith, as though the state of others would be the surer, if the mind of the chiefe were not conquered. For *aliorum*, you say (all the rest;) for *mens principis*, you say (the head;) for *victa non fuerit*, you say (were inuincible;) that is, at no time after able to be conquered. These be your forgeries, they be not Leoes words. He speaketh somewhat partially for Peter, but nothing hurtfull vnto vs. That Peter was the chiefe of the apostles in order, in age, in zeale, in courage, and such like vertues and dignities, and that the rest are weakened when the chiefe is conquered, which is all that Leo saith, we can admit.

Leo sermo. 3. in anniuersario die assumptionis ad pontificatum.

Leo corrupted by the Rhemists.

Chrysost. In Mat. hom. 83.

But yet Saint Chrysostom, by your leaue giueth a truer cause why Christ did mention Peter and not the rest. If (Satan) desired (to sift) them all, why did not (Christ) pray for all? It is euident, as I said before, that to touch him the more deepely and to shew his fall to be farre more grieuous than any of the rest, Christ turneth his speech to him in particular. And so he said before, I praied for thee (particularly) that thy faith should not faile. This (Christ) spake to touch (Peter) the more vehemently, signifying that his fall woulde be muche fowler than the fall of his fellowes, and therefore that he needed the more helpe.

Why Christ praied for Peter by name.

Ibidem paulo ante.

Saint Augustine maketh it a plaine case, that in praying for Peter he praied for all. *Quid ambigitur? Pro Petro rogabat, & pro Iacobo & Iohanne non rogabat, vt cæteros taceam? Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, quia & in alio loco dicit, Ego pro his rogo quos mihi dedisti pater.* Why doubt we of it? Did he praie for Peter, and did he not praie for Iames and Iohn, to saie nothing of the rest? It is manifest that in Peter all are conteined, because in an other place he saieth: I praie for them whom thou hast geuen me, O father. The words *Pro Iacobo & Iohanne non rogabat*, must be interrogatiue, vnlesse you will haue S. Augustine

Christ praied for all.

August. quæst. ex noue Testamẽto, quæst. 75.

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to contradict that which he goeth about to proue; though the print or the scribe haue made there two pointes, yet your own fellowes the Louanists in their late Plantine edition haue mended the points, and made them interrogatiue for very shame. But how so euer you set the pointes, certaine it is the Lord prayed ioyntly for them all, and that at this very supper as the 17. of S. Iohn witnesseth, and in as ample maner for all as for one. I pray for them, I pray not for the world. Holy father preserue them in thy name whom thou hast giuen me; keepe them from euil and sanctifie them in thy truth. Iohn.17.

It is a greater grace to be kept from euill and to be sanctified in the truth, which Christ requested for all, than to haue their faith not faile and to be conuerted, which he promised vnto Peter. You do therefore very wickedly to teach the people that *None other apostle might chalenge any such speciall prerogatiue either of his office or person*, as to be stedfast in truth without error. The prayer was generall for them all by the iudgement of Saint Augustine, and were it not, the prayer which our sauiour made for them all, and the promise which he made vnto them all euen the same night that he spake this, are more effectuall than this. The prayer you haue heard: the promise is, If I depart not, the comforter shall not come vnto you: but if I depart, I will send him vnto you. And when that spirit of truth commeth, he shall leade you into all truth. To be led into all truth is a better assurance against error, than to fall first and after to be conuerted, which is all that is promised vnto Peter in this place. The Rhemish Testament vpon the 22. of Luke. Iohn.16. Christs promise to all his apostles. The Rhemish Testament in the 22. of Luke.

Phil. *Saint* Augustine *also: Christ praying for* Peter, *prayed for the rest, because in the pastor and prelat the people is corrected or commended. Saint* Ambrose *writeth that Peter after his tentation was made pastor of the Church because it was said to him, then being conuerted confirme thy brethren.* Theop. You might haue spared these authorities, but that you must needes haue the fathers name in your mouths, though they make nothing for you. The words of S. Augustine, which you cite, are not found in the olde prints nor in their copies, but crept into some written bookes by the negligence and vnfaithfulnes of scribes; and yet were they S. Augustines, I see not what you gaine by them. Peter is there called *Lib. 9. noui Testa. quæst. 75. tomo 4.* The words are inclosed with two lines in Erasmus edition, & not found in the olde prints.

Præpositus,

Præpositus & Prælatus common names to all bishops.

Præpositus, that is, preferred before the rest, as also *Prælatus* doth signifie, both which words in the fathers be commonly applied to all bishops, and import no singular prerogatiue that Peter should claime, but the common charge which all pastours haue. And though the words which you quote be neither many nor materiall, yet you mistake them. For you say *the people is corrected or commended*, where the latine is *Semper in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur*, the people is alwayes reproued or praised in their (leader or) prelate.

Ambros. in Psal. 43. S. Ambrose saith no more but that, *Petrus Ecclesiæ præponitur, postquam à Diabolo tentatus est*, Peter receiueth charge of the Church, after he was tempted of the diuell. And by these words, thou being conuerted confirme thy brethren, *Ibidem.* he saith, The Lord doth signifie what it meaneth that he did after choose him to be sheepeheard of the Lordes flocke: to wit, that he and all other shæpeheards by his example, should learne to beare with their weake brethren, and vse that kindenesse and patience in restoring and confirming others, which their Lord and master first shewed in suffering and conuerting them. And this Saint Ambrose did well to make the chiefest point of a christian shæpeheard.

Phil. But S. Ambrose saith in the singular number, *Petrus ecclesiæ præponitur*: and *eum elegit Pastorem Dominici gregis.* Peter is set ouer the Church, and Christ chose him to be pastor of his flocke. Theop. Sure you be singular men to quote such places and make such conclusions. Peter was set ouer the Church, or made pastour of the Lords flocke, *ergo* none but Peter. Euen so you may reason: The gospell of the glorie of the blessed God is committed to me, 1. Tim. 1. saith Paul, *ergo* to none but to Paul. And againe, I am the 1. Tim. 2. teacher of the gentiles in faith and truth, *ergo* none but he. Or when he saith to the Phillippians, It is giuen vnto you, Philip. 1. not onely to beleeue in (Christ) but also to suffer for (Christ:) *ergo* it is giuen to none but to them. If you play thus with scriptures and fathers you may make mad worke in them both.

Ambros. de dig. Sacer. ca. 2. Phil. Peter was made pastour of the flocke. Theop. And so were others as you heard out of Ambrose before: The (Lords) flocke not only Peter receiued, but we all with him.

Phil.

Phil. He was set ouer the Church. Theop. And so are all pastors. Our Sautour saith of teachers in generall: Who then is a faithfull seruant and wise, whom his maister hath set ouer his household to giue them meate in season? S. Cyprian speaking of himselfe, saith, *Ob hoc ecclesiæ præpositum persequitur:* For this he pursueth the ruler or ouerseer of the Church. S. Augustine saith, *Præpositi intelligendi sunt per quos ecclesia nunc gubernatur.* They must be taken for ouerseers (of the Church) by whom the Church is now gouerned. And againe, *Sunt quidam ecclesiæ præpositi, de quibus Paulus dicit, sua quærentes,* There are some ouerseers of the Church, of whom Paul saith, they seeke their owne. So that *Præpositus* and *Pastor Ecclesiæ* be not titles proper to Peter, but stiles common to all bishops, and therefore by them you can infer nothing.

Matth. 24.

Lib. 1. epist. 3.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei li. 20. ca. 9.

Idem in Iohan. tract. 46.

But where all this while are your proofes, that Peter could not erre, which is the frame that you would fasten on these words? Why proue you things superfluous, and skip that which is most in question betwixt vs? What father euer said that these words of our sauiour made Peter free from falling or erring? From desperation and irrepentance, the Lords praier saued him, & recouered him when he was ready to perish: from falling or erring he was defended no more than the rest, nay not so much. They fled and forsoke their maister, he presuming farther, sped worse, as the Lord foretold him, and the Gospell reporteth of him. And were that proued, which you neither offer nor are able to proue, yet doth it not belong to ꝑ bishop of Rome, which is it ꝑ we stick at. For touching Peters person and office we can soone be intreated to think and speake the best. And though we do not say as you do, that truth was tied to his sæue only: yet are we of opinion, that he and his fellow disciples were guided into all truth as by whom the Church was first to be planted, and from whom the faithful were to receiue the word of truth and the foundation of their faith. And therefore we nothing doubt but as ꝑ writings of Peter, Paul, Iames, Iohn, Iude & Matthew, be canonicall scriptures, so the preaching not of Peter only but of all the rest after they were indued with the power of the holie Ghost from aboue, was assured truth and void of all error: the same spirit ruling their

This is the Rhemists common vse in their Testament to thwack in a number of fathers names to no purpose.

We confesse the preachings and writings of Peter and all the rest after the receiuing of the holie Ghost, were free from error: will they claime that for the pope?

tongs that guided their pens: but this priuiledge to teach and write truth without error, was annexed to Peters person, not conueied along to his successors no more than their writings are canonicall because his were.

The Rhemish Test. 22. Lucæ.

Phil. *This was not the priuiledge of S. Peters person but of his office, that he should not faile in faith.* Theo. If you ment that other apostles which were of the same office with him, were to haue the same priuiledge as well as he, you said right: for the Churches of Christ in all places where Peter neuer preached, needed the same assurance of faith and the same direction vnto truth, that the Churches did which were planted by Peter: but you will haue this priuiledge remaine to some successor after Peters death, and for that you shew vs no authoritie besides your owne, which God knoweth is very simple.

The Rhemish Test. 22. Lucæ. A noble lie of the Rhemists, forced on all the fathers with one breath.

Phil. *All the fathers apply this priuiledge of not failing in faith to the Romane Church, and Peters successors in the same.* Theop. You belie all the fathers with one breath; & but that you haue a priuiledge to say what you list, in other men this were an arrogant and an impudent lie. What fathers, I pray you, applie this promise of not failing in faith to the Romane Church? You say all: for discharge of your credite, let vs heare some.

Epist. 190. They say all the fathers applied this to the pope, and produce none but poore Bernard.

Phil. S. *Barnard writing to pope Innocentius, saith, To what other see was it euer said, I haue praied for thee Peter that thy faith do not faile?* Theo. Could you find no father for the space of 1100. yeres that euer applied these words to the Church of Rome before Bernard? To be plaine with you masters, Bernard is too yong to cary the name of antiquitie, and too single to haue the credit of all the fathers: but with them that haue no mo, one must go for all. In deed all the fathers that euer applied this priuiledge to the Church of Rome are poore Bernard more than a 1000. yeres after Christ, in the midst of corruption: but in this case we require some grauer and elder father than Bernard.

Cyprian foulie wrested to make for the pope. The Rhemish Test. 22. Lucæ. *Cypr. epist.* 55.

Phil. *To the which* (saith S. Cyprian) *infidelitie or false faith cannot come.* Theop. *To which* what? *Church or successors?* Phil. Which you will. And where you require fathers that the Church of Rome cannot erre, Cyprians words be very plaine. *Post ista nauigare audent & ad Petri cathedram atq; ecclesiam principalem, vnde vnitas sacerdotalis exorta est a schismaticis*

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& profanis literas ferre nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum. After all this they dare saile and cary letters frō schismatikes and profane persons to the chaire of Peter and the principall Church, whence priestly vnitie had her beginning, and do not remember the Romanes to be those whose faith was praised by the apostles mouth, to whom infidelitie cannot come. Theoph. You do well to repeat the place at large, it will ease me of some paines. What conclude you of these words? Phil. That the bishop of Rome cannot erre. Theo. How fet you that about? Phil. To Peters chaire infidelitie cannot come. Theo. Those be not Cyprians words. Phil. To the Romans, he saith, infidelitie cannot come. Theo. He addeth somewhat more, whose faith was praised by the apostles mouth. Phil. All the better. For if S. Paul praised their faith, it was the truer. Theop. But whose faith did Paul praise? the bishops, or the peoples? Phil. Why aske you that? Theop. Because that directeth the sense of Cyprians words.

The Romans import the people, and not the pope.

Phil. Whose say you? Theoph. I aske you and you returne it to me: well then, let S. Paul speak for vs both.

I thanke my God, through Iesus Christ for you all, because your faith is renowmed throughout the whole world. You al, containeth as well the people that receiued the faith, as the preachers that taught it: and of the twaine rather the people than the preachers, because the preaching of the faith was as true else-where, as in Rome: but tither the zeale and deuotion of the people in receiuing the faith was greater at Rome than else-where as S. Hierom noteth, and that S. Paul commendeth; or else because their citie was imperiall, the fame of their receiuing the gospel was bruted farther abroad than of other smaller cities, and did incourage others to go forward with the more boldnes, for the which Paul thanketh God. Take which you will, the peoples faith is it that S. Paul praiseth, as his own words witnes, To you all that are at Rome: I thanke my God for you all, because your faith is made manifest to all the world. Now if Cyprian say that infidelitie can not come to the Romans whose faith was praised by the apostles mouth, then can none of the people of Rome erre, because the faith of them all was praised by the apostles mouth.

Rom. 1. Cypriā spake of all the Romans, & not of the bishop of Rome.

Rom. 1.

Phil. The Church of Rome can not erre, nor the people neither so long as they follow the faith of that Church. Theop. But if you build this on Cyprians words you must saie, that the Church of Rome can not erre so long as she followeth the people of Rome, for their faith was praised by the apostle. And therefore choose whether you will impart this priuiledge to euerie citizen and artisant in Rome, that they can not erre, as well as to the pope, that he can not erre; or else seeke for an other meaning of Cyprians saying. Phil. what other meaning should we seeke for? be not the words plaine enough?

The true meaning of Cyprian.

Theop. You neither translate them right, nor applie them right. For Cyprian doth not discourse in that epistle whether the Romanes them-selues may fall from the faith, but whether wicked persons reiected in other places from the communion should haue anie refuge or find anie fauor at Rome: and that he largely dissuadeth, bringing this amongst others for a reason, that where the apostle praised the people of Rome in his time for their zealous imbracing the faith of Christ; and incouraging others to do the like, it would now be a great shame, if wicked disturbers of the faith should be succored by them: which he thought good to expresse in these words, Neither do they remember the Romanes to be those whose faith was praised by the apostles mouth, to whom (wickednes or) vnfaithfulnesse may not haue accesse.

Cypr. lib. 1. ep. 3. May not, or ought not haue accesse.

Phil. But vpon you: what a gloze haue you brought vs heere? Theop. None but such as the whole epistle shall iustifie. Phil. You translate, *non possis* may not. Theop. A foule ouersight I assure you; as though the verie children in Grammar schooles did not learne that *posse* doth signifie to may or can, or your law it selfe did not allow vs that exposition when it saith, *Id dicimur posse quod de iure possumus*, we can do that which by right we can? And Cyprian himselfe did not vse the word in that sense when he said of a bishop, *Iudicari ab alio non possis, cum nec ipse possit alterum iudicare*, he may not be iudged of an other, since himselfe may not iudge an other? And euen in his epistle, *Neque potest illis esse frons ad nos accedendi.* They can not haue the face to come vnto vs.

What *non potest* doth signifie.

De regulis iuris 68. In glos. fa. In senten. Conc. Carth. senten. 1. Cypriani. *Lib. 1. epist. 3.*

Phil. You may thus shift out any thing. Theop. It is no shift

shift to tell you that *non potest* doth not euer signifie an absolute impossibilitie. Nothing is more vsuall neither in sacred nor prophane writers, no nor in common speech than that construction of the word which we bring you. *Non possum quin exclamem*: I can not but cry out, saith Cicero: and *facere non possum vt nihil ad te dem literarum*: I can not but write vnto you. Where is no simple necessitie in either, but an vrgent occasion onely. *De orat. ad Attic.*

The scriptures euery where vse the word in like sort. God saith, *Non potero celare Abraham quæ gesturus sum*. Can I hide from Abraham that which I am about to do? Iacobs sonnes answer Sichem and his father, *Non possumus facere quod petitis*: We may not do that which you requeste. Of Iosephs brethren, the text saith, *Nec poterant ei quicquam pacificè loqui*: they could not giue him a faire word. Iudas speaking of his brother Beniamin, *Non potest puer relinquere patrem suum*: and after, *Non possum redire ad patrem absente puero*: The lad can not leaue his father: I can not returne to my father without him. So Iephta said to his daughter: I haue opened my mouth to the Lord, *& aliud facere non potero*, & I can not otherwise do. When Asaell pursued Abner, and would not leaue him, Abner said, depart least I be driuen to kil thee, & then can not shew my face to Ioab thy brother. Adonias to Bethsaba the mother of Salomon, Speake I pray thee to king Salomon, *neque enim negare tibi quicquam potest*, for he can deny thee nothing. The man of Iudah said to the prophet that dwelt in Bethell, *Non possum reuerti*, I can not go backe with thee, though presently he did it. Gen. 18. Gen. 34. Gen. 37. Gen. 44. Iudic. 11. 2. Reg. 2. 3. Reg. 2. 3. Reg. 13.

Infinite are the places both of the old and new Testament, where the word is so vsed. In the gospell, he that was in his bed when his friend spake to him, said, *Non possum surgere*, I can not rise, and yet he did. The ghest that maried a wife, answered, * *Non possum venire*, I can not come, & yet he might. The maister said to his seruant, *Thou canst be steward no longer, when he ment he should not. The Iewes said of Christ: This * is an hard speech, who can indure it: which yet his apostles did. And Christ himselfe said to his kinsmen, *Non* * *potest mundus odisse vos*, The world can not hate you: meaning it hath no cause to hate you. *Non* * *potest oculus dicere manui*, The eie can not say to the hand, I haue no need of thee; So, Paul meaneth if the eye will say Luke 11. *Luke 14. *Luke 16. *Ioan. 6. *Ioan. 7. 1. Cor. 12.

truth. So himselfe saith, *Non* possumus aliquid aduersus veritatem, We can do nothing against the truth, that is, we may or will not: so said the sonne of God to the Church of Ephesus, *Scio* quia non potes sustinere malos: I know thou canst not abide them that are euill. A thousand like there are in euery part of the scripture, but these are enough to perswade any sober mind, that we bring no new nor strange interpretation of Cyprians words, but such as is familiar and frequent in the bookes of God, and mouthes of men.

*2. Cor. 13.

*Reuel. 2.

Phil. The words perhaps may be so taken if that were proued to be Cyprians meaning in this place. Theop. The words standing indifferent to both constructions, yours & ours; we shall quickly see which of them commeth nearest to Cyprians meaning. The sense which you make, besides that it is absurd in it selfe, it neither serueth the word nor matcheth the circumstances of this epistle, nor agreeth with ỹ maine iudgement of Cyprian in his other writings, & that which is most of all, it flatly dissenteth from S. Paul, who would neither warne the Romans to feare without cause, nor threaten them with things impossible. Phil. Proue this, and expound the place how you list.

Cyprians words haue no agreement with the Iesuits sense.

Theop. Both Cyprian and Paul name generally the Romanes, & not seuerally the bishop of Rome from the rest. Next, *habere accessum* noteth not any corruption springing, or not springing within themselues, but only resort of others vnto them. Thirdly, Cyprian complaineth that this was done, and toucheth the vnshamefastnesse of heretiks for doing it, which you would presse as impossible to be done. Fourthly, the thing which those perfidious persons sought at Rome, was not any mutation of the faith, but letters of fellowship and communion, which the bishops of Africa denied them for their sundry disorders. Last of all, repeating and commending the warines of the Romanes in shunning the poison of heretiks, he shutteth vp his letter with words very like the former, and declareth the true meaning of that he spake before.

Cyp. lib. 1. epist. 3. These be plainer words for the people than

Let our most beloued brethren hereafter stoutly decline and forbeare (all) speech and talke with such men. Though I know our brotherhood there (at Rome) garded with your foresight, and watchfull enough of themselues, *nec capi hæreticorum venenis posse nec decipi*, can neither be taken, nor deceiued

with

with the venemous deuises of heretiks. The right cause then why the Romanes in Cyprians time could not be caught with the baites of heretiks, was not Peters priuiledge, or impossibilitie to erre, as you fondly dreame, but the wisedome of Cornelius directing them, and the peoples care neither to speake nor eate with any such men: and this diligence remaining, it was not possible that the impietie or infidelitie of others should haue accesse vnto them. the former be for the pope.

Other opinion of the Romanes Cyprian neuer had, and as for the bishop of Rome, that he might and did erre, if the words of Cyprian to Pompeius against the letters of Stephanus bishop of Rome be not plaine enough in the iudgement of any reasonable mā, we yeeld you the whole. In reading the letters (of the bishop of Rome) you may more and more perceiue, saith Cyprian, his error, which defendeth the cause of heretiks against the Church of God. And so likewise he saith of Stephanus, *hæresin contra Ecclesiam vindicat*, he bolstereth heresie against the Church: *Sua prava & falsa defendit*, defendeth his euill and false assertion. I respect not which of the twaine had the better side, Stephanus or Cyprian, but onely whether Cyprian had that opinion of Stephanus and other bishops of Rome, that they could not erre; and if you haue but common sense you must say no. Which lesse did Cyprian euer meane to say that the people of Rome could not erre, which your selues dare not say, & yet you would wring it out of Cyprians words. But God be thanked, S. Paul hath preuented your wicked enterprise. Cyprian affirmeth of the bishop of Rome, that he did erre. *Cypr. ad Pom. contr. epi. Steph.* *Ibidem.*

Writing to the whole Church of Rome, and giuing them their due praise for their deuotion and zeale, and entering at last into the reiection of the Iewes for their vnbeliefe, he warneth expressly the Romanes in these words: Boast not thy selfe against the branches: and if thou boast thy selfe, thou bearest not the roote but the roote thee. Thou wilt say the branches are broken off, that I might be graft in. Well, through infidelitie they are broken off, and thou standest by faith: be not high minded but feare. For, if God spared not the naturall branches, (take heed) least he spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodnes and seueritie of God, toward them which haue fallen, seueritie; but towards thee, goodnes, if thou continue in his goodnes, otherwise thou S. Paul assureth the Romane church that it might erre. Rom. 11.

also shall be cut off.

Whether the apostle spake generally to the Gentiles, & inclusiuely to the Romanes, or namely to the Romanes, and proportionably to the rest, it is all one to vs: one of the twaine he must needs. Origen saith vpon these words of Paul, I say to you Gentiles: now he plainely turneth his speech to the Gentiles, but chiefly to those of the citie of Rome, that beleeued. S. Paul speaking to the Romanes, no man may except the Romanes; and they being included, his admonition to them, feare and beware least, was vtterly superfluous if there could be no danger in them of swarving from the faith; and the condition implied, otherwise (if thou continue not) and the commination annexed, thou also shalt be cut off: were both ridiculous and odious if it were not possible for them to fall or to be cut off. Fight not therefore against the holy ghost with broken reedes caught here and there out of the fathers works. Loke rather in time to this watchword which the apostle giueth you, feare and take heed, otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And marke his reason: if the naturall branches may be broken off, much more the wild which were planted but in their steds.

Origen. lib. 8. in cap. 11. ad Rom.

The apostle threatneth not things impossible.

Phi. If that had bene the apostles meaning, do you think the fathers would haue gainsaid it? Theop. I thinke they would not, & I see they do not: and that maketh me to interprete Cyprian in such sort as he may agree with himselfe, and not confront S. Paul. Phi. His words do surely leane on our side. Theop. They fit your humor, and in that respect you be eger on them: otherwise I haue cleared Cyprian both of that speech & of that intet. And were you not vnshamefast wranglers you would perceiue that the ordinary vse of the phrase both in diuine & humane writings doth acquite him of that opinion, which you inforce vpon him: but such is your profession, you must go on as you haue begun. Phil. If one alone had said it, we would not vrge it so often; but S. Hierom hath likewise testified the same. *Know you that the Romane faith commended by the apostles mouth wil receiue no such deceits, nor can be possibly changed, though an angel from heauen taught otherwise being fenced by S. Pauls authority, tom. 2. apol. aduers. Ruff. lib. 3. ca. 4.* Theop. If S. Hierom say the same that Cyprian did, he must be take & vnderstood as Cyprian

Hierom wrested by the Iesuits, as Cyprian was before. The Rhemish Testament vpon the 1. to the Romanes.

prian was; & so you ease me of that labor. Phil. He saith the same in effect, but his words are more forcible. Theoph. That is, your wilfulnes in peruerting and racking the words of S. Hierome is more sensible. For S. Hierome speaketh not one word of the persons, that they shall neuer fall from the faith, but auoucheth onely that the doctrine which was first preached at Rome, and then continued, was so exact and perfect that an angell from heauen might not be heard against it. And to this end he said, *Scito Romanam fidem, apostolica voce laudatam ista insimodi præstigias non recipere: etiamsi angelus de cœlo aliter annunciet quam semel prædicatum est Pauli authoritate munitam, non posse mutari.* Knowe you that the Romane faith commended by the apostles voice receiueth no such delusions, and that being armed with Paules authority it may not be changed, if an angell from heauen do preach otherwise, than once was preached. *Hieron. Apol. aduers. Ruff. 3.*

Phil. You run againe to your former interpretation: *Non posse mutari*, It may not be changed, in steede of it can not be changed. Theop. Use which you will, so you grant, which I fully proued before, that *Non posse* doth vsually signifie as well that which is vnlawfull, as that which is vnpossible. Phil. I know *Non possum*, is vsed diuersely, but how doth that answer S. Hierom? Theop. You take hold of a word in Hierom, which in all mens speech and writings hath diuerse and sundrie significations by your owne confession, and then you maruell why we do not receiue the vntrueste and vnlikelieste of them al for your pleasures without any farther proofe. *Non possum* doth import that which is either vnpossible, vnlawfull, inconuenient or any way impugnant to the full persuasion and determination of our minds, as the places before alleadged do manifestly declare, and in all those accidents, our common speech is and may be *Non possum*, I can not. You would now by a text of Hieroms, where he saith, *Romanam fidem non posse mutari, etiam si angelus de cœlo, &c.* The Romane faith may not, or can not be changed though an angell (came) from heauen, infer that the Romanes vntill the worlds end can not possibly choose but abide in the same faith which was first deliuered them; and that do what they will to the contrary, they must be preserued in Christs truth. This is we say a shamefull violence offered to Hieroms words against all learning,

The places of scripture before alleadged if you weigh them, proove all these significations.

learning, against his meaning, and against the spirite of God speaking in S. Paul.

First the words *non posse mutari*, receiue both constructions alike, that is either a chang of the faith can neuer happen in the Romanes, which is your sense, or else their faith cannot possibly be changed without incurring infidelitie, which is ours. For it ceaseth to be faith when once it is changed. Next, Saint Hierom speaketh not of the persons but of the thing: he doth not say the Romans cannot change their minds, but the faith which was deliuered them, in no wise may be changed. And why? Because it is the truth of God which neuer changeth. Again the authority of Paul writing to the Galathians which Hierom citeth, doth not warrant that the Romans shall not fal, but onely that the faith once preached may not be changed though an angel from heauen should attempt it, especially since the apostle commēded the doctrine which they reserued, to be the true christian faith. What reason then haue you besides your partiall affection to the sée of Rome, to drawe these wordes from their natiue sense, which is good and religious, to your priuate conceit, which sauoreth altogither of meere vanity & open flattery.

The true intent of Hieroms words.

Phil. What S. Hierom meant, God doth know, you do not. Theo. No more do you; but that he meant not this which you would father on him, we haue his own witnes which you must beleeue vnles you can shew better. Thus he complaineth of the Romans both priests and people in the epitaph of Marcella. *Hæretica in hijs prouincijs extorta tempestas, nauem plenam blasphemiarum Romano intulit portui, &c. & Romanæ fidei purissimū fontem cœno lutosa permiscuere vestigia. Tunc sancta Marcella postquam sensit fidem Apostolico ore laudatam in plerisq; violari, ita vt sacerdotes quoq; ac nonnullos Monachorum maximéque seculi homines in assensum sui traheret, ac simplicitati illuderet episcopi, publicè restitit.* An hereticall tempest rising in these countries (of the east) caried full saile into the hauen of Rome, &c. and vncleane feete did trouble with mud the most pure fountaine of the Romane faith. Then holie Marcella, when she saw the faith praised by the apostles mouth violated in most things, so that (this heresie) drew the priests and some monks, and especially laymen into the consent of it selfe, and deluded the simplicitie of the bishop

Hier. ad Principiam Marc. Epitap. tom. 1.

(of

(of Rome) she began to resist openly. Note sir that came to passe in Hieroms age and knowledge, which you would prooue by Hieroms words to be in al ages impossible. The fountaine of the Roman faith defiled with mud, the faith praised by the apostles violated in most things, the priests, the people drawne into the same consent, and the seelie bishop of Rome abused by them, and the first that openly resisted, a poore widow.

That came to passe in Hieroms time, which the Iesuits would proue to be impossible.

Go then and blaze to the world, as you haue done, in your magistrall annotations or rather deprauations of the new testament (which as you haue dressed it with your deuises, and glozes, is now nothing lesse than the testament of Christ) proclaime I say that infidelitie can not come to the Romans, nor their faith be possibly changed, and that vpon the credits of Cyprian & Hierom, when they themselues did see, and say the contrary.

The Rhemish Testament is an heape of fathers abused and wrested to depraue the text of the holie Ghost.

Phil. We take no such care for the people of Rome, whether they may stray from the faith or no: Peters successor is he that our eies are and ought to be rather bent on; and touching his holines, we be resolued that he cannot erre in faith. Theoph. His holines hath very good lucke then and better than all his neighbors besides: but how shall we know that he cannot erre? Your word is to weake to be taken for a matter of such weight: fathers you bring none, scriptures you haue none, which way will you make it appeere that his holines cannot be stained with error?

The Iesuits reasons to make the pope free from error.

Phil. *No maruell that our master would haue his vicars consistorie and seate infallible, seeing euen in the old law, the high priesthood and chaire of Moses wanted not great priuilege in this case, though nothing like the Churches and Peters prerogatiue.* Theop. But we maruel where you find that Christ would haue any vicar, or that his vicars seate is infallible, or that the bishop is that vicar which you speake of, and we most maruell that you auouch all this vpon your single report without script or scroll to confirme the same.

The Rhemish Test. 22. Luc.

The chaire of Moses had no such priuilege as you challenge. The people were to learne the law of God at the priests hands, and he that presumptuously despised the priest or magistrate giuing iudgement according to the tenor of Gods lawe, died the death. But this doth not

Moses chaire had no such priuilege that it could not erre. Deut. 17.

prooue

prooue that either the priest or the magistrate could not erre: or that the prophets did not iustly reprooue the priests when they sat to iudge according to the law, for their manifest contempts and breaches of the law. God by the mouth of Malachy both describeth what the priests should do, and declareth what the priests had done. The priests lips should preserue knowledge, and they should seeke the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hoasts. But ye are gone out of the way (O ye priests,) ye haue caused many to fall by the law: ye haue broken the couenant of Leui, saith the Lord of hoasts.

Malach.2.

Moses chaire did erre.

This proud priuiledge which you mention, was claimed by ỹ wicked priests in Ieremies time. Come, say they, let vs imagine some deuise against Ieremie: for the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsell from the wise, nor the word from the prophet. But God assureth them by his prophet for this their arrogant presumption, that the law should perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancient. What grosse idolatry Vriah the priest committed to please king Ahaz, the scripture will tell you. And were there no speciall examples, the serious inuectiues of the prophets against them & the whole land as well for false religion, as corrupt manners, are euident testimonies that priests frō the lowest to the highest might erre. Esay saith, The priest and the prophet haue erred, they haue gone away, they faile in vision, they stumble in iudgement. Our sauior charged his disciples, to beware of the doctrine of the Pharisies and Sadduces, which needed not vnlesse it were erronious. And thinke you these were no errors which the sonne of God reprooued in the Pharisies? You haue made the commandement of God of no authoritie by your tradition: and many such like things you do: teaching (for) doctrines the commandements of men. The Sadduces error denying both the resurrection of the body and immortality of the soule, is often mentioned in the scriptures, and openly refuted by our sauior. And yet the high priests were often Sadduces, and in the chiefe councels and consistories of Ierusalem, where the greatest causes of religion & matters of weight were determined, sat *halfe sadduces, halfe pharisies, and sometimes *onely sadduces which were plaine atheists and wicked heretiks.

Ieremi.18.

Ezech.7.
4.Kings.16.

Esay.28.
Would you haue clearer words that Moses chaire did erre?
Matth.16.
Matth.15.
Mark.7.

Matth.22.

*Act.23.
*Act.5.

Phil.

Phil. That ouerthroweth not Peters priuiledge. Theop. Much lesse doth it establish Peters priuilege, for the which cause you alledge it; but if Moses successor might erre, why not Peters? Phil. Our assertion is they can not erre: you say they can. Reason is that you proue your affirmatiue. Theop. The scripture proueth the generall, that God is true, and all men liars, you except the bishop of Rome as not subiect to error and ignorance: reason is you proue your exception and that strongly, least you be conuicted of insolent presumption to fasten the spirit of truth to the popes chaire, without great and good assurance from him that is the fountaine of truth, and the giuer of the holie ghost. Rom. 3. It is presumption against God to make any man free from error, without sufficient proofe

Phil. We hold by Christs promise. Theop. Shew that and you be discharged. Phil. Thy faith shall not faile. Theop. Proue that to be spoken to the bishop of Rome. Phil. It was spoken to Peter. Theop. But not to the pope. Phil. That which Peter had, his successor must haue. Theop. The charge which Christ gaue Peter to feed his sheepe is common to all pastors: but with the mercy which Christ shewed him in conuerting him and restoring him after his fall, what haue his successors to do? Christ promised Peter repentance: will you therefore infer that all popes haue the like promises? Or had they, as they haue not, doth this let but they may forsweare their master and lose their faith, as Peter did, notwithstanding this praier, and promise of Christ made vnto him? Phil. But they shall also repent as Peter did. Theop. If you could proue that promise to pertaine vnto them, as you can not, yet might their error be publike, and their conuersion secret as Peters was; and since they be subiect to Peters fall, namely to deny both their faith and their maister, though they were promised repentance with him, as they be not; yet how can you know what things proceeded from the popes mouth erring, and which from the popes hart repenting? which vnlesse you do, you may erre with him, to your eternall confusion, and not repent with him, for that you haue not the like promise. Christs promise to Peter pertaineth not to the pope: and if it did, it maketh him not free from error.

Phil. I will be with you to the worlds end saith Christ, and he forsaketh those that erre. So that if the Church should erre, this promise of his were not kept, which God forbid. Matth. 28.

Christ is with euery of the faithfull to the worlds end, and yet the faithfull may erre.

forbid. Theop. You shew the goodnes of your cause, when you reele thus from the pope to the Church, and from the Church to the pope, & yet finde nothing to sit you. Christ is with euery one of his, and not onely with the pope, as you would haue the place to sound; and yet I thinke you will not affirme that no Christian can erre. Many good men haue erred, euen in matters of faith, and yet not vene forsaken of Christ. The longer you reason, the farther you be from prouing that the pope can not erre. For this promise concerneth him no more than it doth any other Christian, and perhaps not so much; or if it did, yet doth it not free him from error.

They euer dreame and neuer proue that the pope is head of the church.

Phil. The promise which is generall to euery member of the Church, concerneth him chiefly that is head of the Church. Theop. Keepe this head of yours till the bodie need it; the Church of Christ hath a surer and better head than the pope, or else it were ill with her. Phil. *Christ we know is the head of his Church and the onely head in such soueraigne and principall maner, as no earthly man is or can be, yet the pope may be the ministeriall head.*

Ephes. 3.

Theo. When you proue it, then say it; in the meane while abuse not the word of God to serue your follies. Christ dwelleth in the harts (of all that be his) by faith; with them he remaineth vntill the worlds end. What is this to the pope, or how doth this fense him from error? Phil. If he be Christs he cannot erre. Theo. This text doth not proue him to be one of Christs: but if he be, then Christ is with him as he is with all other his members. Phil. And they cannot erre with whom Christ is. Theop. Be these your demonstrations that the pope cannot erre, to shew for him no better, nor other priuilege, than that which is common to him with women and children, if they be members of Christ? And were he a member of Christ, which as yet for ought that I see you can hardly proue, he might be deceiued in some cases of religion, as well as Lactantius, Irenæus, Cyprian and others, men of great learning and good account in the Church of God.

The elect may erre, but not perish in their error.

Phil. Our sauior saith it is not possible that the elect should be seduced. Theoph. Not possible they should be seduced to fall from GOD as the wicked are? Yet as they may sinne but not vnto death, euen so may they

erre

erre but not vnto destruction. Their error shall either be not finall, or not mortall. Phil. May they that erre be saued? Theop. If they hold fast the foundation which is Christ, and erre not of wilfull obstinacie, but of humane frailtie, why may they not be saued? Saint Cyprian said of those that were before him: If any of our predecessors either ignorantly or simply did not obserue and keepe that which the Lord by his example and authoritie willed, his simplicitie may be pardoned by the goodnesse of God. And Saint Augustine said of him, when an error of his was alleadged by the Donatistes for their defence: Cyprian either was not at all of this opinion, or he after corrected it by the rule of truth, or this blemish in his most beautifull brest, he couered with the teates of charity. And farther alleadgeth and alloweth this saying of Cyprians: *Ignoscei potest simpliciter erranti*, he that erreth of simplicity may be pardoned.

Cypr. li. 2. ep. 3.

Aug. epist. 48

De Baptis. lib. 4. cap. 5.

Of himselfe and all others S. Augustine saith: *Homines sumus vnde aliquid aliter sapere quàm se res habet, humana tentatio est. In nullo autem aliter sapere quam se res habet, angelica perfectio est.* We are men, and therefore to thinke otherwise than the truth is, is (humane infirmitie or) a tentation common to man. To be deceiued in nothing is angelicall perfection. And therefore writing to S. Hierom, and of S. Hierom, he saith: *Prorsus non te arbitror sic legi libros tuos velle tanquam Prophetarum aut Apostolorum, de quorum scriptis quòd omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium. Absit hoc à pia humilitate & veraci de temet ipso cogitatione.* I am fully of opinion that you would not haue your books to be read in such sort as we do the prophetes and apostles, of whose writings to doubt whether they be free from all error is wickednesse. Be this far from godly humilitie and the true perswasion of your selfe. So that set the apostles aside and their writinges, no man ought to thinke of himselfe that he can not erre, neither can you haue that opinion of any man without a proude and false perswasion aboue mans state and against Gods truth.

Aug. de Bapt. lib. 2. cap 5. All men may erre.

Aug. epist. 19.

It is vngodly pride to thinke any man free from error.

Philand. What shall we then saie to the promise which our Lord made to his? When he, the spirite of truth commeth, he shall teach you all truth. Theophilus. If it be referred to the Apostles then present with him, as

Iohn. 16.

Ibidem. The apostles were guided by a speciall gift of Gods spirit, that in preaching and writing they should not erre.

as the words next before doe specifie, I haue yet many things to say vnto you but you can not beare them nowe; we grant those witnesses chosen by Christ to teach all nations, were to be furnished with all truth and to be established in the same; but if it be extended to all the faithfull, they also shall be ledd into all truth needfull and requisite to saluation, I meane the substantiall grounds of faith, though in some questions of religion happilie they shall not all be like minded. Phil. And what for the Church, shall she haue no part in this promise? Theoph. If the faithfull haue, the Church, which is the number and collection of the faithfull, must needes haue: but that the greater part of those which professe christianitie or some speciall places or persons must for euer be directed vnto all truth and preserued from all error, this can not be concluded by these words.

The Rhemish' Test. 16. Iohn. Phil. *To teach all truth and preserue in truth and from error, the holy Ghost is promised and performed onely to the Church, and the chiefe gouernor and generall councels thereof.* Theop. In deede you take vpon you like gouernors to appoint what the sonne of God shall meane and who must haue the holy ghost, as if the matter were in your hands and not in his. Phil. Do we take vpon vs to limit the holy Ghost? Theo. What else do you when of your own heades you restraine the words of our sauior as you list? Phil. As we list? Theop. Our sauiours words are, When that spirite of truth commeth he shall teach you all truth. This say you *is promised and performed onely to the Church, and the chiefe gouernor* (the pope) *and generall councels thereof.* As if You in S. Iohns gospell did signifie none but the pope, the chiefe gouernor, and such bishops as the pope will admit to his conferences, which you call the generall councels of the Church; & what is this else but to diuide the holy Ghost as you thinke good?

How handsomely the Iesuits play with scriptures. Iohn. 16.

Phil. The rulers of the Church must needes haue the holy Ghost. Theop. Meane you all or some? Phil. The most part of them. Theop. How proue you that to be Christs meaning, that the most part of them which can procure themselues miters, or rather catch vp bishoprickes shal be sure of the holy Ghost in such measure that they shall neuer mistake the faith, nor any part thereof.

A miter is no buckler against error.

Phil.

Phil. If they should erre, the Church should erre. Theoph. You runne from bad to worse. Your owne law will shew you the falsenes and peruersenes of your Rhemish obseruations and expositions: *Quæro de qua ecclesia intelligas quod hic dicitur quod non possit errare. Si de ipso papa, certum est quod papa errare potest. Respondeo, Ipsa congregatio fidelium hic dicitur ecclesia, & talis ecclesia non potest non esse.* I demand of what Church it is meant when it is said, as here, that the Church can not erre. If of the pope himselfe, it is certaine that the pope may erre. I answer the congregation of the faithfull is here called the Church, and that Church can not choose but continue. The spirit of truth is not promised to the pope, nor to his councels, but to the faithfull whether they be secured or assembled, and they shall not erre, that is, they shall not perish in error as the wicked do; but shall either be recouered from their error, or find mercy for their ignorance. *Caus. 24. quæst. 1. § A recta in gloss. ¶ Nocitatibus.* What church can not erre.

Phil. May the whole Church erre? Theop. If we should grant you that the whole Church can not erre, to wit that all the faithfull on the earth at one time can not be deceiued in any necessary point of faith, but that Christ for his promise sake will preserue truth amongst them, what is this to the pope, or his cardinals, or conuenticles, to whom you conuey the holy Ghost by inheritance? Phil. Neuer delude vs with iks, but tell vs whether you thinke the whole Church may erre or no. Theoph. In matters of faith we thinke it can not. Phil. If the Church can not erre, the gouernors of the Church can not. Theop. Leaue trifling and fall to reasoning. The whole Church can not erre; *Ergo* What? Phil. *Ergo* the pastors, & preachers can not erre. Theop. Conclude all or none? That the whole Church can not erre, is no helpe for the pope and his cardinals.

Phil. To say no pastor can erre, were apparent madnes. Theop. And the next which is, all pastors can not erre, doth you no pleasure. For the bishop of Rome may erre and so may the rest of his mitred and twyforked creatures; and yet many good pastors and preachers keepe fast to the faith. Howbeit this conclusion doth not follow vpon my confession. The whole Church

Councels & popes may erre though the whole Church do not erre.

(I grant) can not erre, that is, all and euery the faithfull can not erre, therefore all pastors can not erre, this is no kind of consequent. For some of the faithfull may be directed vnto truth, and they no pastors nor preachers; and many preachers may be preserued from error, and they no bishops; and many bishops may be kept in the faith, and they not assembled; & a great number of those that be assembled may be rightly affected, and yet not the most part of them; and the greater side may be well disposed, & yet not the bishop of Rome, whom you make to be the moderator & guider of all councels: and therefore your argument is very childish: the whole Church can not erre, *Ergo* generall councels can not erre, and specially the pope: Which latter part your best friends haue not only refuted as false, but also detested for incredible and shamefull flatterie.

Alfon. aduers. hæreses lib. 1. cap. 4. The wiser sort of papists condemne them for flatterers that say the pope can not erre.

Phil. So say you. Theop. So say they. Alfonsus that wrote bitterly against Luther, when he came to this point, dealt plainly in these words. *Non credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem papæ assentatorem, vt ei tribuere hoc velit vt nec errare possit:* I can not thinke any man to be so impudent a flatterer of the pope, as to attribute this vnto him, that he can not erre. Phil. Alfonsus hath no such words. Theophil. You say truth, Alfonsus hath no such words, but Alfonsus had those words in his former editions. And this commendeth your cunning that you can curtal the writings of your fellows and leaue out what you list when you new print them. Phil. It was his owne correcting in his second edition. Theop. Whether it was his doing or yours we care not: the words remaine in the old printes to the manifest condemnation of your folly and flattery in this behalfe: and in his new copies though he qualifie his termes, he holdeth flatly the same opinion. *Omnis homo errare potest in fide, etiam si papa sit.* Euery man may erre in faith, euen the pope himselfe. And so you heard your owne gloze before affirme, It is certaine, the pope may erre.

Sub prælo Ascensiano, anno Dom. 1534.

Alfons. lib. 1. cap. 4. caus. 24. quæst. 1. ¶ A recta. in gloss.

De electio. ¶ significasti i.

The same is confessed by the best of your side both canonists & diuines. Panormitan saith, *Concilium potest condemnare papam de hæresi, vt in cap. Si papa, distinct. 40. vbi dicitur quod*

quod papa potest esse hæreticus & de hæresi iudicari. A councell may condemne the pope of heresie, as appeareth in the 40. distinct. cap. *Si papa.* Where it is said that the pope may be an heretike, and iudged of heresie. Lyra saith,* *Multi summi pontifices inuenti sunt apostatasse à fide.* Many popes haue prooued apostataes. *Augustinus de Ancona:** *papa est deponendus pro hæresi : ad concilium spectat papam in hæresi deprehensum condenare, vel deponere.* The pope may be deposed for heresie: a councell may condemne or depose the pope deprehended in heresie. Antonius archbishop of Florence,* *Pro hæresi (papa) congruè ipso facto deponitur.* For heresie the pope is *ipso facto* deposed, and no inconuenience. ¶ And to that end he alleageth Petrus de Palude, saying,* *Papa quando labitur in hæresin tunc eo ipso est præcisus ab ecclesia, & desinit esse caput.* The pope when he falleth into an heresie, is presently cut off from the Church and ceaseth to be the head of it. So Gerson the chancellor of Paris :* *Tam papa quam episcopus deuiabiles à fide.* The pope may swarue from the faith as well as an other bishop.

* *Lyra in cap. 16. Matth.*
* *Aug. de Ancon. de potest. ecclesiast. quæst. 5.*
* *Anton. part. 3. tit. 22. cap. 4. ¶ 3.*
* *In lib. de potestat. papæ citatur ab Anton.*
* *Gerson in tract. An liceat in causa fidei à pontifice appellare.*

The generall councell of Basill saith, *Sæpe experti sumus & legimus papam errasse.* We haue often both found out by experience and read that the pope hath erred. And againe, *Cum certum sit papam errare posse.* Forsomuch as it is certaine the pope may erre. Æneas Syluius afterward Pius the second inueying against them that would not haue councels gathered without the popes consent, saith, What remedy shall there be if a sinnefull pope trouble the Church, if he destroy soules, if he peruert the people with his euill example? *Si denique contraria fidei prædicet, hæreticisq; dogmatibus imbuat subditos :* If he teach against the faith and infect those that be vnder him with heretical opinions.

Conc. Basil. epist. synodalis 3. de authoritate concil. supra papam.
Æn. Syl. de gestis concil. Basil. lib. 1.

Cardinall Caietan and pope Innocentius the fourth though they had good cause to fauor the see of Rome, yet were they clearely resolued, the pope might erre, and so were all the writers of your owne religion before this our age that euer I heard of, and euen at this day the sincerest of them dislike the vnshamefastnesse of your assertion. *Papa in fide errare potest, vt melius sentientes tenent, etiam ex hijs qui papatui plurimum fauent.*

Caiet. de authoritate papæ & concil. cap. 26. & 27.
Alfonsus lib. 1. cap. 2.

The second part. The Iesuits fellowes condemne them for flatterers.

Theosoph. lib. 4. cap. 32.

Inter quos est Innocentius eius nominis quartus pontifex in cap. 1. De summa trinitate. The pope may erre in faith as the truer opinion is euen of them that fauor the popedome verie much. Amongst whom is Innocentius the fourth of that name bishop of Rome, writing vpon the first chapter *De summa trinitate.* Arboreus a doctor of Paris and one of your chiefe Sorbonists: *Papa in fide errare potest. Et tota mihi aberrare via videtur qui aliter sentit. Assentantur sane Romano pontifici qui faciunt eum immunem à lapsu hæreseos & schismatis.* The pope may erre in faith. And he seemeth to me to be in foule error that thinketh otherwise. Surely they do but flatter the bishop of Rome, that maketh him free from falling into heresie and schisme.

Then surely masters you do but flatter when you make the pope free from error.

Erasmus annot. in 1. Cor. ex cap. 7.

Erasmus pithily impugneth your inconsiderate follie, If it be true which some say, that the bishop of Rome can neuer erre iudicially, what neede generall councels? Why are men skilled in the lawes and learned in diuinitie sent for to councels, if he pronouncing can not erre? To what purpose are so manie vniuersities troubled with handling questions of faith, when truth may be had from his mouth? Nay how commeth it to passe that the decrees of one pope are repugnant to the decrees of an other? This persuasion of yours must needes be naught which so manie of your owne side haue condemned before our daies, and the soberest of your selues that haue written since our time do vtterly disclaime. And therefore aduise you whether you will fairely resigne this fansie, or be conuinced by the verdict of your fellowes, for men-pleasers and flatterers. It is farre from a Catholike position which your owne Church in the midst of darkenesse would neuer acknowledge, and at this day none defend, but such hungrie ghests as you be, that gape for thanks, and seeke to please. Phil. You falsely charge vs with vnhonest respects. Theop. It is not my iudgement of you, but theirs that otherwise haue no cause to thinke euill of you.

And yet the Iesuits make it an high point of their faith.

Phil. The reason that moueth vs so to say is for that we finde no pope that euer erred, Theop. You refuse

councels,

councels, fathers, stories, and all that come in your waie, bicause you will not find it. Phil. We refuse not that is ancient or indifferent: but only such as we thinke partiall. Theop. Then if there be no cause why they should be partiall; you will admit them for credible. Phil. We will. Theop. We expect no more.

The Iesuits refuse councels and fathers, bicause they will not acknowledge the pope hath erred.

What say you then to Clemens the first of that name as you make your account, though we thinke it a leude forgerie in his name? Do not your owne decrees report out of his decretall epistles, that amongst christians all things ought to be common, euen wiues and all? *Communis vita omnibus fratres necessaria est: Communis enim vsus omnium, quæ sunt in hoc mundo omnibus esse hominibus debuit. In omnibus autem sunt sine dubio & coniuges.* A common life is necessarie for all men, brethren: the vse of all things that are in this world ought to be common to all men. And in all things no doubt are wiues contained. Phil. He meaneth not the carnall vse of women, but their domesticall seruice ought to be common. Theop. So your gloze would make vp the breach, but all in vaine. For Socrates in Platoes common wealth (whom your Clemens in this place citeth and calleth *Græcorum sapientissimum*, the wisest of the Græcians) rehearsing the prouerb which Clemens heere vseth, inferreth that the coniunction of men and women, and procreation of children ought to be common, which is a monstrous and heinous error. And were that excused, the rest is a shamefull absurditie that all other things ought of necessitie to be common amongst christians. For the scriptures do not exact that no man should possesse anie thing, but only that charitie should gladlie distribute and supplie the wants of such as need. Phil. Your selfe think this to be forged in Clements name. Theo. We do, but you do not, & therfore against you ꝑ instãce is good.

Caus. 12. quæst. 1. § lectissimus.

Plato dialo. 4. de repub.

That all things ought to be common among christians is a grosse error.

The next is Tertullians testimonie, who saith of the bishop of Rome that he agnised the prophesies of Montanus, and sent (letters of communion) and peace to the churches in Asia and Phrygia that were of that sect. Phil. But he reuoked those letters, and ceased from that purpose, as Tertullian also confesseth. Theoph. He reuoked

The bishop of Rome a Montanist.

them after they were sent, and ceased from that which he first acknowledged. *Episcopum Romanum tunc agnoscentem prophetias Montani, & ex ea cognitione pacem Ecclesijs Asiæ & Phrygiæ inferentem, falsa de ipsis prophetis adseuerando coëgit, & literas pacis reuocare iam emissas, & à proposito recipiendorum schismatum concessare :* (Praxeas the heretike) forced the bishop of Rome then agnising the propheſies of Montanus, and vpon good liking (of them) giuing peace to their Churches in Asia and Phrygia to reuoke his letters of communion when they were sent, and to cease from his purpose of embracing their doctrine.

Tertul. aduer. Praxeam.

Phil. Tertullian was of that sect him-selfe, and therefore no indifferent witnes. Theop. Indifferent inough to report the fact, though not to iudge of the cause: and we bring Tertullian not to commend Montanus error, but to shew what the bishop of Rome did. Phil. He began to like them, but it toke not effect. Theop. He wrate letters of peace to the Montanists, and sent them awaie, which is enough to conuince that he erred, though he after relented from his former enterprise.

The bishop of Rome an idolater. *Marcellini Papæ condemnatio tomo concil. 1.*

How Marcellinus bishop of Rome sacrificed vnto idols and denied it when it was obiected to him, and was after reproued by sufficient witnes, and condemned for it, the synod extant in your first booke of councels doth declare, and Damasus writing the liues of his predecessors, doth testifie the same. Phil. He fell in persecution, but he repented after and suffered for Christ, as Peter did.

Theop. And therefore the bishop of Rome may fall from the faith, for so did Peter and Marcellinus: but whether he shall be renewed by repentance as they were, that is neither knowne to you, nor beleeued of vs. Phil. We care not if they fall, so they rise againe. Theop. We proue they may fall: proue you they shall not those but rise againe.

The bishop of Rome an Arrian.

Phil. They haue all done so that are yet mentioned, and so did Liberius whom I know you will name next; although we may worthilie doubt, whether euer he fell or no. Theop. You and your fellowes make a doubt of

of it, but I see no reason why you should. For it is confirmed by manie sound and sufficient witnesses, who both for the time when, and place where they liued, did and might best know the truth of that matter.

Phil. Ruffinus doubteth of it, Theodoretus denieth it, and Socrates inclineth rather to vs, than otherwise.

Theop. Ruffinus saith, whether it were so or no, *pro certo compertum non habeo*, I know not for a certaintie. Socrates maketh neither with it, nor against it: but passeth it ouer with silence. And so doth Theodoret, only he saith the emperor at the supplication of the gentlewomen of Rome, *Flecti se passus, iussit optimum quidem Liberium de exilio reuocari.* Suffering him-selfe to be intreated, commanded the good bishop Liberius to be called from banishment. But this excludeth not his subscription before he receiued his place, which Sozomene writeth.

Ruffi. li. 1. ca. 27. Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37. Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 17.

The emperor at the intercession of the west bishops, recalleth Liberius from Berœa (whither he was banished) and assembling the bishops that were in his tents, compelleth him to confesse the sonne (of God) not to be of the same substance with his father. Basilius, Eustathius, and Eleusius induced Liberius to consent by this meanes that some vnder the colour of ὁμόιον, did labour secretlie to confirme heresie. When this was done, the emperor gaue him leaue to go to his bishopricke.

Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Phil. Will you beleeue Sozomene before the rest that report no such thing? Theop. Their silence doth not preiudice his storie. And yet Sozomene is not the first author of this report. Athanasius who liued in the same age with Liberius, and for whose cause Liberius was banished, and therefore would saie no more than truth by him, witnesseth no lesse, *Liberius post exactum in exilio biennium inflexus est, minisque mortis ad subscriptionem inductus est.* Liberius after two yeeres spent in banishment inclined, and by feare of death was induced to subscribe. Damasus that was bishop of Rome, next after Liberius, and therefore could not be ignorant of the truth, and would not belie his owne see, saieth of him, *Ingressus Liberius in vrbem Romam quartas nonas Augusti consensit Constantio hæretico.*

Athanas. epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

Ex pontificali Damasi in vita Liberij.

Non tamen rebaptizatus est, sed consensum præbuit. Liberius entering the citie of Rome the fourth of the nones of August cõsented to Constantius the heretike. He was not rebaptized, but he gaue his cõsent. Hierom brought vp at Rome in the time of Liberius, & after so neere Damasus, that he was his right hand in answering all synodall consultations, and in that respect had often and easie accesse to the records and monuments of the Church of Rome, writeth of Fortunatianus bishop of Aquileia. *In hoc habetur detestabilis quod Liberium Romanæ vrbis Episcopum pro fide ad exilium pergentem primus solicitauit ac fregit, & ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit:* In this he is counted detestable, that he first attempted Liberius the bishop of Rome going into banishment for the faith, and preuailed with him, and gate him to subscribe to the (Arrian) heresie. In his addition to Eusebius chronicle he saith as much: *Liberius tædio victus exilij & in hæreticam prauitatem subscribens Romam quasi victor intrauerat.* Liberius weeried with his banishment, and subscribing to hereticall prauitie, had entered Rome as a conqueror.

Hieron. de eccles. script. in Fortunatiano.

The Iesuits neglect all this to saue the pope from error.

Hieron. ad chronicon Euseb. adiectio.

We aske not what authoritie you haue to counternaile these; We know you haue none: but what reason haue you to resist these? Phil. The rest agree not with them. Theop. Omission in one writer is no good argument against an other: four affirme it, and cuerie one of them elder and likelier to come by the truth than Theoderet: and yet Theodoret doth not gainesay, but only ouerskip the fact. If therefore to claw the bishop of Rome, you refuse the consent of Athanasius, Hierom, Damasus and Sozomene, you do but discouer your follie to the wiser sort, and hazard your credit with the simple: if you receiue their testimonie touching this fact, then is there no doubt, but the bishop of Rome subscribed vnto Arianisme: and whether he repented or no, we may worthilie doubt, since your owne stories auouch the contrarie.

Omission in one writer is no disproofe in an other.

Martin. Polon. in Liberio. Vincentius speculhistor. lib. 15. cap. 11. and 12.

Phil. Which of our stories? Theoph. Martinus Polonus, Vincentius and others. Martinus saith, Constantius recalled Liberius from banishment, because he had agreed to him and to the Arians, and placed him againe

in

in his seate, and so vnhappie Liberius held the Church of Peter six yeeres by violence: then was the persecution great in the citie, in so much that the clergie-men which were against Liberius, were martyred: then also Eusebius a priest suffered death, for declaring Liberius to be an heretike. And Damasus when he came to the bishop of Rome next after Liberius, with open voice condemned Liberius and all his acts. Phil. I beleeue neither Vincentius nor Martinus in this case. Theop. Your not beleeuing them sheweth your selfe to be partiall, not their report to be false. Phil. Liberius surely continued not an Arrian. Theop. That he subscribed to the Arrians we proue: that he recanted his subscription you can not proue. Phil. No doubt he did it, though it be not written. Theop. So you presume, though you want all proofe for it.

Idem in Damaso. Beleue none but your self, and then you may be sure the pope shal not erre.

Phil. Neuer bishop of Rome died an heretike. Theo. What did Honorius, whom the first generall councell condemned, and accursed after his death for heresie? Phil. That councell is shamefully corrupted by the Grecians. Theop. If the Grecians copies did differ from yours, you had some reason to charge them with corruption: but since your copies confesse the same, how could the Grecians inuade your libraries without your knowledge, & raze the records that lay at Rome in your owne keeping, and the thing not spied? Phil. A name is soone thrust in. Theop. But whole sentences and whole leaues can not be thrust in, without stealing away the original, and laying a counterfeit in place therof, which was easie to be discerned. Honorius cause is mentioned & discussed in 26. seuerall places of that councell, and two of his epistles repeated at large, one of *9. score and 12. lines, the other of * three score and sixteene lines, which argue the whole councell to be forged, or those branches concerning Honorius to be as sincere as the rest.

Honorius died an heretike.

*6. Synod. actio. tit. 12. 13. 16. 17. 18.

*Actio. 12.

*Actio. 13.

Phil. One councell is soone corrupted. Theop. But may you reiect your owne records as forged, and bring neither reason, suspition, nor probabilitie, when, by whom or how this was or could be done? Giue vs leaue

leaue to do the like to the rest of your Romish records where good cause leadeth vs, and see what will become of your religion. Phil. In deed this one we thinke to be forged Theop. A generall councell repeating the matter which you sticke at more than twenty times, & lying safe in your owne custodie, you suspect to be forged, and vpon no ground but onely because it condemneth a bishop of Rome for an heretike, and yet you can not deny that, but you must deny more. Leo the second *accursed Honorius his predecessor for the same heresie. The second councell of Nice which you greatly reuerence, and call the seuenth generall councell, * confesseth Honorius was condemned in the 6 generall councell, and *themselues reiect him by name for an heretike, whereto the legats of Adrian then bishop of Rome, there present, consented and subscribed. Adrian the second in a councell at Rome, confessed that Honorius once bishop of Rome, was accused of heresie, and condemned after his death by the consent of the Romane see; and this his confession was read and allowed in the eight generall councell of Constantinople. If all these be forged, and that at Rome, where your selues were the keepers, how good cause haue we to suspect the rest of your euidence, which tend chiefly to vphold the popes pride, and to encrease his gaine, & agree neither with themselues, nor with the state of those times wherein they should be written, nor with the best and approued stories of the Church.

And for no cause but for that it condemneth the pope as an heretike.

*6. Synod. actio. 18. habet hæc epist. Leon. 2. ad Constant. Augustum.

* Nicen. Synod. 2. actio. 3.

* Nicæ. Synod. 2. actio. 7.

8 Synod. actio. 7.

If you would forge against your selues; how much more for your selues?

Phil. Since three generall councels recken Honorius as condemned of heresie, and specially the decretall of Leo the second, which the bishops of Rome would some haue disclaimed, if it had bene suspected, I dare not say that all these are forged, for feare least I ouerthow the credit of all Romane records: and therefore I thinke rather the councell that first condemned him, misstooke his meaning, or that the letters which they saw, were written in his name by some euill willers of his, both which cases are possible. Theop. You mend this gap, and make a bigger. You saue the Romane libraries from corrupt records, and vpbraid a generall councell with

with rash iudgement, and lacke of vnderstanding; for if they condemned Honorius not onely their brother, but also their better, as you take him, and the head of the Church for an heretike, and that after his death, and either conceiued not the sense of his words, or tooke not heede to the seale and subscription of his letters, that those were authentike, they deserued not to be counted Christians, much lesse to go for a lawfull and generall councell. And the bishops of Rome that came after & confirmed the same, when they might & should haue reproued the councell of indiscretion or malice, and defended the innocencie of Honorius, were not successors to him but conspirators against him: and so none of your shifts are either sound or likely.

Though Honorius were innocent, yet three generall councels confesse the pope might erre.

Howsoeuer you wrangle with the fact, yet this is euident and without contradiction, that three generall councels, ech after other, were of opinion the pope might liue and die an heretike, and Agatho, Leo, Adrian the first and second, all bishops of Rome confessed thus much by their decretals, and yeelded thereto by their subscriptions: which if you grant, condemne or acquite Honorius of heresie at your pleasures. We haue the full consent of the east and west Churches, that the bishop of Rome may erre, which you at this present so stiffly deny.

If one did erre, others may.

Phil. If one did erre, the number is not so great. Theop. If one did, others may, yet I haue named three that were condemned for heresie and apostasie, Marcellinus, Liberius, Honorius, and moe I might, that erred in like maner, as Vigilius, Anastasius, Celestinus, & others: but I see you are determined to beleeue none that make against you in this point: and therfore I were as good saue my labor as spend longer time with one that is past all sense. Phil. If you proue they erred, I will not defend them. Theop. But in reporting their sayings and doings, you giue credit to none, be they neuer so indifferent and ancient. Philand. We credit them, if a greater number of writers doe not contradict them. Theoph. If certaine late fauorers of the pope without truetly or shame, doe gaine-say the stories

What reason we should beleeue late papists spea-

that

king in fauor of the pope against the ancient stories.

that went before them, thinke you the partiall and corrupt writings of such men worthy to be taken against others that be both elder and sincerer?

How papists esteeme antiquitie and vniuersalitie when the pope is touched.

Phil. I euer go with antiquitie and vniuersalitie. Theop. But when you come to the push, you care neither for fathers nor councels prouinciall nor generall, if they crosse your affections, or touch the popes ambition. Three ancient writers liuing in the same time with Liberius, affirme that he subscribed to the Arrians, and Sozomene that wrote within forty yeres of the deed doing, saith no lesse: you beleeue neither them nor your owne stories, which with one consent followed that report, till some in our age, to make the popes tribunall infallible, began not onely to doubt, but also to deny Liberius fact. Two generall councels condemne Honorius for an heretike, and the third auoucheth him to haue been condemned not without the knowledge of his successors, the bishops of Rome that came after him. You regard neither popes nor synods, where they say that Honorius erred; in other things where you thinke they make with you, they shall be sacred and ancient fathers and councels, as though you were not bound to yeeld vnto truth, but that onely were truth which liked you.

Phil. Liberius was forced, and Honorius deceiued with a likelihood of truth; this is all you can get of these sacred and ancient fathers and councels. Theop. We need no more. No man falleth from the faith, but he is either forced or deceiued; and yet this we get besides, which we most esteeme, that these fathers and councels were of opinion, and saw by experience the bishop of Rome did and might erre: yeeld to this, and we remit you the rest. Phil. Not till I see what else you will bring. You talke of Vigilius and Anastasius, but I thinke more than you can proue.

Vigilius an heretike.

Theop. Of Vigilius, that he secretly fauored such as were condemned heretiks, and refused the faith established in the great councell of Chalcedon, Liberatus who liued in the same time with him, beareth manifest record. *Vigilius implens promissionem suam quam Augustæ fecerat,*

Liberati breuiarium, ca. 22

talem

talem scripsit epistolam, &c. Eam fidem quam teneris, & tenuisse & tenere significo. Oportet vt hæc quæ scribo vobis nullus agnoscat, sed magis tanquam suspectum hic me ante alios sapientia vestra existimet habere, quo facilius possum hæc, quæ capi, operari & perficere. Hæc Vigilius scribens ad hæreticos occultè permansit sedens. Vigilius fulfilling his promise which he had made to the empresse (which was to write to Seuerus and Anthemius, and by his letters to confirme their faith) wrate this epistle, &c. I signifie to you that I haue held, and do hold the very same faith which you also do hold. No man must know that I write these things vnto you, but your wisedome must thinke it best, to haue me in suspition before all others, that I may with more ease worke and bring that to passe which I haue begunne. This Vigilius wrate priuily to heretiks, and continued bishop (of Rome.

Phil. The pontificall saith that he promised so to do: but after when it was exacted at his hands, he answered: *Absit hoc à me domina Augusta. Prius locutus sum male & incipienter, modò autem nullo modo tibi consentio vt reuocem hominem hæreticum & anathematizatum.* Be this farre from me ladie and empresse. I spake at first not well and like a foole. I can now by no meanes consent to restore a man that is an heretike and condemned. Theoph. Your pontificall in this place would faine couer Vigilius lewdnesse with some remorse of conscience. He falsely accused Syluerius his predecessor, and not onely thrust him from his seat but also famished him in exile. He promised the Empresse to restore Anthemius and others that were condemned and deposed, and gaue it vnder his hand. He slue his notarie and likewise his nephew. The people cast stones at him and cursed him when he was sent for to the emperor. All this your pontificall confesseth of him. Now to leaue some good thing in him it maketh him repent the wicked promise which he gaue the empresse for ioining with those heretikes, but Liberatus denieth that, and so doth Syluerius his predecessor in his decretal epistle or rather excommunication against him, where he chargeth him not only with murder, ambition, and symonie, but also with heresie. *Nouum scelus erroris in*

Ex libro pontificali in vita Vigilij.

Vigilius a lewd pope.

Epist. Syluerij papæ ad vigil. tomo concil. 2.

in apostolica sede rursus niteris inducere. Thou laborest to bring into the apostolike see a new wickednes of error. Whether now thinke you reason we beleeue your pontifical, a collection of popes liues we know not by whō, or Liberatus a writer of that time, alleadging his owne epistle, or his predecessor Syluerius affirming the same?

Pontificale in vita Vigilij. Vigilius drawne by the necke round about Constantinople.

Phil. It seemeth by his punishment that he neuer consented to accomplish the emperors desire. For the prince very cruelly caused him to be drawne by the necke round about the citie of Constantinople, and cast into prison, where he was fed with bread and water. Theop. He wel deserued that, and more: and it may be the empresse when she saw he would not stand to his word, did helpe forward the matter, and assisted the Romans in their complaint to the emperor against him, and by that meanes he came to suffer his deserts; but this is no reason to refell that which Liberatus and Syluerius report of him. Phil. His heresie was not open but secret, and therefore it hurt himselfe and not others. Theoph. He concealed his heresie till he saw opportunitie. This doth not diminish but rather aggrauate his error. For our question is not whether the pope may infect others, but whether he himselfe may erre in faith; so did Vigilius, though for feare to loose his popedome he dissembled a season that he might do the more mischiefe.

Distinct. 19. § Anastasius.

And so did Anastasius the second, whom many of the clergie forsoke, because he did communicate with heretiks, and went about priuilie to restore Acatius alreadie condemned by some of his predecessors for heresie. Phil. This was a fault, but no error. Theop. He that ioineth with an heretike, as if he were a catholike, doth he not account heresie for truth? And call you that no error? Your owne glose giuing the cause why his clergie might forsake him, saith, *Inciderat in hæresim iam damnatam*, he was fallen into an heresie alreadie condemned. Phil. The booke saith, *Voluit, & non potuit*, he would haue done it, but he could not. For he was stroken by the hand of God as Arius was, and so neuer brought it to passe. Theoph. Then may the bishop of Rome

Ibidem glossa ¶ abegerunt.

Dist. 19. § Anastasius.

Ibidem glossa ¶ diuino.

die

die an heretike as Arius did, and the likenesse of their plagues noteth the lothsomnes of both their errors.

Phil. But the see of Rome did not erre all this while.

Theop. That is most true. The see neuer erreth, it is made of tymber or mettall, which is voide of sence and free from error: but the men haue erred that were the lawfull occupiers of that see. Phi. You iest at our speech, but you shall find it true, that the see of Rome neuer erred. Theop. I may iest at it well enough, except you giue vs some better vnderstanding what you meane by the see of Rome. Phil. I meane the pope neuer erred. Theop. Of whom spake we all this while but of the men that were popes? And they haue erred, as I haue shewed. Phil. They did erre but not as popes. Theop. No more doth any Christian man or woman. They erre not as Christians, but as they forsake the faith, and in that point are not Christians, or at least shrinke from the christian faith so far forth as they be entangled with error. These be childish topes, you were best take surer handfast, you may chaunce else to mar all.

The see was not free from error, when the men did erre, that sate in the see.

Phil. Let me first heare what you can say, and I will answere it all with a word. Theop. That were quick worke, but I reade it your best way first to disburden your selfe of these examples, and after you shall sooner passe through the rest.

Phil. Liberius *in persecution might yeeld*; Marcellinus *for feare might commit idolatrie*; Honorius *might fall to heresie, and more than all this, some* Iudas *might creepe into the office, and yet all this without preiudice of the office and seate.* Theop. Very well. If they might fall to heresie and idolatrie, *ergo* others may do the like. Phil. They may, but *without preiudice to the office and seate.* Theop. Who doubteth that? The office and scepter of Princes is not the worse though some be tyrants: the art and vse of physike is not dispraised though some do kill and not recouer their patients: the vices and ouersights of men are incident to all degrees, states and professions, and yet no man so mad to mislike the on for the other. Why then should the lose life or false doctrine of some bishops preiudice others either in the same office with them,

The Rhemish Testament 22. Luke.

The office is not the worse though the man be naught.

them, or in the same place before and after them, since the things be necessall, though the men be sinful: The chaire is not the worse though the bishop may erre: but you stand in contention with vs that the bishop of Rome can not erre: and now you say he may erre *without preiudice to his office and seate*: Which we grant. For his charge to teach, and power to bind common to him with all bishops, is not abolished nor abated, though some did or hereafter should abuse it.

He that may erre cannot be supreme iudge ouer the whole Church.

In the meane time this shaketh the popes tribunall which you giue him ouer the whole Church. For if he may erre in faith, which you confesse, then can he not be supreme iudge of all others in matters of faith: lest the whole Church should be bound to forsake her faith, which she may not, vpon one erronious iudgement of his, which is possible, and easie to happen.

The Rhemish Testament vpon the 22. of S. Luke.

Phil. Not possible. *Popes may erre personally but not iudicially*, that is, *they may erre in person, vnderstanding, priuate doctrine or writings, but they neither can, nor euer shall iudicially conclude or giue definitiue sentence for falshood or heresie against the catholike faith, in their consistories, courts, councels, decrees, deliberations, or consultations kept for decision and determination of such controuersies, douts or questions of faith as shall be proposed vnto them, because Christs prayer and promise protecteth them therein for confirmation of their brethren.* Theop. What prayer or promise of Christ is it that you speake of? Phil. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not. Theop. Are you in your fiue wittes to make such constructions of Christs words? Phil. Why so?

Theop. Where lyeth faith? in a mans hart, mouth or hands? Phil. What a wise question that is; aske it not for very shame. Theop. May answere it with shame enough. Or if you will not, S. Paul will: *Corde creditur*, we beleeue with the hart, saith he, and confesse with the mouth. So that if faith be not in our lippes, much lesse in our fingers. Phil. Who euer doubted of that? Theop. Then is there no doubt but your depraued *the prayer and promise of Christ* will soone be perceiued of all men. For if Christ prayed for Peter, and as you racke it for his successors, that their faith should not faile: *ergo*,

Rom. 10.

the

the true faith of Christ must alwaies be kept in their harts, though their mouths faile as Peters did when he denied his maister with his lips, whome in hart he knew to be the sonne of the liuing God. Now you turne it cleane contrary. You grant the popes hart may fall from faith to infidelitie and heresie, but his mouth you defend shall be kept from pronouncing it, as if Christ had praied not for Peters hart, where his faith remained, but for Peters mouth which failed thrise before the cocke crew, notwithstanding his masters praier and promise that very night.

Faith faileth where the hart erreth.

This is absurd enough, and yet the rest is more absurd, when you grant the pope may erre in person, that is, both with hart and mouth: but if he once get on his robes and ascend his tribunall, he can not erre. As if Christ had praied not for the men, but for the wals, neither for the persons, but for the places, which is direct against the words of our sauior. For he saith not, I haue praied for thy tribunals, courts, and consistories, that they shall not erre, but I haue praied for thee, noting his person, that thy faith, that is, the persuasion of thine hart beleeuing and trusting in me, shal not vtterly faile, but the sparkles of my grace remaining in thee shall renew thee by repentance. Christ praied for the person, and not for the place. How then can you say that the person may erre, but not the place?

The pope may erre with hart & mouth: but his court the Iesuits say can not erre.

Luke 22. *Orauí pro te,* what place doth *te* signifie?

Phil. The person shall be stroken with feare, as was Vigilius, or preuented by death, as was Anastasius, that he shall not be able to accomplish his wicked intent in open place. Theop. Call you that the praier of Christ for the popes faith, or the plague of God vpon him for his infidelitie? Phil. Call it what you will. God will not suffer him to giue definitiue sentence for heresie against the faith. Theop. Shew vs the warrant that God will not suffer it, and we are answered. Phil. The promise of our sauior that Peters faith should not faile. Theop. Then this you make to be the effect of Christs words, I haue praied for thee that thy faith shall not faile, that is, notwithstanding my praier for thee, thy successors may be heretiks, idolaters, apostataes, and

This is rather a plague vpon Peter and his successors, than a praier for them.

How the Iesuits conster Christs words.

runagates from me, but I will strike them with feare or peruert them with death, that they shall not in open court by definitiue sentence infect my Church. Are you not religious interpreters of the scriptures, when you delude them and interlace them with such commentaries?

The Rhemish Testament vpon the 22. of S. Luke.

Phil. *Caiphas by priuiledge of his office professied rights of Christ, though according to his owne knowledge and faith, he knew not Christ.* And why may not the pope haue the like priuiledge? Theop. Balaams asse reproued the madnes of his maister: why should not the popes asse haue the like priuiledge? Phil. You scoffe at our reasons, you refell them not.

Of a particular and extraordinary fact, no generall rule can be gathered.

Theop. They need no better refutation. For out of a particular fact, that is rare and vncertaine, you conclude a generall and constant rule. God vsed the mouth of Caiphas the high priest, without his meaning to declare the necessitie and vtilitie of Christs death. Hence you would inferre, that no high priest could erre in iudgement, and consequently not the pope, as being beliue successor to Caiphas, that put Christ to death. By the same cunning you may conclude, God vsed Balaams mouth against Balaams will, to bleſſe Israell, therefore no false prophet can haue a lying spirit in his mouth: or God stirred vp the spirit of Daniel, when he was a very child, to conuince the two iudges of their vnrighteous proceeding against Susanna; therefore children can not want the spirite of direction in iudgement: or Pilats wife perceiued by her dreames that Christ was innocent, therefore womens dreames are alwaies true. Phil. These illations be very foolish.

God ruled Caiphas mouth against his hart.

Theop. Yours is scant so good. For in your example, God ouer-ruled the high priests mouth in such sort that in giuing the Iewes wicked and hainous counsell to kill the sonne of God, his words receiued a double sense. One cruell and bloudie persuading them to murder the author of that new doctrine for feare least the Romanes should take it as an occasion to destroy the whole nation; which was Caiphas mind and purpose: the other confessing that his death should saue the peo-

ple

ple from destruction; which declareth the vertue and force of his passion. Which he neither ment, nor knew; but God so tempered his tong, that in uttering his furious malice against Christ, his words stood indifferent for both constructions.

Thus S. Cyrill largely sheweth, In the proposition of Caiphas there is contained a double sense, one which Caiphas himselfe ment, that it was expedient Christ should die by the hands of the Iewes, lest the whole nation should be destroied by the Romanes. This was a false and wicked meaning, comming from the leud intention of Caiphas. An other sense of the same proposition was intended by the holy Ghost, that it was needfull that onely Christ should die, for the saluation of the whole world. This Caiphas neither vnderstood nor ment, yet his words were such as might fitly serue this sense of the holy Ghost. For Caiphas himselfe as crueller, readier to wickednes, and bloodier than the rest, encourageth others staggering at it, by saying, you perceiue nothing, neither vnderstand you that it is expedient the life of one man should be neglected for the whole country.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 8. cap. 3.

Ibidem lib. 8. cap. 2.

Phil. He spake this by the holy Ghost. Theop. The diuel possessed his hart, but the power of God restrained and ordered his speech.

The diuell possessed Caiphas hart but God ordered his words.

Phil. Had he not the spirit of prophesie? Theop. No more than Saul the bloodsucker had when he praied for Dauid whom he sought to kill: than Iudas the traitor had, when he iustified his maister, and hanged himselfe: yea than the diuell had, when he confessed and intreated the sonne of God not to torment him before his time.

1. Kings 24. Mat. 27.

Phil. Why then doth S. Iohn giue this note of him, that he was high priest for that yeere?

Luke 8.

Theop. S. Iohn noteth this, that it pleased God so to temper the high priests words, that where he spake to hasten the death of our sauior, his words sounded, that the people should vtterly perish without the death of Christ, which was most true, but not his meaning.

1. Iohn 11.

Philand. His tong spake truth, though his hart did erre.

Theop. Satan poysoned his hart, but God bridled his mouth.

Phil. Can not God do the like to the bishop of Rome? Theop. No doubt he can: but you must proue that he will.

God can do the like whē he will.

Phil. If he did so to Caiphas, much more will he do it to the head of his Church. Theop. How hangeth this geare together? He did once so to Caiphas, *ergo* he will alwaies do the like, where you list to haue it.

Phil. Not where we list, but where he will. Theop. That helpeth you litle. God can do the like where and when he will. What is that to the bishop of Rome? We doubt not of Gods power; but smile at your follie, which conclude this to be ordinary in the pope, which was extraordinary in Caiphas.

Phil. It was ordinary in Caiphas by reason of his office, and so saith Saint Iohn. Theop. Saint Iohn doth not say it was ordinary either in all high priests, or in Caiphas; for Caiphas himselfe the very same yeere, as S. Matthew witnesseth, iudicially pronounced our sauior to be a blasphemer, which I hope you will not say came from the direction of the holy Ghost. The hie priest therefore did erre, and that most hainously in iudgement: and if this be all your hold, the pope may do the like.

Caiphas cōdemned our sauior for a blasphemer. Matth. 26.

Phil. What may be, is hard to determine: but this we know, the pope did neuer yet erre sitting in his tribunall to giue iudgement. Theop. As though the place and not the pope had assurance of truth annexed vnto it? What holines hath the consistorie to safegard the iudge from error? The promise of Christ was made to the person, and not to the place.

Phil. To the person, but sitting in iudgement. Theo. Did Peter sit in iudgement at that time when he denied his maister? Phil. We say not so.

Christs promise was not made to Peter sitting in iudgement.

Theop. But that night was the promise made vnto him, and that night performed in him, when Peter poore man stood warming himselfe amongst the many, and durst not answer the first interrogatorie that a silly wench proposed to him. And therefore Christ neuer

uer spake of your courts nor consistories: but promised Peter to pardon his fault, and so to strengthen his faith, least he should persuere in that his apostasie.

Phil. Had we no warrant for the bishop of Rome that his faith shall not faile, yet experience proueth this which we say to be true: that he neuer erred iudicially, that is, sitting in his consistorie.

Theoph. What nede we care where he sat so long as we be sure he did erre? What wrangling is this to aske for the place where; and the time when the pope spake the words? He that may erre at home, may likewise erre abroad; if the pope be an heretike in his chamber, he can be no catholike in his consistorie.

Phil. Definitiue sentence he neuer gaue any against the faith. Theoph. What are his decretals but definitiue sentences? And in those he hath erred. Phil. Neuer. Erronious decretals.

Theoph. The decretall of Clemens which I before alleaged is altogether erronious. They were two decretall epistles, for the which Honorius was condemned. The decretall of Vigilius, which Liberatus remembreth, is expresly against the faith. Celestinus erred iudicially as your owne friends confesse, but you haue pared that decretall as you haue done many others, and left out the latter part, least we should spie the fault. The decretals of Celestinus lately pared, & his error left out.

Phil. Who told you so? Theoph. They that had no cause to belie you.

Alfonsus a great patrone of your side saith, It is a thing manifest to all men that pope Celestinus erred touching the marriage of the faithfull when either part falleth into heresie. Neither was this error of Celestinus such as ought to be imputed onely to negligence, so that we may say he erred as a priuate person, and not as pope, because this decision of Celestinus was in the ancient decretals which I my selfe haue seene and read. Innocentius the third when he decided the case, confessed that one of his predecessors had decreed otherwise, which saith the gloze was Celestinus: whose resolution was in the old decretals, and it was euill that Celestinus said. *Alfons. aduer. hæreses, lib. 1. cap. 4.* *Decret. lib. 4. de diuortijs § quanto.* *Ibidem. ¶ prædecessor.*

Decret. lib. 4. de sponsa duorum § licet preter. To decide of marriage against the truth is an error in faith.

Alexander the third in a matter of great importance said, *Quamuis aliter à quibusdam prædecessoribus nostris sit aliquando iudicatum*, though some of our predecessors haue heretofore otherwise giuen iudgement.

Phil. These were matters of marriage, and not of faith. Theop. As though the seuering of those, whom God hath ioined, did not touch the faith; and so did some of these popes and that iudicially, by their contrary decrees.

Sixti Decret. lib. 5. tit. 12. § exit. Extrauag. Joh. 22. tit. 14. § cum inter nonnullos. Ibidem.

Againe, Nicolas the fourth saith in his decretall that To renounce the proprietie of all things not in speciall only but in common also, is meritorious and holy, which Christ taught by word and confirmed by example, and the first founders of the militant Church deriued to others by the paterne of their doctrine and life. Iohn the 22. saith it is heretical to affirme that Christ and his apostles had nothing in speciall nor in common.

Phil. The next extrauagant reconcileth them both. Theoph. The pope laboreth for life to shift off the matter, and at last commeth with a very iest, *De sola abdicatione proprietatis, non iuris alterius in præfata declaratione mentio habetur.* In the said declaration (of pope Nicolas) there is mention made of renouncing the propriety only but none other right. *Ius aliud à proprietate habuisse potuerunt*; They might haue some other right besides the proprietie. Phil. So they might.

He should haue told vs what right they might haue besides the proprietie.

Theop. As if Christ and his apostles had beene cunning in the ciuill lawes to renounce the propriety for a fashion, and yet to reserue an interest in those things which they seemed to renounce, so that they might both keepe and vse them at their wils. This exposition that Christ taught men to renounce the propriety of their goods and reserue the vse, is as false and heretical as the former assertion of pope Nicolas, that Christ and his apostles renounced their right in all earthly things both in speciall & common, and taught others to do the like. Your gloze tumbleth a long while in the myre after he hath confessed the one to be * expresly contrary to the other, & at length submitteth himselfe to the Church of Rome though he see not how to loose the knot.

Christ and his apostles renounced the propriety and reserued the vse. Is not this good diuinitie?

Extra § cum inter nõnullos gloss. ¶ declaramus.

* *Expresse contrarium innuit.*

Nicolas

Nicolas the second in a councell of 114. bishops appointed Berengarius to confesse that The verie bodie of Christ is in truth and sensually broken and brused in peeces with the teeth of the faithfull, and this confession the pope receiued, allowed and sent to the bishops of Italie, Germany, and France as Catholike; which your owne gloze saith is a greater heresie than euer Berengarius held. Phil. He saith it is, vnlesse you vnderstand it soberly. *De consec. dist. 2. § Ego Beren.* *Ibidem. ¶ denique.*

Theoph. And that sober vnderstanding he granteth must be cleane against the text. For where the text affirmeth this of that very body of Christ, and excludeth the outward sacrament as the words declare, your gloze saith that vnlesse you vnderstand this of the outward formes of bread and wine and not of the bodie of Christ; It is a greater heresie than that of Berengarius; and so it is in deede a very palpable and a brutish error, and can no way be salued, except you take the words cleane contrarie to themselues, which conuinceth the pope and his whole councell of a monsterous error. A sober vnderstanding to expound the words cleane contrary to the text.

Phil. This was Berengarius fault in his confession, but not the popes iudgement or resolution.

Theop. You would faine wind out if the text it selfe did not hold you fast; but there it is said that pope Nicolas and the synode deliuered this faith and assured it to be apostolike and euangelike. And therefore if Berengarius erred in subscribing this forme of confession, the pope and his councell erred in prescribing the same. *Ibidem ¶ quã Dominus Nicolaus & hæc sexta synodus tenendam tradidit, mihiq; firmauit.*

Phil. You take nice aduantages of words, which men may some misse. Theop. The heresie of Arius differred but one letter from the truth, and yet his doctrine was verie blasphemous. One word may containe a whole kingdome of impietie.

Phil. The best is, you find not many such ouersights in the popes decrees. Theo. You print and publish none but such as you thinke your selues able to defend, suppressing the rest that might be chalenged, and then you aske vs how we proue that euer the bishop of Rome gaue definitiue sentence against the faith, in open court or councell; which refuge of yours is very ridiculous. They print no more thã they list and mind to defend, & then they aske vs what errors we find in the popes decrees.

For what hath Christs prayer for Peter to do with definitiue sentences and open consistories? If the pope may beleeue, defend and preach an error, what neede we care whether his sentence be conclusiue, or persuasiue, definitiue or interlocutorie? And so for the place what skilleth it where and in whose presence the words be written or spoken if they be certainly his?

You might as well say: the pope may erre in his shoes, but not in his slippers: or in the shade, but not in the sunne shine.

And where you thinke it maketh much for the bishop of Rome, that we can not proue these errors of popes to haue bene definitiuely pronounced in their publike consistories, if that were true, as it is not, you shew your selues to be but wranglers. For we can name an infinite number of bishops & Churches, that neuer erred in this speciall and precise maner which you propose. How proue you that euer the bishops of York or Durham in England, of Poycters or Lyons in France, of Valeria or Carduba in Spaine, of Rauennas or Rhegium in Italie, of Cozinth or Athens in Greece, of Miletus or Sardis in Asia, gaue definitiue sentence against the faith in their publike consistories? A thousand others I could obiect, on whom that thing shall neuer be fastened, which you crake can not be proued by the bishop of Rome. Heretiks haue bene euer conuinced by their confessions and writings, not by their definitiue sentences, or iudicial proceedings. And therefore if popes haue erred in writing and teaching, they were as right heretiks as euer were Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, Eutyches, & such like, which neuer gaue definitiue sentence against the faith in courts and consistories, but only taught or wrate against the truth.

We can propose them a thousand sees, which they shal neuer proue to haue erred in open consistories by definitiue sentence. Heretiks euer condemned for their writings and preachings, not for their definitiue sentences.

Phil. Though one or two bishops of Rome were deceiued, they erred not so often there as in other places. Theoph. Set Constantinople aside, and in no one see did the bishops erre oftener than in Rome, but this is not our marke. If one or two haue erred, why may not others? Yea though none of them had erred heretofore, yet that which is possible may happen hereafter, and so long they can be no absolute iudges of truth.

Though no pope had erred, yet they may erre, &

Phil. If they might erre, they were no fit iudges of faith; but because their tribunall is the highest, that is

in

Vain mockeries of Iesuits to saue the pope from error. *The second part.*

in the Church, they must therefore be free from error. Theop. You euer proue that which we doubt of, by that which is more doubtfull. We denie the popes tribunall to be the highest that is in the Church. Prouinciall and generall councels by the canons are aboue him. And in matters of faith the highest court that is in earth may misse: and therefore no man is bound to pastor, prelat or councell farther than their decrees be coherent and agreeable with the faith. For against God we owe neither audience nor obedience vnto the persuasions or precepts of anie men.

so long they can be no iudges of faith.

The highest court in earth may misse the truth.

Phil. No question we must as well in faith as in maners obeie rather God than man; and therefore if the iudgements of bishops and conclusions of councels might be repugnant to the word of God, dutie bindeth vs to prefer the precepts of God before the pleasures of men; but it is not possible that God should leaue his Church without direction, and directed she can not be but by iudgement, and in giuing iudgement the head must be highest, and so the soundest, least that peruert the rest, and endanger the whole bodie. Theoph. The Church of Christ neuer was nor euer shall be without direction: but that direction proceedeth from the word and spirit of Christ, not from the courts and consistories of popes. Assemblies of learned bishops void of pride and strife, are good helps to trie the faith and moderate the discipline of the Church, and the greater, the better: yet the direction of Gods holie spirit, and infallible determination of truth is not annexed to anie certaine places, persons or numbers; neither can you of a promise which is common to all, establish a priuat tribunall for one man, from the which the spirit of truth shall not depart, as you professe of the popes consistorie.

The Church is directed by the word and spirit of Christ, not by the popes consistorie.

Phil. If he may erre how can he be iudge of all others? Theop. You say wel: and since by the consent and confession of your own Church fourteene hundred yeeres after Christ he may erre, we conclude he can not be supreme iudge of faith; nor soueraigne directer of princes in those cases.

Phil.

The second part. Their owne Church confesseth the pope may erre.

Their owne Church 1400. yeeres after Christ stoutly auoucheth the pope might erre.

Phil. Was our whole Church of that opinion so late-lie? Theop. Shew euer any learned man of your side, that said or held otherwise. Phil. May shew you they held so. Theop. I haue alreadie shewed so much. Phil. You haue named some priuat men that wrate so. Theo. The strongest pillors of your Church. Phil. But you saie this opinion was generall. Theop. If you consider how earnestlie and openlie this was asserted by the best, and neuer contradicted by anie, no not by those that tooke vpon them to be the chiefe protors and patrons for the pope, your selfe will saie it was generall, and confessed on all sides.

Distinct. 40. § Si papa.

Your owne decrees that will not haue the pope reproued for anie fault, adde this exception, *Nisi deprehendatur à fide deuius*, vnlesse he be found to swarue from the faith. The bishops of France and Germanie gathered at Brixia and Mogunce against Gregorie the seuenth, condemned him as, The ancient disciple of the heretike Berengarius, *& à vera fide exorbitantem*, and swaruing from the true faith. His owne cardinals and bishops that were at Rome made this profession against him. *Ad destruendas hæreses nouiter ab Hildebrando inuentas confedimus.* We assembled to destroie the hereses latelie deuised by (pope) Hildebrand. And in speciall words, *Hoc est decretum Hildebrandi in quo à doctrina & fide Catholica aberrauit.* This is Hildebrands decree, in which he erred from the Catholike doctrine and faith.

Abbas Vispergens. an. 1080.

Fasciculus rerũ scendarum in vita & gestis Hildebrandi. Ibidem.

Robert Grosseteste bishop of Lincolne, reuerenced of your Church for a saint, lying on his death, proued the pope not only might be, but was an heretike by sundrie reasons, and by the verie definition of heresie, and for the possibilitie of the matter, alleageth the popes owne testimonie. *Item dicit decretalis quod super tali vitio, videlicet hæresi, potest & debet papa accusari.* The decretall saith that for heresie the pope may and ought to be accused.

Matth. Paris. in Henrico 3. sub anno 1253.

But what speake I of one bishop? Sixe hundred prelats, an hundred foure and twentie diuines, and almost three hundred lawyers, with the whole colledge of cardinals

Massei Chron. in anno 1409.

dinals in your generall councell of Pisa deposed two popes, Gregorie the twelfth, and Benedict the thirtenth, as * schismatiks and heretiks. Your councell of Constance, where as you say were * 4. patriarks, 29. cardinals, 47. archbishops, 270. bishops, 564. abbats and doctors, in all aboue nine hundred, deposed the same Benedict, (persisting in his popedom notwithstanding the former sentence) as being * *schismaticum & hæreticum, ac à fide deuium, & articuli fidei vnam sanctam catholicam Ecclesiam, violatorem pertinacem, notorium & manifestum*; A schismatike and an heretike, swaruing from the faith, and a wilfull, notorious and manifest subuerter of the article of (our) faith, one holie catholike Church. And in the same councell it was obiected to Iohn the 23. *Quod dictus Iohannes papa 23. sæpe & sæpius coram diuersis prelatis & alijs honestis & probis viris, pertinaciter diabolo suadente, dixit, asseruit, dogmatizauit & affruxit, vitam eternam non esse, quin imo dixit & pertinaciter credidit animam hominis cum corpore humano mori & extingui ad instar animalium brutorum, dixítque mortuum semel, esse in nouissimo die minimè resurrecturum, contra articulum de resurrectione mortuorum.* That often and verie often before diuers prelats and other honest and approoued men, he said, auouched, vttered as his iudgement and egerlie defended, that there is no life euerlasting: yea moreouer he said, and resolutely beleeued, that the soule of man dieth and perisheth with the bodie after the manner of other beasts, and that he which was once dead, should not rise in the last daie; contrarie to the article of the resurrection of the dead.

* *Naucler. Chronograph. generatio. 47. anno 1409.*
* *Genebrard. lib. 2. Chrono. anno 1414.*
* *Concil. Constan. sessio. 37.*
Cœcil. Constan. sessio. 11.

Your generall councell of Basill, which Germanie, France, England, the dukedom of Millan, and manie other countries so greatly esteemed, gaue the like iudgement not yet seuen score and seuen yeeres ago against Eugenius the fourth, and iudiciallie pronounced him to be, *schismaticum, à fide deuium, pertinacem hæreticum*, a schismatike, erring from the faith, and a stubborne heretike. Lastly, your diuines of Paris but last day resolued that Peter erred in faith when Paul reproued him; & if Peter did, there can be no question but his successors may, since

Concil. Basil. sessio. 34. anno 1439. Articuli Parisienses.

since they claime from him, and not before him. If this be not the generall consent of your owne Church, I know not what is: if it be, then by the full and cleere confession of your selues for one thousand & four hundred yeeres, the pope might straie from the faith and become an heretike.

Phil. There is not one of your examples but may be replied to. Theop. Grant they might, yet this is most sure which I conclude, that they were all of this opinion, the pope could erre.

Phil. What if that opinion were not true?

Theop. That must you proue. It is enough for me to shew that not only the Church of Christ in former ages, but your owne Church euen vntill our age, held this opinion of popes that they could erre. What reason you haue, or can haue to impugne their opinion, let the world iudge. We thinke you within the compasse of Alfonsus censure; if ye be not worse.

A iudge must haue skill to discerne, and power to cõmand.

Phil. What if we should grant the pope may erre, as all men may? That doth not diminish his power.

Theop. A iudge must haue two things before he be competent: namely, skill to discerne, that he misse not the truth; and power to command, that his iudgement may take place. If he want either, he is no fit iudge.

The pope hath neither. Erre he may.

Phil. You saie right, and both these the pope hath in most ample manner. Theop. He hath neither.

Erre he may: and therefore no man is bound to his iudgement farther than it standeth with the word of truth, and so far the greatest princes in the world are bound to the meanest man that God doth send. For God is truth, and they that resist the truth, resist God; and the end of them all that resist, is damnation, which princes shall not auoid, vnlesse they submit themselues to the hearing, embracing and obeying of the truth.

Power to command or compell he hath none.

And as he may erre, so hath he no power to command princes or others, but only to propose the commandements of God vnto them, as euerie bishop must and may by vertue of his vocation. Farther authoritie,

ritie, by violence to compell, or by corporall and externall meanes to punish, no prelate, nor pope, hath by the law of God, since that belongeth to the sword, which the prince and not the priest beareth in Gods behalfe to force refusers, and chastise malefactors, as I before at large haue proued. And so by consequent, princes are neither bound to the popes hest for direction, nor in danger of the popes court for correction; but that they may by the aduise and instruction of such as be learned and godly pastors about them, vse their swords for the receiuing and setling of truth, and perfect establishing of Christs will and testament, within their owne realmes, without expecting or regarding what the bishops of Rome and his adherents like or allow.

Phil. But all this while you resolue not, who shall be iudge which is the true will and Testament of Christ.

Theoph. Let him that maketh the claime, vndertake the proofe. We finde no place nor person to whom the sonne of God hath referred vs for the right vnderstanding of his will, but onely to himselfe. He that will be iudge of truth must proue his claime.

Phil. You bind the people to follow the prince, which of all others is the worst way to come by truth.

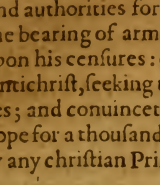
Theop. We bind no man to prince, nor pope for matters of faith. Onely we say, subiects must indure their princes with patience, when they command for error, and obey them with diligence when they maintaine the truth. Farther or other seruitude in causes of conscience we lay on no man: and that burden the Church of Christ neuer refused neither vnder heretikes, apostataes nor infidels; till the pope growing great by the ruine of the empire and encreasing as fast in pride as he did in wealth, would needs giue the aduenture to rule kingdoms and depose princes, though by Gods law he haue no more power nor iurisdiction ouer them than anie other bishop hath: which is so far from that he claimeth and vsurpeth, that he, as well as other bishops, should be subiect to the sword, and obedient to the lawes of the Romane emperor: and so was he as I haue plainly shewed, to the time that forsaking the Grecians All that we giue vnto princes is either to be obeied or indured.

cians and reuolting from the Germans, he learned to change lords so often, that at length, what with sedition of subiects, dissention of princes, and superstition of all sorts, the mysterie of iniquitie working, he made himselfe lord and maister of all.

Phil. You be loth I see to yeld the bishop of Rome any right to force princes to their duties. Theop. And you be as willing he should not onely take their crownes, but tread on their necks, though he haue no right to supervise their doings, or censure their persons. Phil. If it be not his right, we aske it not. Theo. If it be his right, we resist it not. Phil. Will you admit it, if we proue it? Theop. Will you not claime it, except you proue it? Phil. We will not. Theop. Then say what you will or can for the confirmation of it.

THE THIRD PART

REFELLETH THE IESVITS REASONS and authorities for the Popes depriuing of princes, and the bearing of arms by subiects against their Souereignes vpon his censures: declareth the tyrannies and iniuries of Antichrist, seeking to exalt himselfe aboue kings and princes; and conuinceth that no deposition was offered by the Pope for a thousand yeeres after Christ, and none agnised by any christian Prince vntill this present day.

Phil. 

THE pope may reproue princes, excommunicate them, and if neede be depose them, which other bishops can not doe. Theop. Seuer these things which you ioine together, and the truth will the sooner appeer. Reproue them he may, when they violate the precepts of God, and so may any other bishop or teacher. For God hath placed them in his Church, to teach, reproue, instruct and reforme as well princes as others, and charged them not to conceale one word of that he hath spoken, neither for fauor nor terror of any prince. The will of God must be declared to all, and sin reproued in all without dissembling, or flattering with any sort, or state of men: and that is most expedient for all, euen for princes themselues, rather to heare with humilitie what God hath decreed for their saluation, than to run to their owne destruction without recalling, or warning.

2. Tim. 3. Ierem. 26.

Preachers may reproue princes.

So Samuel reproued king Saul, Ahias king Ieroboam, Elias king Achab, Elizeus king Iehoram, Iohn Baptist king Herod. Neither were wicked princes onely, but also the good and vertuous kings of Iudah reproued by the prophets, as namely king Dauid by Nathan, king Iehosaphat by Iehu, and Ezechias by the prophet Esay; but this reproofe reached no farther than to put them in mind of Gods graces and mercies towards them, and their duties againe towards him. They neuer offered violence to their persons, nor preiudice to their states: onely they did Gods message vnto them, without halting or doubling: and so should euery preacher, and bishop not feare with meeknes and reuerence to lay before princes the sacred and righteous

1. King. 15. 3. King. 14. 3. King. 21. 4. King. 3. Mark. 6. 2. King. 12. 2. Chron. 19. 4. King. 20.

The Prophets reproued as well good kings as euill.

will of God, without respect whether princes take it in good or euil part: but farther or other attempts against princes, than in words to declare the will and precepts of God, God hath not permitted vnto preachers, prophets, prelats, nor popes.

Preachers must not admit princes to the sacraments, but on those conditions which God requireth.

Phil. Yes, they may repell them from the sacraments, which is more than reproouing them in words. Theop. If you meane, they may not minister the sacraments vnto princes, without faith and repentance, which God requireth of men that shall be baptized, or haue accesse to his table, we graunt they must rather hazard their liues, than baptize princes which beleeue not, or distribute the Lords mysteries to them that repēt not, but giue wilful and open signification of impietie, to the dishonoring of his name, that is author of those things; and the prophaning of the things themselues which be holie and vndefiled. For if princes will be partakers of Gods abundant blessings proposed in Christ his sonne to all that beleeue and conuert, they must not looke to commaund God and his sacraments, but with lowlines of hart, assurance of faith, and amendement of life, submit themselues vnder the mightie hand of God, to receiue his graces in such sort as he hath prescribed; otherwise they prouoke God to their vtter and eternall ouerthrow, and the minister that ioined with them in their sinnes, shall not be seuered from them in their plagues, God hating and punishing the pride and presumption of princes against himself, as much as the vices of meaner men, or rather more.

If princes will be partakers of Gods graces, they must receiue them as he doth propose thē.

Chryso. in Mat. hom. 83. Ibidem ad populum Antioch. hom. 60.

No small vengeance, saith Chrysostom, hangeth ouer your heads (which be ministers) if you suffer any heinous offendor to be partaker of this table: his blood shall be required at your hands. Whether he be captaine, lieutenant, or crowned king, if he come vnworthily, forbid him; (in this case) thy power is greater than his.

This is new Romish diuinitie, which in deed is meer impietie.

Phil. If they may be excommunicated, *Ergo* they may be deposed. Theop. How doth that follow? Phil. Well enough. When a prince is excommunicated, he loseth all right to rule, and his subiects are streightwaies free from yelding any obedience to him. Theop. Who told you so? Phil. No catholike diuine of anie age euer said the contrarie. Theop. Name any catholike diuine for a

thousand

thousand yeres after Christ that euer said so. In deede some popish prelats and writers of late yeres, finding that a compendious waie to strengthen the popes kingdome, and to make a speedie dispatch of such as should molest them, haue not by diuinitie, but by conspiracie concluded, that princes may be deposed, and resisted euen by their owne subiects, contrarie to the law of God, the doctrine of the Apostles, and the perpetuall patience of Christs church.

Phil. *I wil set you downe some catholike writers about this matter, albeit but few for breuitie sake, yet of such excellent credit, as shall be able to instruct and satisfie anie reasonable conscience in this case: as also to be our brethrens defence against all those that charge them so deadlie with these treasonable propositions.* D. ALLENS DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKS cap. 4. LATELY SET FOORTH AGAINST THE EXECVTION OF IVSTICE.

Theop. The simplest christian that is, except you take a rebellious hart for *a reasonable conscience*, will looke for some better authoritie to saue himselfe from damnation, which God threatneth to al that resist powers, than your owne schoolemen and companions, linked in the same faction with you, and liuing not long before you: and this seely defence of your brethren by the corrupt verdict of your confederates, is rather a discredit to your whole cause, than a clearing of them from traiterous deuises, or as you speake, from treasonable propositions.

Phil. Thomas Aquin; *that glorious Saint and Clerke whose only sentence weigheth more, than all the protestants wits and words in the world; saith thus, Postquam princeps est denunciatus apostata, omnes inferiores & subditi absoluuntur à præstito iuramento & obedientia illi debita: that is to say, after a prince is once denounced to be an Apostata, all his inferiours and subiects are assoiled of their oth made vnto him, and of their obedience vnto him. This case is plainely resolued vpon by the greatest of all the schoole doctors, and therefore can be no reasonable assertion, or opinion.* The defence of the English Catholiks. cap. 4. S. Thomas.

Theop. We are now neither to sift your saints, nor examine your clerks; much lesse to debate whether the resolution of a popish monk drowne the wits and paines of them al, that God hath since called to the knowlege of his truth: your passing pride, I leaue to the iudgemēt of the wise. The credit of Thomas is not so excellēt as you make it, nor his saintship so glorious. He wrot more thā 1200. yeres after Christ, and was both ouerwhelmed with the Thomas Aquine a late and corrupt writer, and a great factor for the pope.

The third part. The Pope hath no power to depriue the Prince.

corruption of his time, and wholy wedded to the see of Rome. Scripture or father he bringeth none, but barely standeth on the example of Gregory the 7. who first practised this wicked presumption against Henry the 4. a 1000. yeres after Christ: this is a simple securitie for subiects to resist the sword which God hath authorized, & the Church of Christ for a 1000. yeres obeied, to heare Thomas Aquin a late summist in the midst of blindnes & error affirme they may; and pretend no better author than Hildebrand, a furious & seditious monster, as his own cardinals & companions report of him. You were best bring some other proofe, they must else be very large consciences that will be satisfied with such censures.

The defence of english Catholiks, cap. 4. Toledoes opinion of a prince excõmunicate.

Phi. *The famous professor of our time,* Francis Toledo *writeth farther vpon the words of S.* Thomas. *Nota (saith he) quod eadem est ratio de excommunicato; quia cum primum quis denuntiatus excommunicatus, omnes subditi absoluuntur ab eius obedientia. Note that albeit S.* Thomas *name onlie an apostata, yet the reason is all one in the Princes case that is excommunicated. For as soone as one is denounced or declared an excommunicate, all his subiects be discharged of their obedience. For though the crime of a Prince be notorious, yet before the declaration therof made by the Church, the vassals are not assoiled from obedience as* Caietanus *well holdeth: which declaration being made by the Church, they are not onlie discharged of their loialtie, but are bound not to obey him any more; except it be for feare of their liues or losse of their temporal goods, as it was in England in the time of* Henry *the 8.* Thus doth this notable scholeman write; neither do we know any Catholike diuine of any age to saie the contrarie.

The case of K. Henry the 8.

What care we for Toledoes opinion?

Theo. Call you these satisfactions for reasonable consciences, in purgation of your selues, that you do not conspire with popes against princes, to bring men aliue at this day, that be either hired, or bewitched, as you are, to take part with antichrist against God, and his truth; and thinke you their surly conclusions to be sufficient instructions for all mens consciences? Shall Ambrose, Austen, & others looke on, and Caietane, Toledo, and such like swoorne chaplaines to the Pope, and our professed enemies to be iudges in this cause? what else is this but aske my fellowe whether I be a theefe? And yet Thomas Aquinas had this moderation, that princes should not lose their dominion for heresie, or

any

any other crime, but onlie for apostasie, which is a generall and finall renouncing of Christs name, to become an heathen, or a turk. Toledo with lesse learning & more vnshamefastnes telleth vs vpon his credit, *Eadem est ratio de excommunicato*, The same reason holdeth in any Prince whom the pope list to excommunicate for what cause soeuer. Be not these dowtie demonstrations in so weightie questions?

Preachers must not admit princes to the Sacraments but on those conditions which God requireth

Phi. We bring them not as our chiefe grounds in this cause; but onlie to shew that others haue bene of the same iudgement with vs. Theo. You meane that your fellowes of late daies haue bene as dutifull to their princes, as you are now to ours. We aske not what company, but what authoritie you haue to resist, & depose the powers which God hath appointed to be serued & honored. Let Aquinas, Caietane, & Toledo go. You may not displace them whom God hath exalted, annointed, and set to be obeied without higher, and better warrant than fiue thousand Thomases, ten thousand Caietanes, and twentie thousand Toledoes can giue you.

Tell vs what warrant and not what fellowes they haue to resist the ordinãce of God.

Phi. Thousands we could bring you, if that would content you; namely *The famous generall councell of Lateran celebrated aboue 300. yeeres since, wherein there were Patriarkes and Archbishops 70. bishops 412. and other prelats 800. in al, of the most chosen learned men of all nations 1282. with the Embassadors of the Romane emperour, of the king of Ierusalem, of England, of Fraunce, of Spaine and of Cypres, as also of other christian states; than which there can be no surer iudgement vpon earth: which assemblie representing the whole christian world, would neuer agree vpon any assertion traiterous. These then are the words of their most renoumed decree.*

THE DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKES.

The sentence and definitiõ of the great learned and generall coũcel of Lateran. *Ca. 3. de hæret.*

If any lord temporall, required and admonished by the church, neglect to purge his state from heretical filth, let him be excommunicated by the Metropolitan, and conprouinciall bishops. But if he contemne to come to order within one yeeres space, let relation be made to the supreame bishop: that from thence foorth he may declare all his subiects to be discharged of their fealtie towards him, and giue vp his land to be possessed by Catholiks, which Catholiks without all contradiction (when they haue driuen out the heretiks) shall haue and hold the same, and so preserue it in puritie of faith: (the interest and right of the chiefe lord euer remaining safe and whole, so that himselfe giue no impediment to the execution of this decree) And the same law to take place in such also, as be soueraigne lords and haue no superiors.

This was the next way to make all safe on their side.

Theophilus. Our question is not what numbers the pope hath gathered, nor what decrees he hath made to settle and assure his kingdome; the iudgements of God are righteous and marueilous, as well against princes as priuate men. But we demand what commission the pope and his prelats (whome God appointed to be subiect to princes) had to determine thus against princes, and to take both their crownes and realmes from them, when they listed to excommunicate them?

Platin. in Innocent. 3. 800. Hungrie friers broght into the coūcell to ouerrule the bishops.

The number of persons was aboue twelue hundred, as you crake, Bishops and other prelats, but will it please you to remember that eight hundred of them were no bishops, but priors conuentuall and their substituts euen dreaming monks, and begging friers, that then began to pester the world, and had no right to sit in councels. By such creatures of his owne making, and at his sole disposing, it was easie for your father to ouerrule all the bishops of the world, if they would haue said nay; such cunning deuises the bishop of Rome hath to call and frame councels to his purpose.

A fine stratagem of the pope to set out things consulted as if they had beene concluded.

And what if no such thing were there decreed, but onely propoſed and consulted on, and your skill now serueth you to alledge it as a most renowmed decree, & your adherents deceiue the people with these things, as fully concluded in that councell? Looke to the verie same place whence you tooke the number of them that were present, and the verie next wordes; and see whether it bee not so. *Venere*, sayeth Platina, *multa tum quidem in consultationem, nec decerni tamen quicquam apertè potuit*: Manie things were debated (in that Councell) but nothing could playnely be decided, by reason the Pope suddaynely departing, to compose some tumults then suddainely risen, dyed by the way. And so your *famous generall Councell of Laterane* is come to a swarme of hungrie Friers, consulting how to defeate Princes of their Temporall Dominions, and laie them open to the spoyle, but not concluding as beyng preuented by the Popes hastned and inopined death.

Platina in vita Innocentij. 3. Nothing cōcluded in the councell of Lateran.

Philander.

Philander. We can *declare and playnely deduce all that hath beene sayde in the premises from holie Scriptures, and warrant of antiquitie.* THE DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKS. cap. 4.

Theophilus. So had you nede. For if no No man may sunder that which God hath ioyned togither, much lesse may you displace that which God hath ordayned, or so much as resist the word which he hath commaunded to bee honoured and obeyed. To discharge your selues from the ordinance of God, from the precepts of Christ, and doctrine of hys holie spirit, you must not bring bs Popes, Schoolemen, and Friers, the eldest of them a thousand yeares after Christ; children will not be deceiued with such bables, you must proue your selues assoiled from obedience to Princes (when the Pope list to giue you leaue,) by the selfesame heauenlie records, by which we proue Popes and all others to be subiect to them. The word of God bindeth you to obeie them: the words of men can not loose you. Go therefore directlie and soundly to worke, or else you do but increase your sinne. Matth. 19. By Gods law you may not resist, much lesse displace the prince. The word of God binding you to obedience, neither pope nor councell can assoile you from it.

Philander. I will, and you shall see it apparantly proued by the old and new Testament, and by the examples of the primitiue Church, that princes for heresie, and such like crimes may be lawfully deposed by priests. This is it which master Allen professeth to proue in the fift chapter of his defence.

Theophilus. This is it which we require you to proue: but first you confesse that princes haue their power from God, and that they may chalenge honour, subiection, and tribute of all that be within their realmes, not onely by the consent of men, but by Gods institution and ordinance. What subiection and honor God alloweth vnto princes.

Philander. They be but humane creatures.

Theophilus. Howe shoulde men be more than humane creatures: but their power is of God. Saint Paule speaking of them sayeth: There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. So before him said the Wisedome of God: By me kings raigne. *Rule therefore is giuen (them) of the Lord and power by the most high. *They be Gods ministers, for the wealth of him that doth well, and to take vengeance on him that doth euill. 1. Peter. 2. Rom. 13. Prouerb. 8. *Wisdom. 6. *Rom. 13.

As their power is from God, so the commandement of God is verie plaine that we should honor them. Feare God, honor the king, saith S. Peter: and Solomon expressing the same with a more effectuall word: Feare, saith he, the Lord and the king. Yea such is the honor that God hath allowed them, that we may neither open our lips, bend our harts, nor lift vp our hands against them: Thou shalt not speake euill of the ruler of thy people, and * curse not the king, no not in thy thought; much lesse then may we resist them. Let euerie soule be subiect, saith the Apostle, to the higher powers. Whosoeuer resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receiue to themselues iudgement. You must be subiect not onely because of wrath, but also for conscience sake. And so S. Peter, Submit your selues vnto euery humane creature (or ordinance) vnto the king as surpassing the rest. For so is the will of God. And threatning an heauie iudgement, he saith chiefly to them that despise gouernement, and feare not to speake euill of such as are in authority. S. Iude noteth wicked and fleshly teachers for the same fault with the very same words. They despise gouernement, and speake euill of them that are in authority.

1.Pet.2.
Prouerb.24.
We may not dishonor princes in word, deede, or thought.
Exod.22.
*Eccles.10.
Rom.13.
1.Pet.2.
Iudgement threatned chiefly to the that despise magistrats.
2.Pet.2.
Iude.

Of this subiection due vnto princes, the tribute which we pay them, is by S. Paules iudgement the very signe & earnest. You must be subiect. For, for this cause pay ye also tribute. And therefore the Lord himselfe, when he charged all men to giue vnto Cæsar that which was Cæsars, meant that honor, subiection, and tribute which by Gods law is due vnto Cæsar. For that is Cæsars, which God by his word hath allotted vnto Cæsar, and that no mortall man may withhold from Cæsar, since the sonne of God hath allowed it vnto Cæsar.

Rom.13.
Luk.20.
Honor, subiection and tribute by Gods law due to princes.

Phil. All this we know. Theop. All this if you keepe as well as know, you shall offend the lesse. Phil. Honor, subiection, and tribute must be giuen to Cæsar, so long as Cæsar is Cæsar; but if Cæsar be no longer Cæsar, then these things are not due to him. Theop. What meane you by this, so long as Cæsar is Cæsar? Phil. That is, vntill he be lawfully depriued of his empire. Theop. Then Cæsar shall haue these things so long as you list to suffer him to be Cæsar; but if you once denounce him excommunicate, then

By the Iesuits doctrine Cæsar shall haue that which God alloweth him, so long as pleaseth the pope.

then Cæsar, who by Gods law should haue honor, subiection and tribute, by your law shall haue neither land, liberty, nor life. Is not this worse than despising, or resisting gouernement, to depriue and bereaue the gouernor of imperie, safetie, and life, if you list? You may not resist them or despise thē: *Ergo* much lesse displace them.

Phil. We take no such thing on vs; but Christ hath giuen that power and authority to his vicar generall that he may do it, if princes deserue it. Theop. Christ neuer gaue any man power to breake the precepts which he bound his disciples vnto, but rather he plainly professed; If ye continue in my word ye are verely my disciples. If Christ command subiection to magistrats, & your holy father licence the people to rebell against their gouernors, is he a vicar or an aduersary vnto Christ? Phil. He first deposeth the prince, and then the subiects are no longer bound to those that be gouernors. Theop. That is, he displaceth them whom God hath annointed, and wresteth the sword out of their hands to whom God committed it, and then he saith you may resist them by reason he first deposed them: but how proue you that he may depose princes, or what warrant can you shew for his so doing? Phil. That is the point which I am comming to. Theop. And that is the thing which we haue all this while looked for. Iohn.8. Deposition is an authetike rebellion vnder the popes seale.

Phil. *Saul the first temporall king that euer the Iewes (being then Gods peculiar) had; though chosen and inspired by God, was for all that led, and directed by Samuel so long as he was in order. But afterward for aspiring to spirituall function, and other disobedience; was by Gods appointment and sentence (pronounced by the said Samuel) deposed of his kingdom, and an other named Dauid annointed by him. Which Saul now after his depriuation, or after, as it were, his excommunication by Samuel, was inuaded by an euill spirit, that prouoked him to kill not onely Dauid, that was now made the rightfull owner of his crowne: but also to seeke for Samuels death: yea and to command all the holy priests of Nobe (fourescore and fiue in number, as holy scripture recounteth) to be slaine and murdered in most pitifull wise, as traitors to him, and fauourers of Dauid the competitor of his kingdome. And so it was done at last; though at the beginning his gard refused to execute so vile and horrible an act; and in this sort he remained enemie many yeares against God and Samuel, and kept the kingdome by tyrannicall force notwithstanding his deposition.* The defence of English Catholikes, cap.5.1.Reg. 10.15.16.Saul deposed for vsurping spirituall function. 1.Reg.22.

Theop.

The prophets denounced both the temporal & eternall indgements of God: but they inflicted neither.

Theop. What needeth this long repetition of matters impertinent? A short conclusion and more direct to the question, were farre better. Phil. That you shall haue. *Samuel deposed Saul, Ergo* the priest may depose the prince. Theop. The prophets were chosen by God to denounce to the wicked both his temporal & eternall iudgements: will you thence conclude the prophets were the workers or authors of Gods iudgements? Noah denounced the floud; did Noah therefore drowne the world? Ieremie denounced the bondage of Babylon; did Ieremie therfore deliuer the whole kingdome into captiuity? Daniel denounced Nabucadnezers fall: did Daniel therfore take Nabucadnezers heart and vnderstanding from him, or make him eat grasse like an oxe? Phil. They were the denouncers of these things from Gods mouth, but not the doers. Theop. Keepe that rule, and you haue answered your owne examples of Samuel, of the man of Iudah that threatned Ieroboam, of Elias, Elizæus, Peter & Paule; in which the strength of your discourse consisteth.

By these examples priests may kill men, set their houses on fire, or pull out their eies as well as displace princes: if the Iesuits collections be good.

Samuel annointed Dauid, whiles Saul liued, Elias called for fire from heauen to consume the kings messengers; Elizeus annointed Ichu to execute the wrath of God on Achabs house: Peter strake Ananias and his wife dead with a word for lying vnto God: and Paule by the same power of the holy Ghost strake Elimas the sorcerer blind. Doth this proue that bishops and preachers may picke out mens eies, or kill whom they can, or appoint kingdomes at their pleasures? Phil. No, but that these things are not vnlawfull for prophets and preachers when God commandeth. Theop. If God command the case is cleer, not onely for popes, but also for the poorest priest and meanest creature that is. Phil. We aske no more. Theop. And so much we grant; but hath your holy father any reuelation from heauen to depose the queene of England?

The popes commission to depose princes they promised to proue by scripture, and now vainely suppose it without scripture.

Phil. A commission he hath though no reuelation to depose princes. Theop. The popes commission to depose princes, is the thing which we striue for, and which you seeke to deduce by the scriptures; and now we come to the purpose, you vainly suppose that without proofe, which we required to see, and you promised to shew by the very

word

word of God himselfe. Phil. We proue by the scriptures that prophets haue deposed princes. Theop. Belie not the scriptures. You shew where God reiected kings for their wickednesse, and sent his prophets to tell them so much, and annoint others in their places. But in this case the prophets were messengers, not iudges; denouncers, not deposers: and that which they did, they did not in the right of their prophetical vocation, but by peculiar and speciall direction from God, which was priuat to them, not common to others that were prophets, as well as they. Now what consequent is this? Samuel annointed Dauid; Elias Hazaell; Elizeus Iehu; when God expressely willed them; *Ergo* prophets may dispose kingdomes at their pleasures: and popes may depose princes, though God expressely will them not.

Samuel, Elias, and Elizeus had speciall and extraordinary commandement from God to do as they did.

Phil. Yes God willeth them so to do. Theop. Proue that, and weare the crowne. Phil. He willed others before them. Theop. And therefore they might lawfully do that which God commanded them; & you may not do the like, till you haue that speciall precept from God which they had. So that in these cases which you pretend, first God was the doer and not the prophets: they were but seruants to do their message. Next they tooke no such thing vpon them by their generall calling as prophets, nor in their owne names as superiors to kings, but onely then, when they were precisely charged by God himselfe, and the person that should succeed likewise named vnto them by Gods owne mouth. What is this to the pope? Or how doth this inferre that he may iudicially conuent princes and depriue them of their crowns when he thinketh good? Yea rather if you were not more than blind, you would perceiue this illation of yours is not erronious onely but also blasphemous, in that you chalenge for the pope the same right to depose kings, which God hath specially reserued to himselfe. It is he that deposeth the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the base: it is he that putteth downe kings, and setteth vp kings, and giueth (the kingdome) to whomsoeuer he will. This power I say you can not attribute to the pope without apparant blasphemy.

The pope may not do that which the prophets did, till he haue the same precept which they had.

To put down kings is an honor specially reserued vnto God himselfe. Luc. 1. Dan. 2. Dan. 4.

Phil. We giue him no such power, but onely to remoue such

The pope will depose princes, as well as God.

such from the kingdome as be vnworthy of it. Theop. And thinke you that God remoueth such as be worthy? Phil. No. Theop. Then do you giue the same power to the pope, which God claimeth to himselfe, to displace the wicked from their thrones. Phil. But vnder God. Theop. If your holy father do this without a particular and precise warrant from God, he doth it not vnder God, but as well as God, and that which is in this case done without God, is against God.

The example of Saul.

But on with your example of Samuel. Saul *was deposed of his kingdome by Gods appointment and sentence*, which Samuel pronounced vnto Saul from the mouth of God. *Ergo* what? Phi. *Ergo* king Saul was deposed. Theo. Grant he were; by whome was it done? by God or by Samuel? Phil. God prescribed the sentence, but Samuel pronounced it. Theop. In whose name did Samuel speake? in Gods or his own? Phil. In Gods. Theop. Said he more than God commanded him? Phil. I thinke not. Theop. Then God spake the word, and God gaue the iudgement against Saul; onely Samuel was sent to tell Saul so much, and that was sore against Samuels will, as appeareth by his mourning for Saul, which God reproued in him.

God prescribed Samuel what he should say to Saul, full sore against the will of Samuel. 1. *Kings* 16.

And now to turne your owne example on your owne head, I trust God hath as much right to depose princes as the pope. Phil. What then? Theop. Did all Israell and Iudah sinne in obeying Saul so many yeares after he was deposed by God, and an other annointed in his place? Phil. They did it for feare, because *Saul kept the kingdome by tyrannicall force, notwithstanding his deposition.* Theop. Did Dauid sinne in seruing Saul long after himself was annointed? Phil. He durst not do otherwise. Theop. When Dauid had Saul alone in the caue, and might haue slaine him, did he wel to spare him? Phil. *He might lawfully haue killed him, as S. Augustine deduceth, but he would not.*

All Israel and Dauid obeied and honored Saul as the Lords annointed to his dying day. The defence cap. 5. *August. contra Adimant.* 1. *Kings* 24.

Theop. Of that anone: in the meane time was it a lie in Dauid to call him his maister and the Lords annointed after his deposition? Phil. He called him so in respect he had bin so, though presently he were not so. Theo. Nay Dauid affirmed that at that present, he was so. The Lord, saith Dauid, keepe me from laying mine hand on him. For he is the Lords annointed. And after shewing that this was his du-

1. *Kings* 24.

tie

tie and not his curteſie, when he found him a ſleepe and one of his captaines would haue ſlaine him, he ſaid, Deſtroy him not: for who can lay his hand on the Lords annointed, and be giltles? Where Dauid maketh it no fauor to ſpare him, but a ſinne to touch him. And to the meſſenger that brought him newes of Sauls death: How waſt thou not afraid, ſaith Dauid, to put foorth thine hand to deſtroy the annointed of the Lord? And commanding the fellow to be thruſt through, Thy bloud, ſaith he, be vpon thine owne head, for thine owne mouth hath witneſſed againſt thee, ſaying, I haue ſlaine the Lords annointed. 1. Kings 26. 2. Kings. 1. Ibidem.

If all Iſraell obeied Saul, notwithſtanding the ſentence of God pronounced againſt him; if Dauid himſelfe after his annointing ſerued and honored Saul as his maſter, and called and counted him the Lords annointed to the houre of his death; abhorring it as a ſinne in himſelfe to lay hands on him, and ſeuerely puniſhing it in an other that did it: How can you warrant rebellion againſt princes, or make it a meritorious act to murder them, whom the pope without all authoritie from God preſumeth to diſplace?

Phil. Dauid might lawfully haue killed Saul, as S. Auſten ſheweth againſt Adamantius, but he would not. Theo. The words of Dauid are plaine to the contrary, ſpeaking of Saul and himſelfe, Who can lay his hand, ſaith he, on the Lords annointed, and be giltles? He could not be guilty, but of a ſinne: it had bin therefore no lawfull, but a ſinfull deed for any man, Dauid himſelfe not excepted, to haue killed Saul, in reſpect he then was, and ſo continued till he died, The Lords annointed. Cap. 17. 1. Kings. 26. Dauid confeſſeth he might not kill Saul without ſinne.

Phil. S. Auguſtine ſaith, Dauid might haue killed Saul without feare. His words be, Dauid had his enimie and perſecutor king Saul in his power to do with him what he would, and he choſe rather to ſpare him, than to kill him. He was not commanded to kill him, neither was he prohibited; *Imò etiam diuinitus audierat ſe impunè facere quicquid vellet inimico*, Yea rather he had heard at Gods mouth that he might freely handle an enimie how he would, and yet ſo great authoritie he conuerted to curteſie. Theop. Adamantus held opinion that the old Teſtament was contrary to the new, becauſe the law as he thought permitted reuenge, and allowed men to kill their enimies, where the Goſpell commandeth Contra Adimantum ca. 17

maundeth vs to praie for our enimies, and to loue them as the wordes of our Sauiour doe witnesse. This obiection Saint Augustine refelleth, by shewing that the killing of the nations which God commanded, proceeded of loue, not of hatred: and that the iust of the old Testament loued and fauored their enimies when it was expedient for them so to doe; as namely Dauid that spared king Saul his enimie and persecutor, though hee might easilye haue slaine him.

Philand. Saint Augustines word is, *impunè*, he might freely haue done what he would to him. Theop. Whether that were Saint Augustines persuasion, or an aduantage taken vppon Adimantus assertion, the place it selfe doth not expresse; of the twaine I thinke the latter to be the truer. For this was Adimantus erronious position, that the lawe licenced the Iewes to kill their enimies: and you may not well charge Saint Augustine therewith, least you bring him againe within the compasse of the Manichees error. Sure it is Saint Augustine doth not ground his speech on this, that Saul was deposed, and therefore might haue iustly beene destroied, which is our case; but on the permission of reuenge, which the lawe of Moses seemed to grant Dauid toward his enimie, as well as all others towards their enimies; marie that was no right exposition, but a misconstruction of the lawe sufficient to refute Adimantus, because it was his owne, but not rashly to be fathered on Saint Augustine in respect of his learning and credit otherwise in the Church of God. For the Lawe of God gaue no man leaue to kill his enimie, but that precept was to be referred to the magistrate to whome God gaue the sword lawfully to kill such as were by his lawe adiudged to die; which our Sauiour doth not prohibite in the newe Testament, but reproueth the Iewes for hauing this false conceit of Gods lawe, that euery priuate person might hate his enimies and loue his neighbors, (they corruptly expounding neighbors for friends and acquaintance) and assureth them that to loue their enimies and pray for their persecutors, which he then prescribed them, was no

The words be grounded rather on Adimantus assertion than S. Austens persuasion.

S. Augustine speaketh not of Sauls deposition, but of reuenge permitted by Moses law, which the Manichees did obiect.

new

newe addition, but the ancient and true intention of Gods law.

These words then, Dauid had heard by the lawe of God (for speciall reuelation from God to Dauid, Saint Augustine knewe none) that he might do freely what he would to an enimie, are assumed against Adimantus as part of his owne confession and former obiection: and conclude that either Adimantus mistooke the meaning of the lawe, as in deede he did; or that Dauid performing the precept of Christ when he spared his enimie, gaue example that others vnder the lawe should do the like, and so the lawe neither waie repugnant to the gospell; as his conclusion importeth. And if any thinke it much Saint Augustine should pitch himselfe on other mens words as they were apparant truths, he must remember he dealt with the Manichees that receiued no scriptures but such as they listed: and therefore to presse them with their owne position, was a nearer way to confound them, than to load them with scriptures which they regarded not; and that maketh Saint Augustine giue sometimes not the soundest solution he could, but the readiest to stop their mouthes with their owne assertions.

Adimantus antecedent returned on his owne head.

Otherwise Saint Augustine was plainly resolued that Dauid so much esteemed in Saul the holinesse of his regall iunction euen vnto his death, that he trembled at hart for cutting the lappe of Sauls garment. *Quæro si non habebat Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo Dauid venerabatur? nam eum propter sacrosanctam vnctionem & honorauit viuum, & vindicauit occisum. Et quia vel panniculum ex eius veste præscidit, percussō corde trepidauit. Ecce Saul non habebat innocentiam, & tamen habebat sanctitatem, non vitæ, sed vnctionis.* If Saul had not the holinesse of the sacrament, I demand what it was that Dauid reuerenced in him? For the sacred and holie vnction (of a king) he honored Saul liuing, and reuenged his death (on him that said he slue him.) And because himselfe had cutte but the lappe of Saules coate, he was stroken and trembled at hart (for the fact.) Beholde, Saul was not innocent, yet had hee the holinesse not of life, but of his annoynting.

Aug. Contra lit. Petilian. lib. 2. cap. 48.

S. Aug. holdeth that Saul had the holinesse of his princely iunction to the houre of his death.

Phil.

Phil. If Dauid might not lawfully haue slaine Saul, Dauid might not beare armes against Saul: for the putting himselfe in armes proueth he was either lawfull king, or a manifest rebell against the king, which I thinke you will not affirme. Theop. Dauid was neither king as yet when he did this, nor rebell against the king. He put himselfe in armes not to seeke the kingdome, nor to subdue the vsurper as you vainly suppose: he fled to saue his life, as euery subiect may, by your doctrine and doings, yea though life be not sought.

Dauid put himselfe in armes to saue his life, and not to seeke the crowne.

Phil. How could Dauid be annointed, if Saul were not first deposed? Theop. You misconster Samuels words. For by them the scepter was not taken out of Sauls hands, but his seed reiected from inheriting the kingdome. Phil. May Samuel said vnto him; *God hath cast thee away from being king. And againe, The Lord hath rent the kingdome of Israel from thee this day, and hath giuen it to thy neighbor. What can this import, but he was personally deposed from the gouernment? Theop. The present possession of the kingdome was not denied him, but the inheritance of it to him and his issue. By a king Samuel ment, not one that should gouerne during his life: for so did the iudges of Israel before Saul, that were no kings: but one that should haue the kingdome to him, and his after him by way of inheritance. For that was it which the children of Israel respected when they required a king, which was not a gouernor for the time, but a setled succession in the regiment, as other nations had. This was it that Samuel said vnto Saul when he first reproued him: Thou hast done foolishly, thou hast not kept the commandement of the Lord: for (haddest thou kept it) the Lord had now established thy kingdome vpon Israel* for euer. But now thy kingdome shall not continue. This was it that Samuel meant the second time when he more sharply rebuked Sauls disobedience. Because thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, therfore hath he cast away thee from being king. And againe, The Lord hath rent the kingdome of Israel from thee this day, and hath giuen it to thy neighbor, not meaning his person should be degraded, but the kingdome remoued both from his line, and from his tribe.

Saul reiected from hauing the kingdom to him and his seede.
*1.King.15.

The children of Israel required a king after the maner of other nations, that is a setled succession in the kingdome.
1.King. 13.

*To thee and thine for euer.
1.King. 15.

Phil. This is your priuate sense; for the words sound, that

that he should not be king ouer Israel. Theo. Saint Augustine himselfe expoundeth these very words as I do. *Ille cui dicitur: spernit te Dominus ne sis Rex super Israel, & dirupit Dominus Regnum ab Israel de manu tua hodie, quadraginta annos regnauit super Israel, tanto scilicet spacio temporis quanto & ipse Dauid, & audiuit hoc primo tempore regni sui: vt intelligamus ideo dictum quia nullus de stirpe eius fuerat regnaturus.* Saul, to whom it was saide the Lord will cast thee away, that thou shalt not be king ouer Israell, and the Lord hath rent the kingdome from Israel, out of thine hand this day: euen he raigned fortie yeeres as long as Dauid himselfe, and this he heard in the verie beginning of his raigne, that we should vnderstand it therfore to be spoken, because none of his stocke should raigne after him.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei. li. 17. ca. 7.

S. Augustine expoundeth Sauls reiection as we do.

And had not Saint Augustine gone cleere with vs, the circumstances of the scriptures doe thus limite the words of Samuel. For Dauid was then a very yong boy, or as the text saith a little one keeping sheepe when he was annointed, hauing neither age, experience, nor strength fit for the present vndertaking of the kingdome. Next, Dauid neither claimed nor pretended any right to the crowne during Saules life, but serued and obeied Saul as his liege lord and master whiles he liued, and so confessed him to be. Thirdly, Saul himselfe neuer obiected this vnto Dauid that he sought the kingdome from him, but from his sonnes; for so he said to Ionathan, As long as the sonne of Ishai liueth vpon the earth, thou shalt not be established nor thy kingdome. And the priests that were charged with treason for helping Dauid, did not answere as you do, that Saul was an vsurper and Dauid the right king, but Who is so faithfull among all thy seruants as Dauid, and goeth at thy commandement: witnessing for Dauid that he behaued himselfe as a faithfull subiect vnto Saul, not as a claimer of the crowne from Saul. Thus all the tribes of Israell conceiued and construed the words of Samuel. For when they came to make Dauid king after Sauls death, they said, In time past, when Saul was our king, thou leddest Israell in and out: and the Lord saide vnto thee: thou shalt feed my people Israell, and thou shalt be captaine ouer my people Israel. So came all the elders of Israell and annointed Dauid king ouer Israel, according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Samuel. The text it selfe alleageth Gods own

The scripture is cleare for the same sense. 1. Kings. 16. Dauid aduanced whē he was but a boy keeping sheepe. Dauid neuer claimed the crowne from Saul. 1. kings. 20. The priests protested that Dauid was a faithfull seruant to Saul. 1. King. 22. All Israel alleadged Samuels fact that Dauid ought to succeede. 2. Kings. 5. 1. Chron. 11.

words, and Samuels act not for the present possession, but for the rightfull succession of the crowne, that after Sauls death it did belong to Dauid.

Phil. The annointing of a second king is it not the deposing of the former? Theop. God oftentimes annointed him that should succeede: as when he willed Elias to annoint Hazael king of Syria, Benhadad his master yet liuing, and likewise to annoint Elizeus the prophet in his owne roome: wherby neither Benhadad was deposed from his kingdome, nor Elias depriued of his ministerie, but successors appointed to them both.

God annointed such as should succeede.

The defence cap. 5. 3. Reg. 13. 14. The example of Ieroboam a wicked schismatike, denounced by a priest.

Phil. *You see in what sort also Ieroboam king of Israell, had a speciall prophet sent to him to denounce the intended iudgements of GOD against him and his posteritie, for his schisme and separation of his people, from the old ancient true worship of God in Ierusalem; and for erecting a newe altar in Bethel (in which all schisme and diuision from the apostolike see is properly prefigured) and for creating of a wicked clergie out of Aarons order: I meane newe, hungrie, base, and inordered priests, (the paterne of heretical ministers) thrust vp, out of the aray and orderly succession and creation of apostolike priesthood: a crime so highly afterwarde both in him and his stocke (according to Gods former denountiation) reuenged, that none of his house was left to pisse against a wall. Yet he fondly sought to apprehend the man of God, and to kill him, for bringing this newes which he accounted high treason against his regalitie.*

Prophets may threaten wicked princes in Gods name, but not depriue them of their crownes.

Theop. You promised to proue that princes might be lawfully deposed by priests: and now slipping cleane from the question, you shew that God threatned destruction to wicked princes, & charged his prophets to go to them & tel them so much from him to their faces. Who euer doubted of this? Or which way draw you this to make for your purpose? If God may iustly reuenge the sins of all men, euen of princes themselues, and oftentimes doth; will you thence infer that priests or prophets may depriue princes of their kingdomes?

The prophet that cried out against Ieroboams altar spake not a word of his schisme

Phil. *A priest denounced Ieroboam* to be *a wicked schismatike.* Theop. He was a prophet, and no priest that cried out against the altar of Bethel in Ieroboams presence, and spake not one word of Ieroboams schisme or deposition, but onely that king Iosiah should sacrifice the idolatrous priests and

and burne their bones on that altar: which came to passe 300. yeres after Ieroboam was dead. Such mightie reasons you bring to iustifie the deposing and displacing of princes by the bishop of Rome: that when all is said, your owne glosing and interlacing besides the text is the best ground of your argument. That Ieroboams *erecting a newe altar in Bethel properly prefigured our deuision from the apostolike See* (so you call Rome) *and that his newe, hungrie, base, and inordered priests are a paterne of our ministers*, these be the blastes of your spirit and cankers of your mouth, they touch not vs; but in your deceiued and exaspered fansie. We haue forsaken the strumpet that made drunke the inhabitants of the earth with the wine of her fornication, and are gone out of her least we should be partakers in her sins & receiue of her plagues: otherwise we haue diuided our selues neither from God, nor his Church. That the clergie of England is *vpbrust, hungrie and base*, is but the vnloding of your disdainefull stomacks; indeed your boy-priests haue a brauer fashion to ruffle in their silks and colors, & think themselues no cast ware, as if the sight of Rhemes, or Rome did by & by make them Iosephs betters in dignitie, and Abrahams equals in grauitie: for our part we are that we are by the grace of God, & we hope in his mercy, his grace in vs shall not be in vaine. But what is this to the question whether the pope may depose princes or no; you began with a matter which you neuer came neere, and now you be cleane besides. For what doth Gods threatning or punishing of Ieroboam concerne the popes deposing and degrading of princes? God repaied the wickednes which Ieroboam committed with fearful plagues on him, & his whole house after him: and Ahias the prophet did not spare to tell Ieroboams wife, that God would do it, and not leaue one of his line to *wet a wall. Euery preacher may do the like; that is, they may protest & assure princes, that God will not leaue their sins vnpunished both with temporall and eternall plagues: & yet euery preacher may not depose princes. Yea the preacher of God may do the like to the pope himselfe, and yet you thinke it no reason that euery preacher should depose the pope. Much lesse will it followe that your holie father may thrust princes from their seates, because the prophets of God in old time reproued princes for their idolatries.

It is easie for any side to apply figures as they list.

Reuel. 17.
Reuel. 19.

Gods threatening Ieroboam is nothing to the deposing of princes by priests.

*3. Kings. 14.

The defence cap. 5. The example of proud Ozias that would take vnto him the authoritie of priests.

Phil. *Ozias also, or Vsia king of Iuda puffed vp with intolerable pride (as the scripture saith) and not contented with his kingly souereaintie, but presuming to execute spirituall and priestly function; was valiantly by Azarias and 80. priests with him, assailed & thrust out of the temple by force. At what time for that he threatned the priests of God & resisted them with violence; he was stroken with a filthy leprosie: & so not onely thrust out of the temple, but by their authoritie, seuered also from all companie of men (a speciall figure of the priests power to excommunicate for heresie, as well princes as others, in the new law:) & finally the regiment of his kingdome was committed to his son. A cleere exãple that priests may vse armes, & represse impietie by forcible waies, where it may serue to the preseruation of religion and honor of God.*

Vzziah striken with a leprosie but not deposed.

Theo. Vzziah presuming to burn incense on the altar of God, which was the priests office, was stroken with a leprosie, & liued as a leper in an house apart from men to the day of his death: a faire warning for princes not to waxe proud against God, nor to vsurpe things interdicted them by the law of God: but that Azarias the priest and 80. of his brethren valiantly assailed the kings person & *thrust him out by force*, or that the regiment of his kingdome passed from him, as depriued of his right, & descended to his son: these be your additiõs & imaginatiõs, ỹ text hath no such things.

The high priest withstood the king with words not with weapons. The Iesuits delight in martiall termes. *2. Chro. 26. *De verbis Esai Vidi Dominũ.*

Azarias, & his brethren withstood the king: but in words, rebuking him for the breach of Gods lawe, which they might, not manfully assailing the magistrate, nor laying violent hands on him to thrust him out of the temple, as your martiall terms do import. If the scripture it selfe do not content you, repeating the words, wherewith Azarias *resisted the king; heare Chrysost. conclusion vpon this place. After the priest had reproued (the attempt) and the king would not yeeld, but offered armes, shields, & speares, & vsed his power, then the priest (turning himselfe) to God, I haue done, saith he, my dutie (to warne him,) I can go no farther. *Nam Sacerdotis est tantum arguere*; for it is the priests part onely to reproue and freely to admonish (with words) not to assaile with armes, not to vse targets, not to handle spears, not to bend bowes, not to cast darts, but onely to reprooue and freely to warne.

The Iesuits gather con-

This therfore is no *cleere example that priests may vse armes and represse impietie by forcible waies, as you infer*, but a wicked abusing

abusing and drawing of the scriptures to serue your warlike dispositions. For Gods, & mans law will assure you that priests & bishops may be no warriers in their owne persons; & if you regarde not that, your owne lawe will teach you that *no clergie man may put himselfe in armes, no not at the commandement of the bishop of Rome. Pope Iohn saith, *Tractare de armis terrenæ potestatis: To meddle with armes, pertaineth to the ciuill power. Pope Innocentius saith: Christ, *who was the paterne of al priests forbad carnal weapons to be taken in hand for him. A councell at Toledo in Spain, *Clergy men that in any faction whatsoeuer, wittingly take armes, shall loose their degree & be thrust in some abbay for euer. An other at Meaux in France, *Whatsoeuer they be that be of the clergie, let them take no warlike weapons in hand, nor go with arms. If they do, let them loose their degree, as contemners of the sacred canons, and prophaners of ecclesiasticall dignitie. The full resolution of al these canons by the confession of your law is this: *Hijs ita respondetur, Sacerdotes propria manu arma arripere non debent.* The meaning of these places is, that priests themselues in their own persons should not take weapon. You heard before how often S. Paul charged that a bishop should be *no fighter nor striker, and that *the weapons of their warfare were not carnall, and by the Lords owne voice, that he which *striketh his fellowe seruants shall haue his portion with hypocrites.

clusiós clean against the scriptures & their owne canons.

*Caus.23. quæst.8. ¶ 1.

*Ibidem. ¶ 2.

*Ibidem. ¶ 3.

*Ibid. ¶ Cleric.

*Ibid. ¶ quicunque.

*Ibidem dist.

*quicunque § hijs ita.

*1.Tim.3. 2.Tim.2. Tit.1.

*2.Cor.10.

*Mat.24.

What a desperate conclusion then haue you wrested out of this example against your owne canons, and against the sacred scriptures, *That priests may not onely vse armes & represse impietie by forcible waies:* but assaile the person of their soueraigne with open violence, which, if it were lawfull for them to vse armes as it is for others, they might not so much as touch? The precept of God is plaine. Touch not mine annointed; which reacheth to others but chiefly to princes. You may not speake euill of them, & can it be lawfull for you do euill? To resist them is damnation: what is it then with armed violence to oppresse them? Dauid was touched in his hart for cutting off the lap of Sauls garment: and you boldly cõclude that priests with their own hands may violate the princes person. And where a cursing thought against them is a sinne before God, a murdering

The princes person no priest may violate, or so much as touch. Psal.105.

1.Kings.24.

hand vpon them is a merit by your doctrine.

They might not vse violence, and what needed any when the king hastned of himselfe to go forth?

Phil. We take our light from this example. For here the priests, as the text saith, not onely resisted, but when they saw the king become a leper they expelled him out of the sanctuarie. Theop. The word* יְגָרְשׁוּהוּ signifieth, they caused or got him to hasten thence, but not with violence: for the next words shewe that he was forced of himselfe to go foorth because the Lord had stroken him. And so the word גָּרַשׁ doth signifie, and the common translation which you call S. Hieroms hath for it, *Ipse accelerauit egredi*: he made hast of himselfe to go foorth, as terrified with the plague which he felt.

* 2. Chro. 26.

* 2. Chro. 26.

Phil. *The priests seuered him from all companie of men (a speciall figure of the priests power to excommunicate for heresie as well princes as others in the newe lawe) and the regiment of his kingdome was committed to his son.* Theop. You promised full proofes out of the word of God that priests might depose princes, and nowe you come with emptie figures of your owne applying without truth or coherence. Vzziah dwelt apart in an house from others, because of his leprosie: for so the law of God commanded, and the danger of that disease required; but that the priests *seuered him from all companie*, this is your own making without the booke, the text hath no such wordes; much lesse do you finde in the scriptures that he was depriued of his kingdome. Iothan his son gouerned his house, & iudged the people of the land; because the king himselfe might not be conuersant among men by reason of his sickness, but the crowne still continued in the father though a leper, and Iothan began not his raigne, till his father was dead, whom the scripture calleth the king of Iudah in the twentie fifth yeere of his raigne and last yeere of his life.

4. King. 15.

2. Chro. 26. 4. Kings. 15. Oziah was king of Iudah to the day of his death.

The priests were to discerne lepers, but the magistrate to see them kept apart from others.

Numb. 5.

Phil. Whose dutie was it to separate lepers from sounde persons, but onely the priests? Theop. The priests were to discerne who were lepers, but the magistrate was to see them put apart and to keepe them from infecting others. The putting lepers asunder from others was first commanded to the children of Israel, and by them first executed; though the pronouncing them to be lepers was alwaies reserued to the priest. Phil. And the leprosie of the bodie resembleth the leprosie of the soule. *Ergo* priests may separate princes from the Church for heresie and apostasie, which

which be the sores of the inward man, as the leprosie is of the outward. Theo. You must prouue first, before your conclusion will follow, that lepers by the law of God lost their inheritance, which is not true. Next that euery prince sinning must be deposed, which is as false. For leprosie resembleth not onely heresie, or apostasie, but all kinde of iniquitie. Ambrose saith, *Contemptus verbi est lepra mentis*, the contempt of the word is the leprosie of the minde. And so Chrysostome: The leprosie of the soule, which is sin, is onely to be feared. And likewise the rest: *Intelligimus omnes auaros, & cupidos intus in anima peccati lepra esse perfusos.* We vnderstand all couetous and greedie persons to be inwardly infected with the leprosie of sin. If the leprosie of the soule be a cause sufficient to remoue princes from their seates, what prince shall keepe his kingdom, or what bishop his chaire? Be they not all sinners, as wel bishops as princes? If you take vpon you the moderation of the matter, that all sins shall not depriue them of their crownes but onely heresie: then you decide the case like a lord, as you list; and checke your owne conclusion as pernicious to popes no lesse than to princes; and we may iustly reiect it as a figure of your owne framing, without probabilitie in the antecedent, or necessitie in the consequent.

The leprosie of the soule no cause of depriuation vnto princes. *In Luc. lib. 5. de leproso mundato.* *Chrysost. in Mat. hom. 16. & oper. imperfect. hom. 10.*

Phil. Note the cause, why king Vzziah was smitten with the leprosie: for *presuming to execute the spirituall & priestly function*, wherof now you make them supreme gouernors. Theop. I note it well; and when we defend that princes may preach, baptize, forgiue sins, or minister the Lords supper, then threaten vs with Vzziahs pride and plague, on Gods name: in the meane time learne that to beare the sword is the princes, and not the priests function: and that the kings of Iudah which most vsed their temporall sword for the restoring of truth and purging of error, wan most fauor with God and honor with men, as I shewed before in Dauid, Iehosaphat, Ezechias and Iosias. Phil. To iudge of truth, is the priests charge; and that you refer to the prince. Theop. To know what must be taught is the pastors care: to take heede what they beleeue, or whom they follow, God hath referred that to the hearers, at their perill, and more than that we giue no prince.

To beare the sword in matters of religiō is the princes and not the priests charge.

Phil. *The office and zeale of good priests is notably recommended*

The defence cap. 5.

vnto vs, in the deposition of the wicked Queene Athalia. She to obtaine the crowne after Ochosias, killed all hir children: onely one, which by a certaine good womans pietie was secretly withdrawen from the massacre, saued and brought vp within the Temple for seuen yeeres space, all which time the Queene vsurped the kingdome: till at length Ioida *the high priest, by opportunitie called to him forces both of the priests and people; proclaimed the right heire that was in his custodie, annointed and crowned him king; and caused immediatly the pretensed Queene, (notwithstanding she cried treason, treason, as not onely iust possessors but wicked vsurpers vse to do:) to be slaine with her fautors at her owne court gate. Thus doe priests deale and iudge for the innocent and lawfull princes (when time requireth) much to their honour, and agreeable to their holy calling.* Theo. Egernesse blindeth your vnderstanding, when to proue that a lawfull prince may be depriued of state and life, which you seeke to defende, you bring an example of a wicked woman vsurping the crowne and playing the tyrant, that was suppressed and punished by the rightfull inheritour of the scepter, first proclaimed and crowned by the consent of his whole realme.

The example of the deposition and death of Queene Athalia by Ioida the hie priest.

Athalia an vsurper, and slaine by the kings authoritie.

Phi. Ioida the high priest commaunded her to be slaine, and not the king. For he was a childe of seuen yeeres age and had no such discretion. Theo. Ioida had good warrant by the lawes of God and man to do that he did. First, he saued the king aliue, and hiding him from the furie of Athalia, secretly nourced him in the house of God: and in that respect might lawfully protect him, and execute iustice for him. Againe, he was the prince of his tribe, as well as others were of their tribes: and therefore might take vpon him as much as any other of the princes, in the minoritie of the king to pacifie the realme, and punish the vsurper. Thirdly, his wife was the kings aunt, & him selfe the nerest allie that the king had, and for that cause by the lawe of nature and nations, bound to see the princes right, age and innocencie defended. Lastly, that he did was by the common consent of all the nobles and captaines. For the scripture saith, that before he entered to proclaime king Ioash, He caused the captaines, and the chiefe fathers of Israel to come vnto him into the house of the Lord, and made a couenant with them, and tooke an oth of them in the house of the Lord, and shewed them the kings sonne. So that

Ioidaes warrant to commaund Athalia to be put to death in the kings name.

2. *Chro.* 23. 4. *King.* 11.

Ioida

Ioida had very good and sufficient authoritie without and besides his priesthood to do that he did: which you dissemble and make a flouish as if he had done this only by vertue of his vocation, which is most false.

Phil. *No man can be ignorant howe stoutly Elias (being sought to death by Achab and his Queene Iezabel that ouerthrewe holy altars, and murthered all the true religious that coulde be founde in their lande) told them to their face; that not he or other men of God whom they persecuted, but they and their house were the disturbers of Israel: And slewe in his zeale all the said Iezabels false prophets, fostered at her table, euen foure hundred at one time; and so set vp holy altars againe. Howe he handled the idolatrous king Ochozias his captaines and messengers, wasting them and an hundred of their traine, by fire from heauen; till the third captaine was forced to humble himselfe vpon his knees vnto him.* The defence, cap. 5. 3. Reg. 18. 19. The execution done by Elias the prophet vpon many with deposition of princes. 4. Reg. 1.

Howe he had commission to annoint Hazael king of Syria, Elezeus a Prophet for himselfe, and Iehu king of Israel, and so to put downe the sonne and whole house of Achab: which thereby lost all the title and right to the kingdome for euer. 3. Reg. 19. 4. Reg. 9.

Theo. Elias zeale we know: and his stout answere to Achab in saying, I haue not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house in that ye haue forsaken the commandements of the Lord, & thou hast followed Baalim: yet haue you but a cold suit of his stout speech. For if prophets may reproue kings, may they therefore depose them? you bring your fiue wits in question, if you stande to this collection. Elias zeale. 3. King. 18.

Phil. *He slew in his zeale at one time foure hundred of Iezabels false prophets fostered at her table.* Theoph. The famine which the land felt, and the wonder which Elias did, were the cause why king Achab deliuered the prophets of Baal into Elias hands to be slayne by the people according to the lawe of God. Phil. Nay Elias slewe them. Theo. Thinke you that Elias with his owne hands murdered so many? Phi. The scripture saith that Elias slue them, interpret that how you can. Theo. I take Elias all this while for a prophet and not for an executioner. Phil. Though it were not his acte to kill them; it was his authoritie that they were killed. Theo. His direction you might haue said, but not his authoritie. For Elias was a priuate man and no magistrate. Phi. King Achab was far enough Elias caused the prophets of Baal to be slaine by the publike authoritie of the king and his people. Elias was a prophet and not an executioner.

enough from killing them, had it not bin for Elias. Theo. Elias might induce the king to do it, cõpell him he could not. Phi. How could Elias induce the king to do that deed?

How Elias gate Achab & the whole realme to decree the slaughter of Baals prophets.

Theoph. The famine was so great in Israel for lacke of raine that man and beast were ready to perish: & raine they could haue none, but at Elias * word as Elias had told the king before the drought began. Meeting therfore with Achab and being chalenged by him as the author of this famine, and troubler of Israel: he discharged himself, and protested before the king, that God plagued the whole land because he, * and his fathers house had forsaken the commandements of the Lord, & folowed other gods. And to iustifie his speech, he offred to proue before all Israel on the danger of his owne head that the king and the land were but seduced and abused by the prophets of Baal, and that he would proue by no worse meanes, than by miraculous fire from heauen which should shew them whose sacrifice God accepted: assuring them of raine abundant after their conuersion to the true God, for which cause he was at this time sent vnto them. To this the king, and the rest gaue their consents: & when by the signe which Elias wrought, the prophets of Baal were conuicted to be but false deceiuers, and the whole assemblie fell on their faces, and gaue the glory to God, and submitted themselues to folow his truth: Elias willed them to take Baals prophets, and giue them the reward that deceiuers by Gods law should haue, which was death.

* 3. Kings. 17. Vers. 1.
* 3. Kings. 18. Vers. 23. Vers. 24.
Vers. 1. Vers. 24.
Vers. 39.
Vers. 40.

Phil. This is your enlarging of the text. Theoph. The bookes of Kings are but short gatherings out of the larger chronicles that were extant among the Iewes, and the maner of the holy ghost is briefly to touch the chiefest things, and yet is there none of these partes but may be plainly proued by the circumstances of the text.

Phil. How proue you the king consented? Theop. The particular speech of no one is reported, but the general consent of the whole companie. Where also the king was present, is expressed: and yet before the multitude was assembled, the kings consent to Elias offer appeareth in that the king sent vnto all the children of Israel, and gathered the prophets together for that purpose, who would otherwise haue despised the message and word of Elias.

Vers. 24. The King and the people consented to Elias offer.
Vers. 20.

Againe

Againe, the prophets of Baal would neuer haue ventured their liues vpon a needlesse miracle at Elias pleasure, but the king and the whole realme tied them to that condition, vpon danger else to reiect both them and their profession. And lastly, how was it possible for one poore prophet to catch and kill foure hundred and fiftie, so that not a man of them escaped: the king and the whole state standing with them? Or how was it lawfull for Elias to spill their blood in the kings presence, without the kings consent? Elias therefore made the motion, which the king and the whole realme there assembled, did accept and ratifie with this answere, It is well spoken: and as he should haue lost his life, if he had failed; so when they failed, he required iustice to be done by the king and the realme on them, for that they were cleerely conuicted to be teachers of strange and false gods. Vers. 24.

Phil. Achab when he came home told Iezabel his wife how Elias had slaine all the prophets with the sword. Theop. Achab, we doubt not, excused himselfe, and cast the fault as much as he could on Elias, that Iezabels prophets were slaine; but this doth not shew that Achab did not consent. His words import that Elias was the procurer and causer of their destruction, but not the iudge nor officer that put them to death. Phi. The scripture saith he slew them. The. So the scripture saith, that Solomon built God an house: thinke you therefore that Solomon was a mason or carpenter? And Iosh̄ua smote the fiue kings of the Amorites, and hanged them on fiue trees: did Iosh̄ua therefore play the hangman? And king Roboam made shields of brasse: was Roboam therefore a brasse smith? Phil. No: they commanded or caused these things to be done. Theo. And so did Elias procure, or cause them to be slayne: for in the scripture the causer, procurer and director are sayd to do the deed, though they be but meanes and helpes to haue it done. But what is this to the deposing of princes? Will you reason thus? False prophets may be put to death by magistrates; *ergo* princes may be deposed by priests. I thinke you will not for very shame make such childish conclusions. 3. Kings. 19. Elias is said in the scripture to haue doon the deede, because he was the procurer and author of it. Acts. 7. Iosh. 10. 3. King. 14.

Phil. He himselfe slue king Ochasias *his captains, and messengers, wasting them and an hundreth of their trayne by fire from heauen.*

heauen. Theo. Elias was the speaker of the word, but God was the doer of the deede: and in that case God himselfe slue them, and not Elias. Phil. He called for fire from heauē.

God sent fire from heauen, & not Elias.

Theoph. Fire from heauen was not in Elias power but in Gods will. Neither might Elias, had he not bene guided by the speciall instinct of gods spirit, haue presumed to cal for that, or any other kind of reuenge from heauen: for that is the manifest tempting of God, as our sauiour warned his apostles when he rebuked them for offering to imitate Elias, and to call for fire from heauen as he did. And sure it is, as these things were not ordinarie, so can you driue them to no conclusion for your purpose; nor lay them forth for imitation to any; no more than you may warrant men to steale, because Israel *robbed Egypt by Gods appointment; or to perswade any to murder themselues, because *Samson did the like; or teach them to curse and kil children, because Elizeus handled *two and fourtie so that mocked him at Bethel. And yet all this while you shew not that Elias so much as touched the king, much lesse deposed him, which you professe to proue.

Luke 9.
*Exod. 12.
*Iudges 16.
*4. King. 2.

THE DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIKES.

Phil. *Elias had commission to annoint Hazael king of Syria & Iehu king of Israel, & so to put downe the sonne & whole house of Achab; which thereby lost all the title & right to the kingdom for euer.* Theo. Neither of them was annointed by Elias, neither Hazael, nor Iehu. Elizeus onely foretold Hazael, that he should be king in Benhadads place: His words were, The Lord hath shewed me that thou shalt be king of Aram; This Elizeus spake the day before Benhadad died; and other annointing Hazael had none.

The annointing of Hazael. 4. King. 8.

Iehu was in deed annointed by one of the children of the prophets (whom Elizeus sent) & charged by message from God to smite and destroy the whole house of Achab his master; and so he did. For he slue Ioram the king, trode Iesabel vnder his horse feete, and caused the seuentie sonnes of Achab that were nursed in Samaria to be slaine; and slue all that remained of the house of Achab in Izrael, and all that were great with him, and his familiars, and his priests, so that he let none of his remaine.

Iehu willed by God to take the sword and roote out Achabs house. 4. King. 9. *Ibidem. vers.* 7. & 8. 4. King. 11.

Phil. Then yet here was one king deposed. Theo. Here was no king deposed by any prophet, but one slaine by Iehu, to whom God gaue the kingdome of Achab for this intent,

God might giue Iehu

tent, that he should roote out the whole house and offspring of Achab. Phi. Did Iehu well to kill his master & to take the kingdome from him and his heires? Theo. Being expressly commanded thereto by God himselfe, he did but his duetie. For God may take and giue kingdoms as he wil, though man may not. Phil. Authoritie so to do Iehu receiued from Elisæus. Theo. Unsay that, for feare least you fal into a malicious and wicked untruth. The prophet that annointed Iehu began his message with, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; and not thus saith Elizeus. Phil. But Elizeus sent him and gaue him instructiõs what to do and what to say. Theo. Let that be so. Then Elizeus taught him to do this errand in Gods name, and not in his owne, & consequently Iehu receiued authoritie from God, and not from man. Now view your argument. God may giue kingdoms to whom he wil, and appoint the subiect to be the reuenger of his masters sinne; *ergo* the pope may do the like. Be you not the right members of Antichrist, when you make such reasons to flatter the bishop of Rome?

the kingdom and appoint him to reuẽge his masters sinnes.

Iehu authorised by God, and not by Elizeus.

Phil. The scripture saith of Elias: He cast downe kings, destroied them and plucked the honorable from their seates: and of Elisæus in the same place, he neuer feared prince, nor could be ouercome by any. Theo. If the scripture will not serue your turnes, you will make it I perceiue by one meanes or other. The words as they lie in Græke are, ὁ καταγαγὼν βασιλεῖς εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ δεδοξασμένους ἀπὸ κλίνης αὐτῶν: He brought kings to destruction, and the mightie from their beds: you to helpe the matter put in termes of your owne, and say, he cast downe kings, destroyed them and plucked them from their seates, as if Elias had bœne some lustie swash buckler to plucke them out by the eares, and not a zealous and sincere prophet to denounce the will of God vnto them with the perill of his owne life, for the which he is commended. And so of Elizeus, the wise man saith, He was not shaken (that is driuen from the doing of his dutie or afraid to do that which God willed him) for any ruler. These and such like praises, if you take them as in prophets and preachers they may and ought to be taken; (which is not to shrinke from declaring the will of God for any prince, and to aduertise them as well as others of the danger & destruction that hangeth ouer their heads:) they

Eccle. 48.

Eccle. 48.

Elias & Elisæus were no deposers.

Eccle. 48.

The third part. No scripture confirmeth the deposition of princes.

they be great vertues; and shined in Elias and Elizeus very brightly: but if you aggrauate words to perswade men that Elias or Elizeus did depose princes as superior iudges, or laid violent hands on them to pull them from their thrones; you make them rebellious disturbers of states, which was farre from them; and not religious seruants to God, as in deed they were.

The defence, cap. 5. Illations and consequents vpon the former examples.

Phil. *By these examples of holy scriptures we see: first, that annointed and lawfully created kings may be deposed: secondly, for what causes they were depriued: thirdly, that as in the creation and consecration of kings, so also in their deprivation, God vsed the ministerie of priests and prophets, as either ordinarie or extraordinarie iudges or executors of his will towards them.*

The former examples inferre no iudicial deposition of princes by priests. All sauing one were either not lawfully created or not els deposed.

Theop. Your examples haue bene throughly considered; and howsoeuer you correct and qualifie your conclusion, the precedents no way fit your purpose. That annointed and lawfully created kings may be chased frō the gouernment; the example of Iehu wil iustifie: if you adde these two prouisoes, that the warrant be speciall from Gods owne mouth, and the fact be done by the magistrate whom God hath authorized to take the sword; for so doth Iehues example require: the rest intend no such thing. The princes which you name were either not deposed, or not lawfully created. Saul was presently reiected frō Gods fauour and spirit, from the possession of the kingdom he was not, but onely cut off from the succession. Ieroboam was sorely threatned, and Vzziah sharply punished, but yet neither of them deposed. Achab was twise rebuked by Elias, but not depriued: and Athalia whom the hie priest in the yong kings name commanded to be slaine, vsurped, and was neuer lawfully created.

Athalia slain for vsurping: Vzziah smitten for his pride: and Iorams religiō no worse than his fathers. 4. King. 9. Vers. 22.

The causes for which they were depriued, we need not dispute of, vnlesse you first shew that they were depriued. Athalia was slaine neither for apostasie, nor heresie, but for vsurping the crowne against the right heires. Vzziahs acts were commended, but his pride detested by God. Ioram was of no worse religion than Achab his father, and others before him, and after him, which yet were not deposed: but God reuenged on him, the whoredoms, & witchcrafts of his mother Iesabel, which he suffred, and the blood of all his seruants the prophets, which he spilt in the raigne both

both of Achab & Ioram. That cause the prophet uttered to Iehu: and Iehu to Ioram whom he slue by Israel. And this plague upon Achabs wife and house Elias threatned after the killing of Naboth. Phil. Was not Ioram an idolater? Theop. Yes, that encreased his sinne, but it was not the cause that he lost his kingdom. Vers. 7. 3. King. 21.

Your third obseruation halteth downe right, & doubleth so many times either, and or, that in effect you resolue nothing. You say *God vsed the ministerie of priests and prophets in the depriuation of kings.* He vsed their mouthes to foretel, and declare the plagues that he would send on princes: & sometimes their hands to annoint such as he would haue succeed: but he vsed them, neither *as ordinarie, nor extraordinarie iudges, nor executors* to depose princes. Messengers they were to deliuer by word of mouth that which God had determined, to such as did, or should inherite the kingdom; other execution, or authoritie to depriue princes they had none: and this is farre from that which you claime for the pope: whom you make the superuisor of princes, and an ordinarie iudge to compell them and displace them if he see cause. God vseth the ministery of the prophets to declare his wil, but not their authoritie to depose princes.

Phil. For so much as *these princes held their dignities and soueraigne authorities of God, and were bound to occupie and vse the same, with what forces soeuer they had to the aduancement of his religion, and to the true worship and honour of their supreme lord and master: as also to the benefite and preseruation of his people in faith and feare of him: the priests and prophets (that then had the principall and direct charge of mens soules and religion, and were in spirituall matters superiours to their owne princes) rightly opposed themselues in all such actions as tended to the dishonour of God, destruction of religion, and to the notorious damage of the soules of them ouer whom they did raigne: and in the behalfe of God executed iustice vpon such, as contrarie to their obligation and first institution, abused their soueraigne power, to the destruction of true religion and aduancement of idolatrie, heresie, or such like abhomination.* The defence cap. 5.

Theop. Neuer giue vs a reason why princes may be deposed by priests, and prophets, so long as the fact it selfe is in doubt, and not yet proued to be lawful. That kings *hold their soueraigne authorities of God, and are bound to vse the same to the aduancement of his true worship and honour; as also to the preseruation of his people in the faith and feare of him*; this is a point alwaies The Iesuits giue a reason why priests may depose princes before they proue the fact to be lawfull.

alwaies vrged by vs, and lately confessed by you before you were ware: for you were wont to tell vs that princes might not meddle with spirituall things or causes: and now you professe that princes *are bound to vse their authorities and forces whatsoeuer to the aduancement of Gods religion, and to the true worship and honor of God, and preseruation of his people in the faith and feare of him.* This then is a sound and an euident truth alledged by vs, and allowed by you. But when you grow from this to conclude, that if princes vse not their swords and forces as they should & are bound, priests may take their dignities & authorities from them: you put iron feet to a golden head, & thinke the metals will agree. But you be fowly deceiued. Your consequent is as false, as your antecedent is true. That princes should vse their swords for the seruice of God, is a cleer & vndoubted principle: but that prophets, priests, or popes may take their scepters from them, if they vse them otherwise than they ought, this is a false presumption of yours, and not a consequent either of your former examples, or your later excurrents, where you flourish about with many pretences, and prefaces to shew the reason of your wicked assertion.

Phi. Our conclusion is, that *the priests and prophets rightly opposed themselues in all such actions as tended to the dishonor of God, and destruction of religion, and in the behalfe of God executed iustice vpon such as contrarie to their obligation, and first institution, abused their souereigne power to the aduancement of idolatrie, and heresie.*

Theop. What words you list to colour and cloke your conclusion with, we care not. The matter in question betwixt vs, is not, whether prophets might *oppose themselues* by way of reproofe, or doe that which God commanded them to the terror of idolatrous princes: which you call *executing of iustice in Gods behalfe vpon such as abused their power.* But in plaine termes whether euer any priest or prophet by vertue of their vocation as superior iudges, did violently withstand, or iudicially depose idolatrous or hereticall princes: You take vpon you to proue by holy scripture they did: we say they did not. They reproued them and threatened them by special direction & message from God: they neuer deposed any. Onely God sent one of them to wit Iehu to take the sword in hand, and as a lawfull magistrate nominated and elected by God himselfe, to take vengeance

The question is not whether the prophets might oppose them to reprooue wicked kings, but whether they might by their propheticall vocation depose them.

vengeance on Achabs house and race. Whence it will not follow that other priests and prophets by their ordinarie calling might do the like, or giue crownes and kingdoms as they saw cause. This was and is specially reserued vnto God. When he speaketh the word, Princes shall loose not only scepter and state, but life and soul: and vntill he speake, neither Apostles, nor Prophets, Priests, nor Popes, may presume to dispose kingdomes, or name successors to the crownes of earthly princes.

Till God speake, no Priest may depose kingdomes.

Phil. *In these cases, and all other doubts and differences betwixt one man and another, or betwixt Prince and people; that Priests and namely the high Priest should be the arbiter and iudge, and the interpreter of Gods will towards his people; is most consonant both to nature, reason, the vse of all nations, and to the expresse Scriptures.*

The defence cap. 5.

For in Gods sacred Law thus we read: Si difficile & ambiguum apud te iudicium esse prospexeris inter sanguinem & sanguinem, causam & causam, lepram & nō lepram &c. If thou foresee the iudgement to be hard and ambiguous betwixt bloud and bloud, cause and cause, leprosie or no leprosie; and find varietie of sentences among the iudges at home: rise and go vp to the place, which the Lord thy God shall chuse, and thou shalt come to the priests of Leuies stocke, and to the iudge that shall be for the time; thou shalt aske of them, and they will iudge according to the truth of iudgement: and thou shalt do whatsoeuer they say that haue the rule of the place which God shall chuse, and shall teach thee according to his law: thou shalt not decline neither to the right hand nor left. And if anie shall be so proude, as not to obey the commandement of the priest that shall for that time minister vnto the Lord thy God, by the sentence of the iudge let that man die; and so thou shalt remoue euill from Israell: and all the people hearing shall feare and take heed, that heerafter they waxe not proude.

Deut. 17.

The subiection of all men to the iudgement of Priests.

Thus farre in the holy text generallie without all exception: subiecting in cases of such doubts as are recited, all degrees of faithfull men, no lesse kings than others, to the priests resolution.

Theop. What will you do to helpe your cause, that will thus both corrupt and wrest the scriptures to make them serue your fansies? You wilfullie peruert the words of the holie Ghost to bring them to your becke: and as if that were not corruption enough, you wrench

and force the ſenſe of the ſcripture againſt reaſon, againſt truth, againſt the whole courſe of the Iewes common wealth, and againſt the verie parts, and branches of the text it ſelfe.

This place of ſcripture is corrupted by the Papiſts. Deut.17.

Phil. First what corruption haue we committed in the words? Theoph. That where the words are, If any through pride will not obeie the commaundement of the prieſt, which ſhall for the time miniſter vnto the Lord thy God, or (diſobeie) the decree of the iudge, that man ſhall die: you change them and ſay, *If any man will not obeie the commaundement of the prieſt* by the decree of the iudge, *that man ſhall die.* Phil. So the latine is, *Ex decreto iudicis morietur homo ille,* By the decree of the iudge ſhall that man die. Theoph. But the Greeke and Hebrue are cleane againſt it. The words of the Septuaginte are * ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι τοῦ ἱερέως, τοῦ παρεστηκότος λειτουργεῖν, ἢ τοῦ κριτοῦ, ὃς ἂν γένηται ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ ἀποθανεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἐξαρεῖς τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ἰσραήλ, The man whoſoeuer he be, that ſhal in pride not obey the prieſt, (that is appointed to miniſter vnto the name of the Lord:) or (elſe ſhal not obey) the iudge which ſhall be in thoſe daies, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take the euill one from Iſrael. The Hebrew is anſwerable to the Greeke, The man that ſhal do in pride, *Lebilthì ſhemoáhh el-haccohèn habhomèd Leſháreth ſhàm eth-Iehouà elohéca, ò el-haſſhophèt: umeth haïſh hahù,* not to heare the prieſt or the iudge, that man ſhall die. And ſo did Cyprian * repeate this text, *Et homo quicunque fecerit in ſuperbia, vt non exaudiat ſacerdotem aut iudicem, quicunque fuerit in diebus illis, morietur homo ille, & omnis populus cum audierit, timebit.* And the man, whoſoeuer ſhall in pride not heare the prieſt OR THE IVDGE, which ſhall be in thoſe dayes that man ſhall die, and all the people when they heare of it ſhall feare.

The Greeke and Hebrew are againſt the Latine. Deut.17.

Lib.1.epiſt.3.8 11.lib.3.epi.9. lib.4.epiſt.9.

The latine text of the Bible depraued.

Phil. But S. Hierom read it otherwiſe, as you ſee by his tranſlation. Theop. You haue corrupted the tranſlation which you call S. Hieroms, and now you would bolſter out your forgeries with his name: howbeit know you that the very ſame tranſlation not long ſince was not *Ex decreto iudicis,* but *& decreto iudicis:* He that obeieth not the commandement of the prieſt, and the decree of the iudge that man ſhall die. This was the text of the Bible which you

you call S. Hierom not much more than 200. yeres since, when Nicolaus de Lyra & your ordinarie glosse did cõment vpon it. And so they read to this day as also many written copies that I haue seene. Hereupon Lyra saith, In these & such cases they must haue recourse to the superiour iudges, that is to the high priest, and the iudge of the people. And sometimes it fell out that both offices did concur in one person, as in *Heli* who was both iudge and high priest: but commonly both the persons were distinct and the offices. And hence grew the custome, from inferiour ecclesiastical iudges to appeale to the high priest, and from inferior princes and secular iudges to appeale to the King or Emperour. You haue turned & into *ex*, and not only debarred the prince of all his right, but subiected him to the priest *in all doubts and differences betwixt prince and people*, euen to the losse of his crowne if the priest say the word.

That reading is yet found in sixe written Bibles in the new Colledge in Oxford. *Nicol. de Lyra in cap. 17. Deuteronomij.*

Phil. We follow the latine text as we found it. Theop. You might easilie follow that which your selues had framed to your liking, but the order of the Iewes common wealth, and the circumstances of the text it selfe admit no such meaning, as you make of it. For it is more than euident, and testified not in a few places of the scriptures, that all causes neither were, nor might be referred to the priest.

The commõ wealth of the Iews and the scriptures themselues impugne the Iesuits sense of that place.

Moses at the counsell of Iethro chose men of courage out of all Israel, and made them heads ouer the people, rulers ouer thousands, rulers ouer hundreds, rulers ouer fifties, rulers ouer tens. And they iudged the people at all seasons, but brought the hard causes vnto Moses: for they iudged all small (or easie) matters themselues. And though Moses by them was eased of all sauing hard and importing causes, yet finding that burden too heauie for one man alone, he complained vnto God and said, I am not able to beare all this people alone, for it is too heauie for me. To whome God made answere, Gather me seuentie men of the elders of Israel, and bring them vnto the tabernacle of the congregation, and I will come downe, and talke with them there, and take of the spirit that is vpon thee and put it vpon them, and they shall beare the burden of the people with thee: so thou shalt not beare it alone.

Exod. 18. Inferior iudges (which afterward heard smaller matters in the gates of ech citie,) first appointed by the counsell of Iethro. Numbers. 11.

This distinction of inferiour and superiour iudges God after by his law established in that common wealth for

The same order of inferiour and superiour iudges established by gods law for euer among the Iewes. Deut. 16. Deut. 17.

cuer. In the next chapter before this which you alledge, order is taken for inferiour iudge in euery citie throughout the land. Iudges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates (that is in all thy cities) which the Lord thy God giueth thee throughout thy tribes, and they shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.

The superiour iudgement consisted both of priests to direct, and magistrats to correct.

In this Chapter, and these very words which heer you cite, superiour iudges are prescribed, to whom harder causes and matters of greater difficultie were to be referred. And so the words precisely sound. If there fall out an hard matter for thee to iudge, betweene blood and blood, strife and strife, sore and sore, that be matters of iudgemēt in thy gates, thou shalt rise and go vp to the place which the Lord thy God shall chuse there (in the land of promise.) And go to the priests of Leui, and to the iudge which shall be in those daies, and aske them, and they shall shew thee the matter of iudgement. The iudge of which he speaketh was the temporall magistrate, for so the copulatiue leadeth vs, and by that name were the chiefe rulers of Gods people called, before kings were ordained as the booke of Iudges witnesseth; neither was the iudge subiect to the priest, but had his charge besides and aboue the priest, which was to see the law of God exactlie kept and obserued in all points of all men, and to take vengeance on the breaker of any part therof, when as yet there were no kings, and after the creation of kings both priest and iudge were subiect to the king.

The chiefe magistrats before kings were ordained in Israel neuer called Iudges.

This court was after assistant and subiect to the king.

This fourme of regiment by lower and higher iudges and those both ecclesiasticall and ciuill, king Iehosaphat renewed after he returned safe from the battell wherein Achab was slaine. For he set iudges in the land in all the fensed cities of Iudah, citie by citie. Also in Ierusalem he appointed of the leuites and of the priests and of the heads of the houses of Israel for the iudgement of the Lord, and for matters of doubt, and they dwelt at Hierusalem. And he commaunded them saying, thus shall yee do in the feare of the Lord, in truth, and in a perfect heart euery cause that shall come before you from your brethren remaining in their cities, betweene blood and blood, betweene lawe and precept, statuts and iudgements, you shall instruct them therein, and they shall not trespasse against the

Iehosaphat renewed these two formes of iudgement. 2. Chro. 19.

The king commanded them, *ergo* they were not to command him.

Lord

Lord. And behold Amariah the prieſt (ſhall be) chiefe ouer you in euerie matter of the Lords; and Zebadiah the captaine of the houſe of Iudah (ſhall be chiefe ouer you) in euerie matter of the kings, and the leuites ſhall be rulers (or ouerſeers) in your preſence (or vnder you.) Iehoſaphat put that in execution which God preſcribed by Moſes for the debating and determining of greater and weightier cauſes among the children of Iſrael, placing a councell of prieſts, and ſecular magiſtrats at Hieruſalem, to conſider of thoſe doubts of the law, and offences againſt God and the king, which paſſed the reach of inferiour iudges in euerie citie.

All matters were not referred to the prieſt, and the kings matters are namely excepted from them.

Marke then how manie errors you haue committed in alleaging this one place. The gouernment which God ſetled in their common wealth to ſupplie the want of kings, the defence might both ouer-rule kings and depoſe kings, and yet when this was ordained, there was no king created, nor intended in Iſrael, much leſſe included, or ſubiected to this conſiſtorie. Againe, where obedience in theſe words is commanded as well towards the ciuill magiſtrate, as towards the Prieſt, you ſtrike out the magiſtrate cleane, and bring both prince and people in ſubiection to the prieſt in things and cauſes that be not ſpirituall, but temporall. For the depoſing of princes is a meere temporall act, and you haue leſſe to do with princes crownes, than with priuate mens inheritances which yet the prieſt may not diſpoſe. Thirdly, the matters which belonged to them, and the iudgements which they ſhould giue, were preciſely limited to the law of God: in other things they might not preſume. Now reſiſting, and depoſing of princes, be things cleane beſides the law, which Moſes deliuered, and therefore not determinable by thoſe that ſate to iudge according to that law. Fourthly, what queſtion can this be betweene the prince and the people whether the magiſtrate ſhall be depoſed, ſince God hath expreſſely commaunded the people to be ſubiect to the ſword, and not to reſiſt: againſt the which precept, no earthlie court may deliberate, much leſſe determine to breake his law, or licence the people to fruſtrate his heauenlie will. It is one thing to diſburden the con-

How the Ieſuits abuſe the ſenſe of this place in Deut.

The king not ſubiect to their court.

The magiſtrate cleane ſtroken out by the Ieſuits, and all his intereſt conueighed to the prieſt.

This court limited to the law of God, and that ſpeaketh nothing of depoſing princes.

science from obeying the euill that a prince commandeth, which a priest may do: and an other thing to take the princes sword out of his hand for abusing his authority, which the priest may not do. Lastly you force the whole text against the manifest experience of those times. For it is euident that kings commanded and displaced high priestes: but that euer high priest iudicially displaced a prince, you shall neuer shewe. Omit Abimelech whom Saul slue for fauoring Dauid, and Zachariah whome king Ioash commanded to be stoned, not remembring the kindnesse of Ioida his father, that saued him aliue, and set him in his kingdome. Did not Salomon cast out Abiathar from being (high) priest, because he tooke part with Adoniah his elder brother? Where by your conclusion Salomon should haue beene deposed because the high priest thought Adoniahs right to the crowne to be better than Salomons.

Neuer high priest deposed kings, but kings haue deposed high priests. 3. Kings 2.

Adoniahs right to the crowne was better than Salomons, by the high priests iudgement: and yet the king remoued the high priest from his office, and put the competitor to death

We shewe you where the prince remoued the priest from his honor and primacie, but you can not shew vs that euer priest remoued prince in that common-wealth from his roiall dignitie, and yet was there then as vrgent, and as euident cause to do it, as you can nowe, or do pretend. For all the kings of Israell were open idolaters, Iehu himselfe not excepted, and yet not one of them deposed by priest, or prophet, so long as their kingdome stood, which was 253. yeeres. The greater part of the kings of Iudah, euen fouretéene of them were likewise plaine idolaters: as Salomon, Roboam, Abiam, Ioram, Ahaziah, Ioash, Amazias, Ahaz, Manasses, Amon, Ioachaz, Eliakim, Ioacim, Zedechias, and not a priest, or prophet in Iudah so much as offered to displace, or resist one of them. If by Gods law, as you suppose, the priests were superiors iudges to punish such offences euen in princes, how can you excuse the high priest, and the rest to whome that charge was committed for not executing that power which God gaue them vpon these wicked and idolatrous princes?

Neuer king of Israell or Iudah remoued from the crowne by any priest: and yet the causes then as vrgent as now.

How can you excuse the high priests of Iuda for not doing their dutie: if by Gods law they had bin the princes superiors?

Phil. The kings were too mightie for them to remoue.

Theop. That happily might hinder the effect, but not the attempt of their iudgement. We do not obiect that they

were

Princes brake couenants, and yet were not deposed. *The third part.*

were vnable, but that they neuer made the onset or offer to do it. Phil. The crueltie of those kings caused them to forbeare. Theop. That is not true. Many priestes and prophets gaue their liues for reprouing them: and more it could not cost to depose them. Againe, Manasses was caried captiue out of his realme in the midst of his furious idolatrie: and yet in his absence and miserie no man stirred against him, but his kingdome was reserued for him till he was released out of prison, and sent backe from Babylon. It was therefore not for feare of death, but for regard of dutie that the zealous priests and prophets submitted their persons to those wicked princes, whose idolatrie they reproued with the losse of their liues.

The priests and prophets lost their liues for reprooving princes: and more it could not cost to depose them.

Phil. *This condition was afterward to be implied in the receiuing of any king ouer the people of God and true beleeuers for euer:* videlicet *that they should not reduce their people by force or otherwise from the faith of their forefathers, and the religion and holy ceremonies thereof, receiued at the hands of Gods priests and none other: insinuating, that obseruing these precepts and conditions, he and his sonne after him might long reigne: otherwise, as by the practise of their deposition in the bookes and time of the kings it afterward appeareth (whereof we haue set downe some examples before) the prophets and priests that annointed them, of no other condition but to keepe and maintaine the honor of God and his worship, deprined them againe, when they brake with their Lord, and fell to strange gods, and forced their people to do the like.*

The defence cap. 5. A condition implied in the creation of al princes.

Theop. God would haue the more care to be taken in choosing a king, because it was too late to refuse him when he was once chosen: but I trust your selfe will not say that all those conditions which God requireth in a king, are forfeitures of his crowne if he transgresse many of them. God in expresse words and in the very same place, chargeth that the king shall not haue many wiues, nor many horses, nor abundance of gold, nor siluer, nor lift his hart vp aboue his brethren; and thinke you that if a king did offend in any of these, he was to be deposed? The precept which your selfe alleage, doth not onely concerne the publike sufferance of true religion, but the perfect obseruance of euery point that was contained in the lawe of God. He shal reade

God required many things in a prince, the breach of which is not deposition. Deut. 17. Deut. 17.

Princes brake couenants, & yet were not deposed.

in the booke of the law all the daies of his life, that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, & to obserue all the words of this lawe and these statutes to do them. And trowe you the breach of any point of Gods lawe was depriuation to the king? You must be void of all sense if you defend these things, and yet these be conditions, or as you delight to call them, *couenants* which God exacteth in him that shall be king ouer his elect and peculiar people.

Princes brake couenants with God, & yet were not deposed.

The knitting vp of your matter is like the rest of your discourse. *The prophets and priests* (you say) *that annointed them, of no other condition but to keepe and maintaine the honour of God, and his true worship, deprined them againe when they brake with their Lord and fell to strange gods, and forced their people to do the like.* It is vtterly vntrue that euer priest or prophet deposed prince in the common-wealths of Israell, or Iudah. There were, as the scripture testifieth, of the kings of Israell nineteene, and foureteene of the kings of Iudah that *brake with their Lord, and fell to strange gods, and forced their people to do the like.* Shewe that one of them was depriued by any priest, or prophet, and take the whole: if you can not, leaue false supposing, and vaine craking, and tell on your tale.

The defence cap. 5.

The authoritie of priesthood in the new Testament.

Phil. *And this it was in the old Lawe. But now in the newe Testament and in the time of Christes spirituall kingdome in the Church, priestes haue much more soueraigne authoritie, and princes farre more strict charge to obey, loue and cherish the Church.* Theop. What was in the old lawe you haue said, and we haue seene: and except I be deceiued, you found there very little for your purpose: In the new Testament I can assure you, you will finde lesse. Where you say that *priestes* now in the Church, *haue much more soueraigne authoritie* than priests had in the lawe of Moses: the comparing of their authorities is very superfluous. Haue they more or lesse, it is nothing to this question; authoritie to depose princes they neither then had, nor now haue, which is it that you seeke for. In what sort princes are bound to *loue, cherish, and obey the Church*, was declared before, and need not now be repeated: but the Church is neither charged nor licenced by Christ to take princes crownes from them. Subiection is rather enioined her in earthly things vnto princes, which can

Lesse in the new Testament for the deposition of princes, than in the old.

not

not stand with your thrusting them from their thrones, vnlesse you take rebellion to be subiection, which were very strange. And depriuing them of their right, is worse than rebelling against them to defend your right, which yet is not tolerable. For he that * resisteth them, shall receiue iudgement. *Rom.13.

Phil. *In the Church without faile is the supereminent power of Christes priesthood; who with his iron rod bruseth the pride of princes, that rebell against his spouse and kingdome in earth, like a potters potshard: and hath right in his Church ouer all kingdomes, to plant and plucke vp, to build and destroy, afore whom all kings shall fall downe, and all nations do him seruice.* The defence cap.5. Psal.2. Ierem.1. Mat. 16.

Theop. That the sonne of God will *bruse the pride of those princes with an iron rod which rebell against his spouse and kingdome in earth, like a potters shard, and that he hath right* both *within* (and without) *his Church ouer all kingdomes, to plant and plucke vp, to build and destroy, afore whom all kings on earth* (and angels in heauen) *shall fall downe, and do him seruice*: these things are vndoubted with vs, and brought in by you but onely for a windlace to make the reader cast his eies on Christ and his kingdome, while you closely conuey the princes scepter vnder the popes feet. Accursed be he that doth not confesse the supereminent power which the sonne of God hath ouer all kingdomes, ouer all creatures, ouer the states and liues, bodies and soules of all men. Will you thence inferre the pope hath the like? In sooth maisters you must make hard shift before these reasons will be good. The supereminent power of Christs priesthood is nothing to the Pope.

Phil. *Christes priestly prerogatiue, passing his owne regall dignitie (much more excelling all other humane power of the world) in most ample and exact termes is communicated to the chiefe priest and pastor of our soules, and secondarily to the rest of the gouernors of the Church; in other manner of clauses than any earthly princes can shewe for their pretensed spirituall regiment. Fie on that secular pride and wilfull blind heresie, so repugning against Gods expresse ordinance; and yet is of wicked sect-maisters and flatterers vpholden to the eternall calamitie of themselues, and of millions of others.* The defence cap.5. Mat.18.

Theop. This is stale rhetorike to come with an outcry, when you should make your conclusion, Conclude first and raile after: otherwise you shewe your selues to trust

truſt more to the ſlipperneſſe of your tongues, than to the ſoundneſſe of your cauſe.

Phil. Our dilation is euident. Chriſt as a prieſt *bruſeth the pride of princes with his iron rod, and hath right ouer all kingdomes to plant and plucke vp, build and deſtroy.* But *Chriſts prieſtly prerogatiue in moſt ample and exact termes is communicated to the chiefe prieſt and paſtor of our ſoules.* The chiefe paſtor therefore hath the like right ouer all kingdomes to plant, plucke vp, build, and deſtroy. Theop. The power which you mention in your firſt propoſition, is attributed to Chriſt not as a prieſt, but as a king. The words of the pſalme

Pſal.2. are very plaine to that end. I haue ſet my king vpon my holie hill of Sion. Aske of me and I will giue thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for a poſſeſſion to thee. Thou ſhalt cruſh them with a ſcepter of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters veſſell. Saint Iohn applieth the ſame place to the roiall and

Reuel.19. not to the prieſtly power of Chriſt. I ſawe the heauen open, and behold a white horſe, and he that ſate vpon him was called faithfull and true, and he iudgeth and fighteth in righteouſneſſe. On his head were many crownes, and out of his mouth went a ſharpe ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the heathen, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron. And he hath on his garment and on his thigh a name written, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. How

Chriſt bruſeth his enimies as a king and not as a prieſt. thinke you? His horſe, his crowne, his robe, his traine, his ſword, his ſtile deſcribed in this place, expreſſe they his prieſtly or princely prerogatiue? As a prieſt he ſacrificed himſelfe on the croſſe, and had his owne bloud ſhed, for the remiſſion of ſinnes: as a king, he ſubdueth his enimies, and maketh them like duſt vnder his feete, be they princes or others. Your *Maior* is therefore falſe, that to bruſe kings with an iron rodde, and to breake them in peeces like a potters ſhard, is a priuiledge of Chriſtes prieſthood and not of his princehood.

Your *Minor*, that *Chriſtes prieſtly prerogatiue is communicated in moſt ample and exact termes to the chiefe prieſt and paſtor of the Church*, hath farre leſſe truth in it than your *Maior*. For all the prerogatiue of Chriſtes prieſthood is

Heb.7. not communicated to any other. Such an high prieſt, ſaith

saith S. Paule, it became vs to haue, which should be, holy, vndefiled, separated from sinners, made higher than the heauens: * who in the end of the world appeared once to put away sinne by the offering vp of himselfe, & after that *one sacrifice for sinne is set downe for euer at the right hand of God, hauing * obteined eternall redemption (for vs) and being * able perfectly to saue them that come to God by him, seeing he euer liueth to make intercession for them. These & many such prerogatiues of his priesthood I hope you will not impart to the pope, least we cric, fie on your blasphemous harts and mouths, which set the man of sinne equall with the sonne of God. If you restraine your *Minor* by confessing that not all, but some of the prerogatiues of Christs priesthood are communicated to others; then your conclusion hath no force, both your premisses being meer particulars. For though Christ gaue some part of his power and honor to his Apostles; yet this he gaue not, and therfore his gift to them can do you no good, vnlesse you prooue that he gaue them this prerogatiue amongst the rest which he bestowed on them.

Hebr.9. *Hebr.10. *Hebr.9. *Hebr.7. All Christs dignity may not be imparted to the pope.

Phil. He said to Peter and his successors; Whatsoeuer thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer thou loosest in earth shall be loosed in heauen: Can you require a more ample graunt? Theoph. Peter and the rest were to bind and loose the sinnes and soules of men by the word and sacraments, not the scepters and swords of princes. And so Christ himselfe expoundeth his graunt vnto them. Whose sinnes soeuer you remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes soeuer ye retaine, they are retained. And in this place you leaue out the first part of the graunt which should direct the whole. I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, not of the kingdomes on earth. Bernard though he were but of late yeers, yet was he not afraid to tell the pope Eugenius: *Ergo in criminibus, non in possessionibus potestas vestra, quoniam propter illa & non propter has accepisti is claues regni cœlorum.* Your power concerneth sinnes and not possessions, because ye receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen for those things, and not for these. And so Theophilact. Vnderstand the keies which bind and loose, to be the pardoning, or punishing of sinnes.

Matth.16. Iohn.20. Matth.16. *De considerat. ad Eugen. li.2.* *Theophilact. in 16.cap. Matth.*

And

Ambr. de pœnitent. l. 1. c. 2. August. de doctrina christiana lib. 1. ca. 18.

And so S. Ambrose: The right of the holy Ghost consisteth in binding & loosing of sinnes. As also S. Augustine, The keies (Christ) gaue to his Church, that what she loosed in earth, should be loosed in heauen: and what she did bind in earth, should be bound in heauen: to wit, that whosoeuer would not beleeue his sinnes might be forgiuen in the Church, should not haue them forgiuen: and whosoeuer would beleeue it and depart from his sinnes, by amending his life in the bosome of the same Church, should by that faith and conuersion be healed. And neuer writer since Christs time did euer extend the power of the keies vnto any thing, saue vnto the forgiuing and retaining of sinnes.

Phil. No more do we: this onely we adde, that when princes are bound in earth for their sinnes, they lose that interest which they had in their kingdoms. Theop. That position you vndertooke to proue by the holy scriptures, but as yet you be wide: you still suppose it, and do not proue it.

The defence. cap. 5.

Iohn. 21. Matth. 16.

Hebr. 13. 1. Cor. 4. 5. 2. Iohn.

Phil. *Now* (in the new Testament) *all Christes sheepe, without exception, be they princes, be they poore, (if they be christian men) are put to Peters feeding and gouernment. Now the keies of heauen be deliuered to Christs vicar in earth; to let in, to locke out; to bind, to loose; to punish, to pardon. Now we be commanded euerie one, (be we kings, be we Cæsars) to obey our prelats and pastors, and to be subiect to them, as to those that must make account to God for our soules: wherein what christian prince may except himselfe?*

Theop. You role from text to text abusing the words and peruerting the sense as you go; and when all is said you be euen as neere as you were at first before you began. For what if all these places do concerne princes, as well as others: will you thence inferre, that princes may be deposed? Then these must be your arguments. Princes must be taught, *Ergo* princes may be deposed. Priests may exclude them from the kingdome of heauen: *Ergo* likewise from their kingdomes on earth. Princes must obey sound doctrine cõming from their pastors mouths; *Ergo* if they refuse, they may be deposed. Surely such reasons set not them besides their seats, but you rather besides your wits; for what apparance of truth haue these ridiculous and impious mockeries? Feed my sheep,

Out of these places none other arguments can be made than these.

Iohn. 21.

that

that is, depose princes. I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, that is, I will giue thee the thrones of earthly kings. Be aduised by your leaders, and yeeld (to their good persuasions,) for they watch ouer your soules: that is, obey the pope when he thrusteth you from your goods, lands, and liues. Had you but one dramme of shame or sense in you, you would neuer send vs such sottish and vnsauorie sequels. Matth. 16. Heb. 13.

Phil. They be of your framing, we sent them not. Theop. We annexe the conclusion, which you must, and would inferre to the places which you alledge: and in so doing we can not abuse you. Out of the 21. of S. Iohn what would you cite but this charge to Peter, feed my sheep? In the 16. of S. Matthew, what find you there but the promise of our sauior, I wil giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen: whatsoeuer thou bindest (or loosest) in earth, shall be bound (and loosed) in heauen? All the words which the 13. to the Hebrues hath for your purpose, are πείθεσθε ἡγουμένοις that is be persuaded (by their words) & giue place to their admonitions, which watch ouer your soules. Now what your conclusion is & must be, neither can any man doubt, nor do your selues dissemble. For the 5. chapter of your immodest & vntrue defence of English Catholiks as you call them, proposeth and purposely handleth the depriuation of princes for heresie, and falling from the faith. So that helpe the matter how you can with your glozes and phrases: these be your antecedents, and this is your consequent.

Phil. Well, if Peter must feed princes, why may not Peter depose princes? Theop. Taking their crownes from them, is not preaching the gospel vnto them, which Christ meant by feeding. Phil. But Peter may correct them as wel as feed them, and depriuation is but correction. Theop. Any pastor may remoue them, and if they withstand the truth, that bindeth them in earth & shutteth heauen against them. But other correction on the goods, lands, or bodies of priuat men preachers may not exercise, much lesse intermeddle with the seats and sceptres of princes. Pastors may feed, but not depriue.

Phil. *Be we kings, be we Cæsars, we are commanded to obey our prelats and pastors, and to be subiect to them.* Theop. Princes, & all other

other Christians must be reuerent and obedient to the word and sacraments which God hath put in the mouths and hands of his messengers: other subiection to prelats, or pastors is none due. Phil. And if they refuse to be subiect to the word or sacraments, shall not pastors punish them, though they be princes? Theop. Let them sinke in their sinnes, and leaue them to God; that is punishment enough. Phil. Shall they go no farther? Theop. Externall, or corporall meanes by losse of life, lands, or goods, God hath not allowed any pastor to compell, or punish his sheep withall.

Pastors may threaten, but God must punish princes.

Phil. Then may princes freely despise both the word and the preacher. Theop. If you call that freedome, to fall into the hands of the liuing God, which S. Paule saith is a fearefull thing. * Whosoeuer shall not receiue you, nor heare your words, when you depart out of that house, or that citie, shake off the dust of your feet. Truly I say vnto you it shall be easier for them of the land of Sodome and Gomorrha in the day of iudgement, than for that citie. Is not this reuenge sufficient for princes that turne from the truth, vnlesse you also must be fingering of their crownes, and treading on their necks? Phil. That would terrifie them more, than the threatning of hell fire. Theop. It may be that cõtenteth your appetits better, but God hath reserued the punishment of princes to himselfe, and not assigned it ouer vnto you. Howbeit why do you wander thus from the question? You should proue by the word of God that princes may be deposed. Why then do you linger and make so many profers before you come to your purpose.

Hebr. 10.

* Matth. 16.

God is the reuenger of such as contemne his word.

Phil. Will you haue a plaine proofe out of the new Testament that princes may be deposed? Theop. That is it we looked for all this while. Phil. Pastors *haue full authoritie to forbid vs the company of heretiks, blasphemers and idolaters, and such like: and not so much as to salute them,* much more not to obey them. Theop. Is this your best discretion? We must not be companions with idolaters, *Ergo* we must not be subiects to princes? Phil. If they be conuicted of heresie or idolatry. Theop. Put you no difference betwixt familiars and subiects. Phil. If we may not be familiar with them, much lesse subiect vnder them. Theop. Are you

The defence, cap. 5. *Ad Tit.* 3.

No company with heretiks & idolaters.

you not low drawne, when you come with such dregs?

Phil. Jest not at it, but answer it. Theop. Be earnest in any case. It is a very profound and substantiall reason. Phil. Substantiall or superficiall it skilleth not: refell it, or receaue it.

Theop. Marke the strength of your argument. Needlesse company with idolatrous & wicked persons is prohibited: *Ergo* the necessary subiection to princes which God commandeth, may be refused. Phil. We say not needlesse company, but all company. Theop. S. Paule by that word excludeth not charity, much lesse duty: but barreth onely that familiarity, which may be relinquished without breach of either. Phil. That is your paraphrase, not S. Paules. Theop. Weigh the words of S. Paule better, and your selfe will be of the same mind with me. Company not dutie prohibited by S. Paule.

Thus he saith. I wrote vnto you by letters, that ye should not keepe company with fornicators: and (I ment) not simply with the fornicators of this world, or with the couetous, or with extorsioners, or with idolaters; for then must you go out of the world. But now haue I written to you that you should not be companions (with such.) If any man that is called a brother be a whoore-maister, or couetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extorter: eate not with such an one. To eate with a man, is familiaritie; that may be forborne without contempt of christian charity, or dutie: and that the Apostle willeth them to refraine, teaching the Thessalonians to what end, and in what sort he would haue it done: If any man obey not our sayings, note him by a letter, and haue no company with him, that he may be ashamed: yet count him not as an enimie, but admonish him as a brother. When as yet there were no christian magistrats to keepe men by feare from offending, Saint Paul chargeth the Christians to shew their zeale in shunning the company of vnruly persons at meate, and other familiar meetings; thereby the rather to make them ashamed, and to reduce them to christian and comely behauior. Which precept was generall for all disorders. We command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that you withdraw your selues from euery brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the institution which you receiued of vs. 1.Cor.5. 2.Thess.3. 2.Thess.3.

Phil.

Phil. For smaller offences this might be, but for here-
Tit. 3. tike S. Paul saith, A man that is an heretike after the first and
2. Iohn 10. second admonition auoid. And so doth S. Iohn. If any man come to you and bring not this doctrine, receiue him not into your house, nor say God saue you, vnto him. If we may not so much as salute them, do you thinke we may serue them, or obey them?

Theop. Were you in debt to an heretike, would you not pay him his owne, because you must not salute him?
Each man must haue his due, whether he be turke, heretike, or infidell. Phil. Debt is due whether he be turke, infidell, or heretike; and therefore reason he haue his owne, but I must not do that which I need not. Theop. And whether thinke you the truer debt that which groweth by our act and consent, or that which is imposed vpon vs by the will and commaundement of God? As when S. Paul
Rom. 13. saith, Owe nothing to any man: but giue to all men their due: Do you not thinke this as good debt as if it were in coine? Phil. If it be their due. Theop. We owe it not if it be not due: but if it be, must we not render that which is due to all men, be they turks, infidels and heretikes?

Seruants by Gods law may not forsake their maisters for heresie. Phil. To heretikes nothing is due. Theop. Doth not the seruant owe faithfull diligence to his maister, notwithstanding his maister be an infidell or an heretike?
Cod. lib. 1. tit. 5. de hæret. § Man. in fin. Phil. If the maister become an heretike, the seruant is *ipso facto* made free. Theop. By whose law? Gods or mans? Phil. By the ciuil lawes of auncient emperours. Theop. But before those lawes were made by princes, might seruants by Gods law, refuse their maisters for idolatrie or heresie? Phil. For idolatry he might not, whatsoeuer for heresie. Theo. If God will haue christian seruants *obedient & subiect to their maisters in all things, & * to please the though they be infidels & enimies to the faith; why not likewise to the that are deceiued in some points of faith?

The wife may not forsake her husband for idolatrie or heresie. The like we aske of man & wife. Might the husband forsake his wife, or the woman her husband for these causes? Phil. For infidelity they might. Theop. And what for heresie? Phil. The case is not ruled. Theop. Yes that it is. Our sauior forbiddeth all men to put away their
*Matth. 5. & 19. wiues except it be for * adultery. Now adultery is not heresie. And this was pope Cælestinus his error which
Decret. lib. 4. de diuortijs ¶ quanv. Innocentius the third * condemneth. Therefore the case is ruled

ruled both by Gods law, and by your owne decretals. Phil. They may not be diuorced. Theop. Then must she continue still his wife, and is by Gods law bound to * be subiect vnto him, and to loue him, though he be an heretike, or an infidel. And so are the children bound to * cherish, * honor, and * obey their parents by the law of God, notwithstanding they be ethniks, or aliens frō the faith. And therefore these prohibitions: * Eate not with them, * keepe them not companie, * salute them not, discharge not seruants, children, nor wiues for yeelding that dutie to their masters, parents & husbands, which God hath commanded, but cut off onely that familiar & frindly greeting, saluting and conuersing, which amongst brethren is requisit, but to wicked and vngodly persons may without sin be denied.

* 1.Pet. 3. Titus 2. Ephes. 5.
* Mark. 7.
* Ephes. 6.
* Colos. 3.
* 1.Cor. 5.
* 2.Thes. 3.
* 2.Ioh. 10.

Phil. What then is your answer? Theop. S. Paul forbideth voluntarie companie, not necessarie dutie: S. Iohn those familiar and friendly salutations, which argue good liking and fauour to the parties, and may be forborne, not that publike subiection to magistrats, which God hath inioined vs, whether we will or no. Phil. Ought we to flatter princes, if they be heretiks? Theop. We may flatter no man in that which is euill, yet must we giue euill men that, which God hath allowed them. The places which you bring, barre no kind of dutie prescribed by the law of God, neither of seruants to their masters, nor of children to their parents, nor of wiues to their husbands, though their masters, parents, and husbands be heretiks: much lesse doe they prohibite submission to princes, which God exacteth before these domesticall duties: and commandeth all men, apostles and bishops not excepted, to giue feare, honor, subiection, and tribute, to princes, as their due; when princes as yet were pernicious idolaters, and barbarous persecutors of the faith and faithfull.

What S. Paul and S. Iohn prohibite.

Least of all may the subiect forsake his prince, though he be an idolater or an heretike. Rom. 13.

And who that hath any regard of truth will prefer your crooked & shapelesse consequents before the manifest doctrine of Christ and his apostles? Giue to Cæsar the things that be Cæsars. * You must be subiect: whosoeuer resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. * Honour the king, and submit your selues, whether it be to the king, as (the chiefe and) excelling, or vnto the gouernors as sent by him. For so is

Matt. 22.
* Rom. 13.
* 1.Pet. 2.

the will of God. These be flat & plaine precepts, which you cannot ouerthrow, but with an euident, direct, & special release. The directions which the apostles gaue to shame the disordred, and shun the wicked, when as yet there were no christian magistrates, to represse them, or punish them, may not rashly be stretched to the magistrats person or function, neither must you so force generall and indirect speeches of the scripture, that they shal euert the speciall and expresse commandements of God. But God hath expressely prescribed subiection and tribute to vicious, tyrannous, and idolatrous princes: for such they were of whom Christ and his apostles spake, as no man can denie: therefore no consequent of scripture may be wrested against it, least you make the will of God changeable or repugnant to it selfe, which is heinous impietie to persuade, or beleeue.

The flat and firm precepts of the scripture must not be ouerthrowne by generall and indirect collections.

Phil. To tyrants and idolaters we must be subiect, but not to heretiks, although they be princes. Theop. Confessing the former which you cannot chose but admit, by what means auoid you the latter? Heretiks may be princes as well as idolaters; and to princes in respect of their power, not of their vertues God will haue vs subiect. S. Paul doth not say, Let euery soule be subiect to christian and vertuous powers; but, vnto supreme powers, euen when they were worshippers of diuels, and spillers of christian blood. Let vs therfore heare what ground you haue out of Gods law, why this precept, you must be subiect, shall hold in blasphemous and idolatrous princes, but not in heretical or excommunicate persons. Phil. I told you before, S. Iohn saith: If any man bring not this doctrine, salute him not. Theop. Did those tyrants and idolaters that were princes whiles S. Iohn liued, bring the doctrine of Christ with them? Phil. No: but this is meant of heretiks. Theo. It was spoken of all as well impugners, as betrairers of the faith: and why then doe you restraine it to heretiks?

Subiection is due as wel to hereticall, as to idolatrous and tyrannical princes.

Rom. 13.

2. Iohn. 10.

Phil. Christians might eate with infidels, but not with heretiks. Theop. They might, with those that were ignorant of the faith with purpose to win them, but not with those that impugned the faith; for that could haue none other intent but feare or flatterie. And with such S. Paul forbiddeth the Christians all concord, communion and felowship, Draw not the yoke with infidels. For what felowship hath

1. Cor. 10. vers. 27. With what sort of infidels Christians might be conuersant.

2. Cor. 6.

hath righteousnes with vnrighteousnes? what communion hath light with darknes? what concord hath Christ with belial? or what part hath the beleeuer with the infidell? Wherefore come out from among them, and separate your selues, saith the Lord. Separate your selues from them, is as much, as salute them not, or eate not with them: and yet were Christians bound to obey such with all submission if they were magistrates. Againe, they might not eate with adulterers, railers, drunkards, extorsioners, nor with any couetous persons: might they therefore disobey the magistrate that was spotted with any of these, or the like vices?

Phil. Not, except he were excommunicated for those vices. Theop. Then neither apostasie nor heresie depriue princes of their authoritie, but excommunication onely, which you may inflict as well for any disorder, as for heresie. Phil. What fault find you with that? Theop. You make excommunication but a lime-twig to intangle the persons, and indanger the states of princes by maintaining rebellion against them vnder the name of religion, when they will not be ruled as you would haue them, or not suffer their realms to lie open to the pray and pride of the bishop of Rome. For then he must take vpon him to be the whole Church, which he is not, and excommunicate them whom he should not: and after that excōmunication denounced, you teach the people to refuse subiection, and to beare armes against their lawfull magistrats, vpon this pretence that you haue deposed them, & disinherited them of their kingdoms: which is a wicked and false presumption of yours resistant to the lawes of God and man.

The pope respecteth excommunication, because he would excommunicat whom he list.

For grant he might excommunicate them, which yet is not proued: the vttermost perill of excommunication before men, is that which our sauiour expresseth in Saint Matthewes gospell. If hee neglect to heare the Church, let him bee to thee as an ethnike and a publicane. But ethnikes by your confession may not be depriued of their kingdoms, *ergo* neither persons excommunicate. Againe your owne law graunteth that excommunication dischargeth neither seruants, children, nor wiues from the dutie which they owe to the father of the familie: and shall it set free subiectes from a stronger and higher bonde

The perill of excōmunication by Gods law is not deposition. Matt. 18. *Barthol. sumus in verbo, excommunicat. numero. 45. & Margarita decret. in eodem verbo: Vtile, lex, hæc*

mule res ignorata, necesse; hec anathema quidem faciunt, ne possit esse.

of dutie, which God hath more straitly prescribed, and inioined them to the father of their country? What wilfull & obstinate blindnes is this in you, that where excommunication is a meere spirituall punishment, and reacheth no farther by Gods law, than to take from offenders the remission of their sins, by wanting the word and sacraments vntill they repent; you to gratifie the founder of your Remish and Romish hospitals, stretch it vnto the states, crownes, lims, and liues of princes, and deriue thence not onely the deposing, but also the murdering of christian kings and Queenes, and that by their owne subiects, if he say the word? And this you assay to persuade by corrupting, and maintaining the scriptures, bolstering the conspiracies, and impieties of your holy father against princes, with an vnshamefast prophaning, and adulterating of the word of truth: which is not the least of your irreligious attempts. Reuise your places, and shew vs but one halfe word out of the holie scripture, that princes may be iudicially deposed by priests, or that you haue authoritie from Christ to punish such as you excommunicate with externall, and temporall paines and losses, which is it that you now would faine infer: and for the rest, though we neede not, you shall haue our assents.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Least any man should thinke this power to be so meerly spirituall, that it might not in any wise be extended to temporall or corporall domage or chastisement of the faithfull in their goods, liues, possessions, or bodies, being meere secular things, and therefore not subiect to their pastors spirituall or priestly function: it is to be marked in the holie apostles first execution of their commissions and authoritie, that though their spirituall power immediately and directly concerneth not our temporall affaires; yet indirectly (and as by accident) it doth not onely concerne our soules, but our bodies and goods, so far as is requisite to our soules health, and expedient for the good regiment thereof, and the Churches vtilitie being subiect to their spirituall gouernors.*

Spirituall pastors haue power to punish corporally.

Theop. It is to be marked, that if you may be suffered, you will soone challenge not onely spirituall things as your peculiar, but eue *the goods, liues, possessions, & bodies* of the faithfull, and as well of princes as others to be subiect to your tribunals, if not directly yet indirectly, that is, if not by one meanes, yet by an other: so far as you thinke it expedient for the regiment and health of the soule, and vtilitie of the Church:

Pastors haue no power ouer the goods or bodies of Christians.

Church: and that shall be far enough I dare vndertake; if you affirme this vpon your owne credite, we little estœme it; your opinion is common, but not currant with vs: if you meane to prœue it, you shall haue the longer and stiller audience.

Phi. *S. Peter, being but a meere spiritual officer & Pastor of mens soules; yet for sacrilege and simulation, stroke dead both man and wife. S. Paul stroke blind, Elymas the magician. So did he threaten to come to his contemners, in rod of discipline. So did he excommunicate a principal person in Corinth, for incest: not onely by spiritual punishment, but also by bodily vexation, giuing him vp to satans chastisement. As he corporally also corrected and molested with an euil spirit Himeneus and Alexander for blasphemie & heresie. Finally he boldly auoucheth, that his power in God is to reuenge all disobedience, and to bring vnder all loftie harts to the loialtie of Christ, and of the Apostles & Saincts in this life.* Nescitis *(quoth he)* quoniam Angelos iudicabimus, quanto magis secularia? *Know you not that we shall iudge Angels, how much more secular matters?*

The defence. Cap.5. Act.13. 1.Cor.4. 1.Cor.5. 1.Tim.1. 2.Cor.10. 1.Cor.6.

Theo. Such dissolute mariners were neuer like but to make such desperate aduentures. You should prœue that spirituall pastours haue power to seaze the goods & possessions, & chastise the bodies of such as they excommunicate: and you shew where God afflicted those for their sinnes, which the Apostles cast out of the Church either with euil spirites, or some corporal plague, or death, as he saw cause; which is not pertinēt to your purpose. Can you not distinguish the finger of God, from the facies of men? Or see you no difference betweene miraculous vengeance from heauen, and iudicial processe on earth? God strake Ananias dead for tempting him in Peter, & Elymas for resisting him in Paul. May preachers therefore put out mens eyes, and murther such as beleeue them not? In deede you practise this new kinde of preaching, but not by warrant from Christ or his Apostles.

They should prooue that Priests may iudicially torment the bodies of the wicked, and they prooue that God did miraculously reuenge impietie.

Phil. Did not Peter kil Ananias and Sapphira with his word? Theo. And since you cannot do the like with your words, you will take helpe of your handes. Phil. With words or hands, so they be slaine, all is one. Theop. Not so. The one is a miracle wrought by God: the other is a murder committed by man, which God prohibiteth; & of all other things ought to be farthest from the preachers

Peter slew Ananias not with his hāds but with his mouth, which was the worke of God.

of peace. Phi. Peter did so. Theo. Peter reproued them for tempting the holy Ghost: but the hand of God, & not of Peter, inflicted the punishment. Reade the place: Then said
Act.5. Peter: Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine hart that thou shouldest lie vnto the holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied vnto men, but vnto God. Now when Ananias heard these wordes (saith the scripture) he fell downe and gaue vp the Ghost. I aske not, what facte of Peters you finde that should hasten the death of Ananias: but what one word purporting any such thing can you shew vs in all that Peter said to Ananias? Phil. In his wordes to Sapphira we can. For he
Act.5. said to her: The feete of them that haue buried thine husband, are at the doore and shal cary thee out. Theo. Did Peter by these words kil her, or foretell her that God would do to her as he had done to her husband? Phil. Which say you? Theo. Peter, we say, neither desired nor inflicted that iudgement on thē, but only signified what God would do.

The like we say for Paul, when Elymas was stroken blind. He warned that sorcerer what should befall him frō God, but himselfe did neither enuie, nor iniurie the sorcerers eyes. His wordes were, Wilt thou not cease to peruert
Act.13. the streight waies of the Lord? Now therefore behold the hand of the Lord is vpon thee; and thou shalt be blinde not seeing the sunne for a time. Paul denounced, Paul imposed not that corporall chastisement on him: the deede was Gods, who may iustly take from his enemies not onely their eyes, but their breathes, and spirites when he will, and in what sort it pleaseth best his righteous, and sacred wisedome.

The hand of the Lord and not of Paul was vpon Elymas.

The defence, cap.5. Phil. But Paul himselfe, *corporally corrected and molested with an euil spirite Himineus and Alexander for blasphemie and heresie. So did he excommunicate a principal person in Corinth for incest, not onely by spiritual punishment, but also by bodily vexation, giuing him vp to satans chastisement.*

Theo. You drawe the word of God to your fancies by turning doubtes into certainties, antecedents into consequents, mans actions into Gods iudgements. That the apostle *deliuered* Himineus and Alexander *vnto satan*, & so the incestuous Corinthian (whom you of your owne head without any witnesse call *a principal person in Corinth*, because the title you saw was cast from *principall to princes*) is a matter

matter out of question; but that he *corporally corrected and molested* them *with euill spirits*, these be your additaments wherewith you thought to lengthen the text to your owne liking.

Phi. S. Paul gaue iudgement of the Corinthian that he should be deliuered vnto satan, for the destructiō of the flesh. And how could the flesh be destroyed without bodily vexation and affliction? Theo. This phrase, for the destructiō of the flesh: hath diuers expositions: and therfore vpon a doubtfull kinde of speech you can not build an vndouted conclusion. S. Ambrose expoundeth the place thus. The apostle decreed, that by the consent & in the presence of all men he should be cast out of the Church. *Cum ejicitur, traditur satanæ in interitum carnis. Et anima enim & corpus intereunt.* His casting him out of the Church, is the deliuering of him to satan to the destruction of (the whole man which is nothing but) flesh. For both soule and body perish. And least you should thinke it much that the soule is called flesh, he giueth this reason, **Victa anima libidine carnis, fit caro:* the soule once ouercome by the lustes of the flesh, becommeth flesh: and is in the scripture so commonly called, * and the lustes of the flesh deliuereth the soule defiled with it, and also the body to hell.

The incestuous Corinthian deliuered vnto satan. 1.Cor.5. *Ambrosius* 1. *Cor. cap.* 5. *Ibidem.* *Ibidem.*

Phi. But S. Paul addeth, that the spirite may be saued in the day of our Lord Iesus Christ, which cannot stand with this exposition, that both flesh and spirit were deliuered vnto perdition. Theo. The same father will tell you that the spirite may be referred not to him that was excluded, but to the rest that remained in the Church, as if S. Paul should haue sayd: I haue decreed to cast this vncleane person out from among you to his iust condemnation, that the grace of Gods spirit may be preserued in the rest of you to the day of iudgement. The same S. Augustine followeth. What spirit doeth the apostle affirme should be preserued, when he saieth, I haue deliuered that man to satan for the destruction of the flesh, &c. The destructiō of the flesh (ment in this place) is, a man addicted to pleasures & fleshly delights purchaseth hel to himself. For by such (sinnes) the whole man becommeth flesh, in so much that the flesh is here called the soule. Such a mā when the church casteth frō her, she keepeth the spirit safe: to wit, the holy spirit (of God)

1.Cor.5. *In cap.* 5. *epist. ad Cor.* *Aug. quæst. vet. & noui Test. quæst.* 49.

The first part. What is meant in S. Paul by deliuering vnto satan.

which is the guider of the Church. For if they suffer any such one to be amongst them, he defileth all, and the holie spirit departeth.

Hieron. in 1. Cor. cap. 5. Phil. S. Hierom taketh it otherwise. To deliuer him vnto satan for the destruction of the flesh (saith he) *vt arripiendi illum corporaliter habeat potestatem*; that the diuell may haue power corporally to possesse him: and so S. Chrysostom, For the destruction of the flesh, that the diuell may strike him with some greeuous sore, or other disease. Theop. This I told you before, was a doubtfull speech, and therefore would yeld you no certaine conclusion. For besides S. Augustine and S. Ambrose, S. Hierom in those bookes which are assuredly his, vseth these words, To deliuer vnto satan to the destruction of the flesh, for a perpetuall consequent to excommunication in all ages, and not for corporall vexation permitted onely to the apostles. *Illi si peccauero licet tradere me satanæ in interitum carnis, vt spiritus saluus sit.* A clergie man (saith he) may deliuer me to satan, if I sin, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be safe. And inueighing against Vigilantius, I maruell (saith he) the bishop vnder whom he is, doth not crush this vnprofitable vessell with the apostolike rod, euen a rod of iron, and deliuer him into the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be safe: noting by these words the right force of excommunication, which doth and shall indure to the end, and not any corporall punishment or plague, wherwith God sometimes touched such as would not otherwise be reformed.

Chrysost. in 1. Cor. hom. 15.

Hieron. ad Heliodorum.

Idem ad Riparium aduers. Vigilantium.

A third interpretation of these words you shall find in Saint Augustine, writing against Parmenian. What did the apostle (saith he) but prouide for the health of the soule by the destruction of the flesh, whether it were by some corporall punishment or death, as in Ananias and his wife, which fell downe at Peters feet: or else that the partie by repentance, bicause he was giuen ouer vnto satan, should kill in himselfe the wicked concupiscence of the flesh. This latter exposition cutteth off cleane your bodily punishments, and sheweth the end of apostolike excommunication to be this, that the offender by repentance should destroy the lusts of his flesh, and not that an euill spirit should corporally correct and molest him, which you conclude

Aug. contr. ep. Parm. li. 3. c. 2.

clude out of these words, with as great confidence, as if it were some maine principle of faith.

Phil. Saint Augustine repeateth both expositions, and disliketh neither. Theop. His accepting of both dischargeth your illation, which is wholy grounded on the first. But admit that also, which Chrysostom seemeth to follow; what shall your conclusion be? Phil. That the apostles punished the bodies of such as were Christians. Theop. Did they lay violent hands on them, or vse any externall means? Phil. They needed not: the diuell did it at their word. Theop. And because the diuell will not doe the like for you, you will supply the diuels roome, and intermeddle with his office. Are you not wise diuines, that to chalenge the correction of other mens bodies, make your selues the diuels substitutes? Phil. We make our selues the apostles substitutes. Theop. Then deliuer them to the diuell as they did, and offer them no farther violence, nor torment with your owne hands, and see what power you haue to chastise the bodies of such as you reiect from the Church, for so did the apostles. Mary if you content not your selues with speaking the word as they did, but because the diuell faileth you, you take helpe of your hands to punish the bodies of men, beware least you be now not Pauls associats in deliuering, but satans in tormenting the carcases of offenders.

The diuell & not the apostles tormented such as were excommunicated.

Phil. Is euery one that punisheth the bodie, satans associate? Theop. They that beare the sword with lawfull power from God to represse the wicked, and if cause require, to kill the bodie, they be Gods ministers seruing for that intent: but they that without this sword claime to be the correctors, & punishers of mens bodies by violent meanes, are the diuels vicegerents, and not Gods. For they be murtherers, and the right members of satan. Phil. But we appoint the magistrate to doe it. Theop. Do you appoint magistrats to lay violent hands on themselues? Phil. No: but on others. Theop. And we be disputing of princes, whether they may be defeated of their crownes, & chastised in their bodies vpon your excommunications.

The magistrate is gods minister to punish the bodie. Rom. 13.

Phil. Excommunicate persons may be corporally chastised, whosoeuer be the deed doer, and that S. Chrysostoms exposition fully proueth. For if it were lawfull

then,

then, whiles the apostles did excommunicate, why not as wel after, and in other ages? Theo. But if you relent from this that you your selues may be the deed doers, then you misse the mark which you shot at. The magistrat we know may corporally punish these & al other offenders, but what is that to your position, which hold that spirituall pastors may punish the bodies of the faithful? And therfore looke to your footing lest you faile in your leaping: & backe with this leg that a meere spiritual officer may touch the liues, and take the goods of heretiks, and other excommunicate persons. It is a wicked intrusion of antichrist, seeking *indirectly* and, as you call it, *by accident*, that is by hooke or by crooke to bring the world and worldly things in subiection to his appetite.

When and why God suffered the direll to afflict offenders.

The Apostles did nothing but separate sinners from the Church and house of God: and because in those dayes there were no christian princes with ordinarie power to reuenge the disorders committed in & against the Church of Christ, it pleased God that whom the apostles and their after-commers for a season cast out of the Church as intangled with great and hainous offences, the deuil should afflict them vnto death, or otherwise with some grieuous disease as the fault deserued, that the rest might feare, and not be bold to sinne, because there was no magistrate to punish them: yea many times God visited the sinnes of hypocrites & such as remained in the Church in like maner; as Paul himselfe testifieth to those of Corinth. For this cause many amongst you are stroken with infirmities and diseases, and many are dead. For if we would iudge our selues, we should not be iudged: but when we are iudged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world. And Chrysostom alleadging this place, Many such things fall out (in the Church) at this daie. Because the priest knoweth them not, that loden with sin, receiue the reuerend mysteries vnworthily, therefore God himselfe often-times culleth them out, and deliuereth them to satan.

1. Cor. 11.

Chrysost. in 1. Tim. hom. 5.

And that the apostles did nothing but cast them out of the Church when they deliuered any to satan, the same father will teach you. Marke how (Paul) deliuered the man (of Corinth) to satan. *Ejciebatur nempe a communi fidelium cœtu;* he

Ibidem.

The apostles laid violent hands on no man. *The third part.*

he was cast out of the congregation of the faithful, he was cut off from the flocke (of Christ) and left naked, and being so destitute (of Gods helpe) he lay open to the wolfe, and subiect to euerie assault. So saith Theodoret. By this place, (where Paul deliuered the incestuous Corinthian to satan) we are taught that the diuell inuadeth them which are seuered and cut off from the bodie of the Church, finding them destitute of Gods grace. *Theodoret in 1.Cor. cap.5.*

Keepe your selues therefore within your limites. Pastors haue their charge, which is as S. Paul noteth, to watch ouer soules, they haue not to doe with the goods or bodies of the faithfull. Their goodes are Cæsars, by the plaine resolution of our sauiour. Giue vnto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsars. Which God willed Samuel to aduertise the people of, when they first demaunded a king. Shew them the right (or law) of the king that shall raigne ouer them. And so Samuel did, saying: This shall be the law of your king. He shal take your sonnes & appoint them for his charets & to be his horsemen: and shall make them captains ouer thousands and captaines ouer fifties, and set them to eare his grounds and to reape his haruest, and to make his instruments of warre and things to serue for his charets. And he will take your fieldes and vines and best oliues, and giue them to his seruants. And he wil take the tenth of your corne and wine, and giue it to his princes and seruitors. And he wil take your men seruants and maide seruants, and the choice of your yong men, and your asses, and vse them to his worke. The tenth of your sheepe will he take, and ye shall be his seruants. Heb.13. Mat.22. 1.King.8. *Ibidem.*

Phil. Make you the king lord of all without exception? Theop. Though God neuer ment, that princes in ordinate and priuate pleasures should waste and consume the welth of their realmes, yet may they iustly commaund the goodes and bodies of all their subiects in time both of warre and peace, for any publike necessitie or vtilitie. Whereby God declareth princes and not pastors to be the right ouersee-ers of temporall and earthly matters: and consequently that the power of the keies extendeth not to those things which are committed to the princes charge, I meane neither to the goods, nor to the bodies of christian men. Only princes are to commaund the goods & bodies of their subiects.

To

To a king, saith Chrysostom, are the bodies of men committed: to the priest their soules. The king pardoneth corporall offences, the priest remitteth the guiltines of sin. The king compelleth, the priest exhorteth: the one with force, the other with aduise: the kings weapons are sensible, the priests are ghostly. The like distinction betwæn them doth S. Hierom make: *Rex nolentibus præest, Episcopus volentibus: ille timore subijcit, hic seruituti donatur: ille corpora custodit ad mortem, hic animas seruat ad vitam.* The king ruleth men vnwilling: the priest none, saue the willing: the king hath his in subiection with terror: the priest is appointed for the seruice of his: the king mastereth their bodies with death, but the priest preserueth their soules to life. This power of the sword our sauior precisely prohibited his apostles as I haue shewed: and therfore you may not indirectly nor by accident chalenge it.

Chrysost. de verbis Esaie, Vide Dominū hom. 4.

Hieron. ad Heliodor. in epitap. Nepotiani.

Phi. Why then did Paul saie: Know you not that we shall iudge the angels, how much more secular matters? Theo. If this be the best hold you haue in the newe testament for *secular matters*: you must take the paines to light from your horse and go on your feete as well as your neighbors. For the apostle speaketh that of all Christians which you restraine to priests, and moueth the parties striuing, rather to make their brethren arbiters of their quarrels, than to persue one an other before infidels. What grant is this to you in your owne right to be iudges ouer your brethren in all secular affaires, and not onlie without their consents to determine their griefes, but also to bereaue them of their goods, and lands, and afflict their bodies: yea to pull the sword out of princes hands, and take their crownes from their heads; when the rulers are beleeuers as well as the preachers? Do you not know, saith S. Paul, that the saints, and not onlie priests, shall iudge the world? If the world then shal be iudged by you (speaking to all that were of the Church at Corinth) are ye vnworthy to iudge the smallest matters? He saith not, it was their right to iudge secular matters, but they were worthy to be trusted with them, whom God would trust with greater: and shewing that he spake this of the people, and not of the priests, he saith: If then you haue any iudgements concerning the things of this life, make euen the contemp-

1. Cor. 6. S. Paul abused by the Iesuites to make the pope iudge of temporall matters.

1. Cor. 6.

1. Cor. 6.

contemptible in the Church your iudges. He saith not God hath made them your iudges: but rather than your contending and brabling about earthly things which you professe to contemne, should be knowne to ethnikes, and such as hate and deride both Christ and you, your selues make the meanest of your brethren (whom you wil) your iudges. Now ioine your conclusion: *ergo* the pope hath authoritie to dispose the goods, lands and liues of all the faithfull, euen of princes themselues, be they neuer so iust or religious magistrates; and see what a *non sequitur* you conclude out of S. Pauls words.

Phi. The primitiue Church vnderstood this place of priests & bishops: as appeareth by S. Augustine cõplaining of the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes in secular matters: to the which troubles, saith he, the apostle hath fastened vs. 1. *Corinth.* 5. The like he witnesseth of S. *Ambrose at Millan. And S. Gregory reporteth the same of *himselfe at Rome. Theo. Truth it is, the bishops of the primitiue Church were greatly troubled with those matters; not as ordinarie iudges of those causes, but as arbiters elected by the consent of both parties. And I could requite you with Gregories own words of the same matter in the same place * *Quod certum est nos non debere*, which it is certaine we ought not to do, but yet I thinke, so long as it did not hinder their vocation and function, though it were troublesome vnto them, they might neither in charitie, nor in dutie refuse it because it tended to the preseruing of peace & loue amongst men. And the apostle had licenced al men to chose whom they would in the Church for their iudges: no doubt meaning that they which were chosen should take the pains to heare the cause and make an ende of the strife. But it is one thing to make peace betweene brethren, as they did, by heaping their griefes with consent of both sides, and an other thing to claime a iudiciall interest in those causes, in spite of mens harts. Which wrong you should not offer the least of your brethren: much lesse may you depriue princes of their crownes and take their scepters from them, because the apostle willed the Christians to be tried rather by their brethren, than by their enemies, which were infidels.

De opere Monachorũ. c. 19.

**Confes. li. 6. cap. 3.*

**Præfat. in lib. Dialogorum.*

**Ibidem.* The bishops might not refuse to heare and end the griefs of their brethren by charitable perswasion but not by iudiciall cõpulsion, without the princes warrant.

Phil.

The defense, cap. 5.

Phil. *In all which there is no difference betwixt kings that be faithfull, and other Christian men: who all in that they haue submitted themselues and their scepters to the sweete yoke of Christ, are subiect to discipline and to their pastors authoritie no lesse than other sheepe of his fold.*

The ciuill gouernor subiect to the spirituall amongst Christians.

Theop. In beleeuing the word, receiuing the sacraments, and obeying the lawes of God, there is no difference betweene the ruler and subiect; but the temporall states and possessions of priuate men you may not meddle with, by no color of ecclesiasticall power or discipline: much lesse may you touch the bodies, or take the crownes of princes into your hands by your *accidentall* and *indirect* authoritie: which is nothing else but a silie shift of yours to crosse the commandements of God.

Phil. *Though the state regiment, policie and power temporall, be in it selfe alwaies of distinct nature, qualitie and condition from the gouernment ecclesiasticall, and spirituall common wealth called the Church or bodie misticall of Christ; and the magistrate spirituall and ciuill diuerse and distinct; and sometimes so farre that the one hath no dependance of the other, nor subalteration to the other in respect of themselues: (as it is in the Churches of God residing in heathen kingdoms, and was in the apostles times vnder the pagan emperors:) yet now where the lawes of Christ are receiued, and the bodies politike and mysticall, the Church and ciuill state, the magistrate ecclesiastical and temporall, concurre in their kinds togither; (though euer of distinct regiments, natures and endes) there is such a concurrence and subalternation betwixt both, that the inferiour of the two (which is the ciuill state) must needs (in matters pertaining any way either directly or indirectly to the honor of God and benefit of the soule) be subiect to the spirituall, and take direction from the same.*

Theo. This is tossing of termes, as men do tenes-balls to make passime with. *The state, regiment, pollicie and power temporall, is in it selfe,* you saie, *alwaies of distinct nature, qualitie and condition from the gouernment ecclesiasticall and spirituall common wealth, called the Church or bodie misticall of Christ.* You seeke to confound that which you would seeme to distinguish, and when you haue spent much breath to no end, you conclude, that though the Church and the commonwealth be distinct states, as you cannot denie, yet you will rule both: by reason the common wealth, as *the inferiour of the two,* dependeth on the Church, and hath subalterna-

Though the spirituall and temporall be distinct states

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tion to the Church as to the superior. But sir, in plaine termes: and more truth, to the sonne of God ruling in his Church by the might of his word & spirit, all kingdomes and princes must be subiect, their swords, scepters, soules and bodies: mary to the pope, attiring himselfe with the spoiles of Christ and his Church, no such thing is due.

yet the pope will be sure to rule them both.

The watchmen and shepeheards that serue Christ in his Church, haue their kind of regiment distinct from the temporall power & state: but that regiment of theirs is by counsell and perswasion, not by terror or compulsion, and reacheth neither to the goods nor to the bodies of any men: much lesse to the crownes and liues of princes: and therfore your shifting of words, and shrinking from the popes constorie to *the Church*, *the spirituall common wealth*, *the mysticall bodie of Christ*, and such like houering and vncertaine speeches, is but a trade that you haue gotten to make the reader beleeue we derogate from Christ, and would haue princes superiors to the word and sacraments, which Christ hath left to gather and gouerne the Church withall. Howbeit this course is so common with you, that now it doth but shame you.

Pastors haue their regimẽt but ouer the soules, not ouer the bodies or goods of men.

A Christian king must take direction not from the popes person or pleasure, but from the lawes and commandements of Christ; to whom alone he oweth subiection. And as for the bishops and pastors of his realme (whom you falsly call the *spirituall common wealth* and the *mysticall bodie of Christ*, because they be but parts therof, and not so much, except withall they be teachers of truth) those he must and should consult, in respect they be Gods messengers sent to him and his people, but with great care to trie them, and free libertie to refuse them, if they be founde not faithfull. And when the prince learning by their instruction what is acceptable to God in doctrine and discipline, shall receiue and publish the same, the bishops themselues are bound to obey, and if they will not, the magistrate may lawfully see the rigour of his lawes executed vpon them. On the other side, if the prince will not submit himselfe to the rules and precepts of Christ, but wilfully maintaine heresie and open impietie, the bishops are without flatterie to reproue and admonish the prince of the danger that is imminent frō God: and if he perish,

Howe the prince is subiect to the priest: and likewise the priest to the prince.

perſist, they must cease to communicate with him in diuine prayers and mysteries: but stil they must serue him, honour him, and pray for him, teaching the people to doe the like, and with meeknes enduring what the wrath of the prince shall lay on them, without annoying his person, resisting his power, discharging his subiects, or remouing him frō his throne, which is your maner of censuring princes.

Phil. *The ciuill gouernor is* SVBIECT *to the spirituall amongst Christians.* Theop. I haue often told you how. The ciuill gouernor must heare, beleeue, and obey the meanest seruant that God sendeth, if he speake no more than his masters wil. That subiection princes owe to the sender, and not to the speaker. But were they simply subiect to the messengers of God, as they are not, wil you reason thus: princes should obey the preachers of God: *ergo* if they do not, they may be deposed? This is the argument, which we so often haue denied; why then labour you so much about the antecedent, when we deny the consequent?

The prince is absolutely subiect vnto God: & yet if he refuse his dutie to God, he may not be deposed by the minister.

That princes should obey God and his word, is a cleerer case, than that they should obey the pope. For of that no man doubteth, and this we not only doubt, but deny. Take therfore that which is confessed on both sides, and set your cōclusion to it, that the force of your reason may the better appeere. Princes without all question are bound to obey God: *ergo* if they doe not their duties to God, they may be deposed by priests. This is the sequele which we alwaies denied: and this is the point, which you first assumed to proue.

The defence cap. 5. *In orat. ad popul. trepidantem & Imperatorem.* Nazians similitude to expresse the subordination of ciuill and of spirituall gouernment.

Phil. *The condition of these two powers (as S. Gregorie Nazianzen most excellently resembleth it) is like vnto the distinct state of the same spirit and bodie, or flesh in a man: where either of them hauing their proper and peculiar operations, ends, and obiects, which in other natures may be seuered: (as in brutes, where flesh is, and not spirit: in angles, where spirit is, but not flesh:) are yet in man conioined in person: and neuertheles so distinct in faculties and operations, that the flesh hath her actions peculiar, and the soule hers; but not without all subalteration or dependance. Where we see euidently, that in case the operations of the bodie be contrarie to the end, weale and iust desires of the soule; the spirit may and must command, ouerrule and chastice the bodie: and as superiour appointeth fasting and other afflictions, though with some detriment*

detriment to the flesh commanding the eies not to see, the toong not to speake; and so fourth. So likewise; the power politicall hath her princes, lawes, tribunals; and the spirituall her prelats, canons, councels, iudgements (and those when the princes are Pagans) wholy separate, but in christian common-wealths ioined, though not confounded; nor yet the spirituall turned into the temporall, or subiect by peruerse order (as it is now in England) to the same; but the ciuill (which in deede is the inferiour) subordinate, and in some cases subiect to the ecclesiasticall: though so long as the temporall state is no hinderance to eternall felicitie, and the glory of Christs kingdome, the other intermeddeth not with her actions; but alloweth, defendeth, honoureth, and in particular common-wealths obeieth the same.

Theop. For you to flie soaring about with comparisons and applications of your owne making is to small purpose: similitudes haue no force farther than the author, that first vsed them, doth direct them and binde them.

S. Gregorie bishop of Nazianzen hauing occasion in a sermon that he made before the emperor, to intreat the prince to pardon a fault committed by the people, after he had taught the subiects their duty to the magistrate, turned his speech to the prince with these words amongst other: Will you admit then my free speech? The law of Christ hath committed (or subiected) you to my power and to my pulpit: for we rule also, and that which is a more excellent and perfect regiment. Or should the spirit (in perfection and excellency) giue place to the flesh, and heauenly things to earthly? You will I know take my freedom of speech in good part. You are a sheep of my fold, and a (lambe or) weanling of the great sheepheards. Nazianzen maketh not your comparison, that the priest hath the same power ouer the prince, which the soule hath ouer the body: it is your owne, it is not his: he calleth the things which are committed to the preachers charge, spirituall and heauenly: and consequently more excellent and perfect than the bodily & earthly things which princes haue in their power: farther he vrgeth not this comparison, and this we confesse to be most true.

Nazianzens words to the emperor.

Nazian. or. 18. ad ciues Nazianzenos graui timore perculsos, & principem irascent.

Phil. But S. Gregorie saith to the emperor: The law of Christ hath subiected you to my power, and to my tribunall:

Nazian. Ibidem.

The third part. Princes committed to the preachers charge,

Theop. I might refuse that translation: the words are, ὁ τοῦ χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι. ὑποτίθημι, doth signifie not onely to subiect, but also to commit as a pledge to be kept by an other man: and in that respect I might well defend this to be the right interpretation of S. Gregories words, The law of Christ hath committed you to my charge: but because the word hath both significations I receiue either, and affirme neither to make for your corporall correcting of princes. Saint Gregorie doth plainely lay forth his owne meaning, first by the finall intent, for the which he vsed all this preface, next by the rest of the words which he addeth to expound & expresse his mind.

Ibidem. The bishop claimeth free speeches in Gods behalfe to intreat the prince for the people.

His request to the emperor was δέξασθαι σὺν παῤῥησίᾳ τὸν λόγον, to beare with the boldnesse of his speech, in making request for his brethrē. And to shew the emperor that herein he did no more than Christ had licenced euery preacher to do, he bringeth this reason. The law of Christ hath boūd princes, be they neuer so great to heare the preacher, and to submit themselues to this place, where I stand: which was the pulpit and not the consistory. For τὸ βῆμα in the Church did precisely signifie the place where the preacher stood when he taught. And to that end he addeth,

Ibidem. πρόβατον εἶ τῆς ἐμῆς ποίμνης τῆς ἱερᾶς ἱερὸν, καὶ θρέμμα τοῦ μεγάλου ποιμένος. You are a sheepe of my flocke: that is sacred and so are you, and a weanling of the great sheepheards: and therefore bound to heare my voice, whom the great sheepheard hath charged with the feeding of his flocke. And so he proceedeth very fatherly and pithily not to command or require but to perswade and intreat the prince to be gratious to his subiects & to imitate the example of God the greatest and mightiest prince that is.

These be christian directions, and lawfull meanes to put princes in mind of their duties: which we allow and receiue. Your deposing them, and arming their subiects vnder a colour of your episcopal authority to rebel against them, and to take their scepters from them, was farre from Nazianzens mind and mouth: you do but abuse his eloquent similitudes to beautifie your pestilent conspiracies: and that you may see by the very words following,

Nazian. Ibid. where he saith to the emperor, Thou raignest togither with Christ,

Christ, thou rulest together with him; thy sword is from him, thou art the image of God: He that confesseth the prince to hold his sword from Christ and with Christ, neuer craked as you conceiue, that he had power to take the princes sword from him: yea rather he acknowledged himselfe amongst the rest to be subiect to the prince, though he were a bishop. Let vs, saith he, submit our selues to God, to each other, and to the rulers of the earth. To God in all things, each to other in brotherly loue, to princes for the conseruation of good order. For this is one of the lawes amongst vs (that be christians) and the same praise worthy and most excellently ordered by the holy Ghost that as seruants obey their maisters, and women their husbands, and the Church Christ, and the disciples their pastors and teachers, so we should be subiect to all superiour powers, not onelie for feare of wrath, but also for conscience sake. *Ibidem.*

We; that is as well pastors as people.

Phil. You will not deny but S. Gregorie saith, We haue * a greater and perfecter regiment than yours, speaking euen to the prince himselfe. Theoph. So preachers haue. They gouerne the soules of men and dispence the mysteries of God, where as princes are set to rule the bodies of their subiects, and to dispose the things of this life. And therfore if the fruits and effects of their callings be compared, the preachers passeth the princes by many degrees of perfection and excellency: God giuing earthly foode and peace by the prince, but heauenly grace and life by the word and sacraments which we receiue from the mouths and hands of his messengers. Marie if you compare their persons or powers to command and compell by corporall punishments, of which we dispute: preachers are seruants to their brethren, princes are lords ouer them: preachers may reproue and threaten, princes may sease the goods, and chastise the bodies of such as offend: preachers may shut the gates of heauen against non-repentants, princes may rote them from the face of the earth, and let them feele the iust vengeance of their sinnes in this world. This is the power of princes which we say must be directed by bishops, but is not subiected to their willes or tribunals; and though the Preachers charge concerne thinges which bee

Oratio. 18. ad ciues Nazian.

The preachers function excelleth the princes imperfection.

Wherein princes excell preachers.

more perfect and excellent, yet that is no reason why bishops should corporally correct or depose princes, no more than if philosophers or schoolemaisters should take vpon them to do the like, because they professe to traine vp others in wisedome and vertue, which farre exceed the feeding or cloathing of the bodie; which seeme to be the princes care.

The princes & the preachers functions concurre in the same things, though in diuerse sorts.

And yet may you not rashly exclude the princes function from caring for religion & vertue: it is euident that God first ordained and authorized the sword to punish error and vice, and to maintaine truth and integrity amongst men: and therefore the princes and the preachers functions by Gods institution should concurre euen in those ghostly and heauenly things, which you would challenge to your selues, the preacher declaring, the prince establishing the word of truth; the preacher deliuering, the prince defending the sacraments of grace; the preacher reprouing, the prince punishing the sinnes and offences of all degrees and states. Howbeit we must confesse the preachers seruice in these cases excelleth the princes; for that the word in the preachers mouth ingendereth faith and winneth the soule vnto God to serue him with a willing mind: whereas the sword in the princes hand striketh onely a terrour into men to restraine the outward act, but reformeth not the secrets of the hart.

The defence, Cap. 5. When the spirituall gouernment is to correct the temporall.

Phil. *When the temporall power resisteth God or hindereth the proceeding of the people to saluation; there the spirituall hath right to correct the temporall, and to procure by all meanes possible, that the terrene kingdome giue no annoiance to the state of the Church.*

Theop. What you want in proofes, you make out in words. We haue heard you, I know not how often, full solemnly affirme that *the spiritual power hath right to correct the temporall*, whereby you meane that the pope may depose the prince: but as yet we see you not proue it. Your exquisite and affected vtterance which is the chiefest furniture of your booke, and the best support of your cause, can not turne hard into soft, nor sower into sweet: men must haue some better euidence for the depriuation of princes before they beleeue it, than your meretricious and deinty speech.

Pastors

How many degrees the pope will be aboue the prince. *The third part.*

Pastors are, you say, *to procure by all meanes possible, that the terrene kingdome giue no annoyance to the state of the Church*: you should haue added *by all meanes possible* and lawfull: for by periury, rebellion, and slaughter of princes, though it be possible, yet is it not lawfull to procure the welfare of Christs Church. If you receiue that addition, and auouch it lawfull for bishops to depose princes, you run to the point which we first began with, absurdly presuming and neuer prouing the thing which is called in question. Pastors must procure the welfare of the Church, but by lawful and godly meanes.

Phil. The Church *excelleth the terrene state and domination as farre as the sunne passeth the moone, the soule the body, and heauen the earth. By reason of which excellencie and preeminence aboue all states and men, without exception of prince or other, our Lord proclaimeth in his gospell, that whosoeuer obeieth not or heareth not the Church, must be taken and vsed no otherwise than as an heathen.* The defence cap. 5. Mat. 18.

Theop. You must nœds be cunning in counting how many degrees a priest excelleth a prince. Innocentius the third, twelue hundred yeres after Christ began this comparison, and prooueth it out of the scripture full like a pope. Thou shouldest haue knowne, saith he to the emperor, that God made two great lights in the firmament of heauen, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night. Whereby is meant, that God made two great lights, that is, two great dignities which are the priest and the prince, for the firmament of heauen, that is of his vniuersall Church. But that which ruleth the day, to wit, spirituall things is the greater, that which ruleth carnall things is the lesser, that we should acknowledge as great difference to be betweene bishops and princes, as there is betweene the sunne and the moone. The pride of popes preferring themselues before princes. *Decretal. lib. 1. tit. 33. de maioritat. & obedientia cap. 6. ¶ preterea.*

Your gloze setteth downe and casteth by plaine arithmetike how much that amounteth to. Therefore, saith he, since the earth is seuen times bigger than the moone, and the sunne eight times bigger than the earth, it resteth that the bishop be forty seuen times greater than the prince. And yet aduising himselfe better, for that his totall summe rose no faster, he sheweth out of Ptolomy that the sunne containeth the bigneſſe of the moone, seuen thousand, seuen hundred, forty foure times, and so many degrees iumpe is euery bishop aboue euery prince. These parings and offcou- *Ibid. gloſſa in ver. Inter ſolem & lunam.* Passing good arithmetike. 7 is 56. not 47. 8

The Iesuits rake the very filth of their schoole men and canonists, and set a new florish vpon it.

rings of your decretals you haue swept together, and vsing the name of the church to make the matter more saleable, though by the Church you vnderstand as they did, the bishop of Rome and his colledge of cardinals, you perfume their follies with a few words of your owne, and new proclaime them for some precious wares: but take backe the filth and slime of your vnlearned and ill aduised canonists, we looke for graue and better authorities than either your, or their flatteries.

Phil. *Whosoeuer obeyeth not or heareth not the Church, must be taken and vsed no otherwise than as an heathen.*

Theop. I could answer you that this place toucheth only wrongs and iniuries done by men to their brethren, when as yet there were no christian princes. And that in these words our sauior charged his disciples not to breake the bond of peace and vnitie with any brother that offered wrong, vntill they had first secretly warned them, then with witnesses, and last of all publikely before the whole multitude of the faithfull where he and they liued: and if after so many lawfull warnings he ceased not to afflict and vexe his brother, the party grieued should no farther be bound to communicate with him in brotherly loue and charitie, no more than he was with an ethnike or a publicane.

If thy brother sinne against thee, that is, do thee priuate wrong.

Ambros. in Lucam, lib. 8. cap. 17.

S. Ambrose giueth this note vpon the words, *In te*, Against thee; *Pulchrè posuit, si peccauerit in te. Non enim æqua conditio in Deum hominem q, peccare.* The Lord very well added, if he sin against thee: for the same rule doth not serue when he sinneth against God, that doth when he trespasseth man. S. Hierom likewise, If our brother sinne against vs, and in any thing do vs wrong, we haue power to forgiue it, yea we must forgiue it: but if a man sinne against God, the matter is out of our hands. Least therefore in priuate quarrels and offences men should at their lists forsake the communion and fellowship of their brethren, our sauior will haue three admonitions and the last publike, after the which, if that take not place, we shall be excused before God, if we no longer accept him that did vs wrong in the number of our brethren.

Hierom. in Matth. 16.

August. de verbis Domini

Let him be to thee as an ethnike and a publicane, that is saith S. Augustine, *Noli illum deputare iam in numero fratrum tuorum,*

ruorum, nec ideò tamen salus eius negligenda: Do not account him in the number of thy brethren, and yet his saluation must not be neglected. For the ethniks themselues, that is heathen men and pagans, we do not reckon to be our brethren, and yet we seeke to saue them. By this you may do well to erect a court where euery subiect may sue his prince for priuate iniuries, and to make your selues iudges of all such matters, that if the prince refuse your order, you may take his crowne from him. Is not this thinke you good diuinitie for a christian common-wealth?

sermo 16.
Let him be to thee as an ethnike: that is, count him no longer to be thy brother.

Phil. If he, that will not heare the Church in priuate offences betweene man and man, must be taken and vsed as an heathen, how much more he that will not heare nor obey the Church in publike and heinous sinnes against God? Theop. Take the place how you will of priuate or publike iniuries, or sinnes against man, or against God, no such thing is consequent as you would seeme to inferre. *If he heare not the Church*, whosoeuer, whensoeuer, in what cause soeuer (grant all this, that your antecedent may be the frer from checke or chance,) what will you conclude? Phil. *He must be to vs as an heathen.* Theop. And what then? Must heathen princes be depriued of their crownes and sceptors? Was not Cæsar an heathen, when our sauior willed all men to giue to Cæsar the things which were Cæsars? Was he not an heathen magistrate before whom Christ stood when he said, Thou couldest haue no power ouer me, vnlesse it were giuen thee from aboue? Were they not heathen princes to whom Peter and Paul required and charged all christian princes to be subiect without all resistance? Did not the Church of Christ, taught by them so to do, submit herselfe for the space of three hundred yeares to heathen princes, and those terrible and most bloody tyrants. Phil. We deny not this. Theop. You can not. If then disobeiers of the Church must be vsed no worse than heathens and publicans, *ergo* they must neither be spoiled of their goods, nor afflicted in their bodies, nor remoued from their seats, if they be princes. For these things by Gods lawe the Church might not offer to pagans nor publicans.

Let him be to thee as an ethnike, maketh nothing for the deposition of princes. They were ethniks to whom Christ and his Apostles commanded all men to be subiect. Iohn. 19.

Ph. This that Christ saith, if he heare not the church, let him be to thee as an ethnike, & a publican, is (by the iudgment of

Auguſt. cont. aduerſarios legu & prophe. lib. 1. cap. 17.

S. Auguſtine) more grieuous than if he were ſlaine with the ſword, conſumed with fire, or torne with wild beaſts. Theop. And why? becauſe the iudgement of God, to the which he is reſerued, ſhall be more heauie to him, than any humane torments can be. And this maketh rather against you, than with you. For if the neglector of the Church ſhall be ſo grieuouſly puniſhed at Gods hands, why do you chalenge to your ſelues the coppozall correcting and chaſtiſing of ſuch as diſobey the Church? And ſo S. Auguſtine expounded himſelfe. It is by and by added, ſaith he, by our ſauiour, *Amen* I ſay vnto you: what you bind on earth ſhall be bound in heauen, that we ſhould vnderſtand how grieuous a puniſhmēt it is to be left vnpuniſhed by man, and to be reſerued to the iudgement of God.

To be left to the iudgement of God is more grieuous than any humane torment can be.

Ibidem.

Phil. The Church hath decreed that heretiks ſhall not beare rule ouer Catholiks: and this voice of the Church all men are bound to heare, vnleſſe they will be counted for pagans and infidels. Theop. Firſt the Church can make no ſuch decree: next the Church of Chriſt neuer made any ſuch decree.

The Church can not decree that princes ſhall be depoſed.

Phil. Why not the Church make that decree? Theop. She may not. Her power concerneth the ſoules of men and not their bodies, and neuer goeth beyond the word & ſacraments. She may not intermeddle with the temporall ſtates & inheritances of priuate men againſt their wils, much leſſe with the thrones and ſwords of princes.

The Church may not breake the leaſt of Gods commandements.

The Church can not giue leaue, that children ſhal diſobey their parents, nor ſeruants their maiſters, nor women their huſbands: becauſe God hath already commanded they ſhall obey: whoſe precepts the Church is with all reuerence to receiue, & with all diligence to obſerue, & not to fruſtrate or hinder the leaſt iote of his heauenly wil and teſtament: if any particular places, or perſons attempt the contrary, they ceaſe to be the Church of God, in that they wilfully reiect and change the word of God. S. Auguſtine ſaith well, *Non debet Eccleſia ſe Chriſto præponere:* The Church may not preferre her ſelfe before Chriſt.

Auguſt. cont. Creſcon. lib. 2. cap. 21. Chryſoſt. opere imperfect. in Mat. homil. 49.

Neither may we beleeue the (true Churches) themſelues, vnles they ſay and do thoſe things that are conſonant to the ſcriptures. Yea we muſt * accurſe the angels in heauen if they ſhould do otherwiſe. The whole Church oweth the ſame

*Gal. 1.

same dutie to all and euerie the precepts of God that each priuate person doth. And therefore she may not dissolue nor disapoint the least of them. Now the Church her self is commanded by the mouth of Christ and his Apostles to honor and obeie princes. For these precepts be general, and touch the whole Church: Giue to *Cæsar* the things that be *Cæsars*. * Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers. * Submit your selues to the king as the chiefest. For so is the will of God; neither monke, priest, prelate, pope, Euangelist, or Apostle exempted as in the place where I haue alreadie shewed. *Ergo* she hath no right to dishonor or depose princes, nor to licence their subiects to resist them at her will & on her warrãt, which is the ground that you build on. Luk. 20. * Rom. 13. * 1. Peter. 2.

Phil. *They be but flatterers of princes that so saie: or heretiks that so thinke that the ministers of Christs most deare spouse, of his verie mysticall bodie, his kingdome and house on earth (whome at his departure hence, he did indowe with most ample commission, and sent foorth with that authoritie, that his father before gaue vnto him) haue no power ouer princes, to denounce or declare them to be violaters of Gods and the churches lawes: nor to punish them either spirituallie or temporally: not to excommunicate them, nor to discharge the people of their oth and obedience towards such, as neither by Gods law nor mans, a true christian may obeie.* The defence cap. 5. Deceitfull perswasions of politikes vnto princes for their ruine.

Theop. If we knew not your accustomed brauerie, you might somewhat trouble vs with your insolent bauties: but now we haue so good experience of your fierce lookes and faint harts, that we neede not feare your force. Bsing somewhat besides your own conceit that the pope may depose princes, and then call vs flatterers and heretiks at your pleasure. If not, take heed you proue not presumptuous and stately rebels against God and man.

I weene you be the ministers of Christs spouse and kingdome, no more than his Apostles were, if so much: and your commission is no larger than theirs, if it be so large: and yet the Apostles themselues had no power to depose princes, but submitted their bodies and liues to the powers which God had ordeined, and taught (*Christes most deare spouse and his very body mystical*) to do the like, & she did so, not offering any example of resisting & deposing princes for a 1000. yeers, after she first receiued at her husbãds mouth a charge to honor them, & in earthly things to obeie them. The Apostles whose commission was largest, had no power to depose princes.

As

Episcopall iurisdiction standeth not in the deposition of princes.

As for your episcopall power ouer princes, if that be it you seeke for, and not to take their kingdoms from them, I told you before, if they breake the law of God, you may reproue them; if they heare you not, you may leaue them in their sinnes, and shut heauen against them: if they fall to open heresie or wilfull impietie, you may refuse to communicate with them in prayers and other diuine duties, yea, you must rather yeeld your liues with submission into their hands, than deliuer them the word and sacraments otherwise than God hath appointed: farther than this, if you will go to the temporall punishing, and finall displacing of them from their thrones (*and to the discharging of the people from the oth and obedience towards such princes*) which is the right intent of your romish censures, as your owne words import, though your cause were neuer so good, as yours is starke naught, you then turne religion into rebellion, patience into violence, words into weapons, preaching into fighting, fidelitie into periurie, subiection into sedition, and in stead of the seruants of God, which you might be by enduring, you become the souldiers of satan by resisting the powers which God hath ordeined.

Phil. Your threats were somewhat, if the church had not first deposed them.

The precepts of God for obedience to princes bind bishops as well as others.

Theop. Pull not out your owne eies with your owne hands. The church hath no such commission from Christ. She can not discharge smaller duties, as of children to their parents, and wiues to their husbands: much lesse greater, as subiection, othe, and loialtie to princes. Say if you dare that the precepts of subiection and submission vnto princes in the sacred scriptures do not bind bishops as well as others. If they do, then marke what mockeries you make of the word of God. * Let euerie soule (and therefore euerie bishop) be subiect to the higher powers, that you will haue to stand vntill the bishops depose them, and take their power from them. * You must be subiect, the bishops you meane as long as they list. For if they like not their prince, by your doctrine they may displace him. * Submit your selues to the king as excelling (all others:) but you will be sure to excell him, and when you see your time to make him the meanest amongst the people. * Giue vnto *Cæsar* the things that be *Cæsars*, but if Cæsar

What mockeries the Iesuits must make of the scriptures before they can depose princes by the word of God.

* Rom. 13.
* 1. Peter. 2.
* Luk. 20.

anger

anger you, you take from him goods, lands, scepter, sword, life and all. O worthie interpreters of Gods heauenlie will! A fewe such glozes will helpe Christ himselfe out of his kingdome, such cunning you haue to defeate the commandements of the holie Ghost, and to spoile innocent and christian princes of their crownes, when you list to displace them.

Phil. They be your foolish additions, and not ours.

Theop. Auoide the texts which we bring without these or the like constructions, and take the whole cause for your labour. Well you may flourish with the name of the Church, where I say, the Bishops; and require some causes before princes should be deposed, which I referre to the discretion of the deposer: but in effect your answeres must be as I report them. For what if the pope offer open wrong to princes of his owne religion, as he did to Philip the Faire, king of France; to Frederike the second Germane emperour, and to manie others? Who shall reuerse his definitiue sentence by your doctrine, but himselfe, that either for shame may not, or for pride will not relent from his error?

The Iesuits pretend that law, order and iudgement should be obserued in the deposing of princes, but the pope will be tied no farther than to one of these.

Phil. Therefore we referre the right of deposing princes to the Church, because we would be sure to *(haue it done by law, order, and iudgement.)*

Theoph. And that solemne proces of *law, order and iudgement* in your Church, which you crake of, when all is done, is nothing else but the popes pleasure: for he will be tied neither to Councell, nor Canon, farther than standeth with his liking; his Decrees be Canons, and a reason of his fact may no man aske him by your lawes, and therefore princes haue a warme sute to depend on such lawes, orders, and iudgements.

As for the church of Christ, she neuer toke any such thing vpon her, neither did she euer make any decree that prelats might depose princes. She endured as well heretiks and apostataes, as pagans and persecutors, manie hundred yeeres to the glorious triall of her faith, and eternall reward of her patience. Onlie Gregorie the 7. bishop of Rome more than a thousand yeers after Christ, in the heigth of his pride & fury, gaue the first onset to depose his

his Lord and maister, and others after him were easilie led to follow his example: but to this day neuer christian king, nor realme acknowledged or obeied that power in the pope, which yet he doth wickedly chalenge, as you do wilfully defend.

The defence cap. 5. The exãples of disobedient princes to the church and of their punishment or confusion.

Phil. *It may please the gentle readers to enforme their consciences partly by that is sayd before, and specially by that which followeth. Where they shall find that streight vpon the first conuersion of kings to the faith, as the good and godly haue euer obeied the Church, and submitted themselues to ecclesiasticall censures and discipline: so the euill and obstinate could neuer orderlie discharge themselues from the same, without euident note of iniustice, tyrannie, and irreligiositie; and were either in fine brought to order and penance, or else to confusion both temporall and eternall.*

Theop. He must be very gentle that will enforme his conscience with your bare surmises; other enformations you giue none. That which is said before, is to small purpose, that which followeth is to smaller. Neuer good nor godly king obeied the popes sentence of deposition, and besides the pope, neuer church, councell, nor pastour offered any such wrong to christian or heathen princes.

Some late princes haue been wearie with the popes practises, but neuer anie obeied his sentence of depositiõ.

What you call *orderlie discharging of themselues*, I knowe not; the wisest and worthiest princes that those daies bred, neither dissenting in faith from the bishop of Rome, nor then doubting of his pastorall headship ouer the Church, (such was the blindnes of their times:) yet openly despised and vtterly resisted, his arrogant censures in depriuing princes: and howsoeuer by warres, conspiracies and treasons he tired some of them, (God giuing princes for the neglect of his truth and number of their sinnes, into the hands & power of Antichrist:) yet others bridled and kirbed your holie father himselfe in such sort that he had small ioy of his enterprise.

The pope in greater danger with God for abusing his keies, thã princes for resisting his attempts.

Of their eternall confusion, neither you nor I be fit iudges: we must leaue that to the sonne of God: howbeit I see no cause but the pope is in far more daunger before God for his impious abusing the keies to warrant periurie, sedition, murder & treason against magistrates, than any prince can be for the necessarie defending of his person and realme, against such violence. The keies are to be feared if they be rightly vsed; but if you wrench them

them to serue your rages, you bind your selues, not others, whom your vngodly dealings can not hurt. Your owne law saith, *Apud Deum & eius Ecclesiam neminem grauare potest iniqua sententia.* With God and his Church, an vniust sentence can burden no man: and rash iudgement, saith S. Augustine, hurteth him that iudgeth rashly. *Caus. 11. quæs. 3. ¶ cui est. Ibidem ¶ temerarium.*

Phil. *About thirteene hundred yeeres ago,* Babylas *bishop of Antioch excommunicated the onely christian king or emperor that then was (as some count* Numerius, *as others* Philip) *for executing a prince, that was put to him for an hostage. Whereupon, as euill kings sometimes do, he martyred his bishop; whom S.* Chrysostom *and others reckon for the most famous martyr of that time: because he gaue by his constancie and courage in God, a notable example to all bishops of their behauior towards their princes; and how they ought to vse the ecclesiasticall rod of correction towards them, whatsoeuer befall to their persons for the same.* The defence. cap. 5. *Chrysost. in vita Babyl.* The example of bishop Babylas.

After the said prince had murthered his owne pastor; then holy pope Fabian *for that he was the generall sheepheard of Christendome (or as some thinke* Fabian *the successor of* Babylas) *pursued the said emperor by like excommunication, and other meanes, till at length he brought him to order and repentance.* *Nicep. lib. 5. ca. 25.*

Afterward S. Ambrose *bishop of Millan excommunicated the elder* Theodosius *the emperor; put him to publike penance among the rest of the people; commanded him to put off his kingly robes; to leaue his imperiall throne in the chauncell, and to keepe his place among the laitie: and prescribed him after eight moneths penance, to make a temporall law for prouiso, against the occasions of such crimes as the said emperour had committed, and for which he was excommunicated.* *Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24. Theod. lib. 5. cap. 17. Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 28. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. li. 5. c. 26.*

This was an other world than we now are in: maruellous courage and zeale in bishops for Gods cause: much humilitie and obedience in princes. Then was there no flatterer so shamefull, nor heretike on earth so impudent as to make the temporall king aboue all correction of Gods Church and their owne pastors: nothing being more common in the histories of all ages than that princes haue receiued discipline. Our shameless age.

As when Anastasius the emperor was excommunicated by Symmachus; Lotharius, and Michael emperors, by Nicholas the first; and particular princes by their prouinciall bishops: as we see in the records of all nations. Therfore we will stand onely vpon more famous and ancient examples. Diuerse princes excommunicated by their pastors.

Innocentius

Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 34. Georg. Patriarch. in vita Chrysost.

Innocentius the first, excommunicated Arcadius the emperor, and his wife queene Eudoxia, for that they disobeyed and persecuted their bishop S. Chrysostome. We will report the iudiciall sentence briefly, because it is much to the purpose, and full of maiestie.

The sentence of excommunication giuen by Innocentius bishop of Rome against the emperor.

O emperor (*said pope Innocentius well neare* 1200 *yeeres ago*) the blood of my brother Iohn Chrysostom crieth to God against thee, thou hast cast out of his chaire the great doctor of the world; and in him, by thy wiues (that delicate Dalida) persuasion hast persecuted Christ. Therfore I (though a poore sinfull soule) to whom the throne of the great Apostle Saint Peter is committed, do excommunicate thee and her, and do separate you both from the holy sacraments: commanding that no priest, nor bishop, vnder paine of depriuation, after this my sentence come to their knowledge, giue or minister the said sacraments vnto you.

Excommunication doth not inferre deposition.

Theop. Fairely shot, but quite besides the marke. Phil. Why so? Theop. Our question is whether prelats may depriue princes of their crownes, and you proue bishops may deny them the word and sacraments, if the cause so require. Phil. Is not that to the purpose? Theop. Not a whit. You saw we confessed so much before without byding. What need you then spend time to proue it? Phil. If you grant that, the rest will soone follow. Theop. We did and do grant, that with heretiks and apostatacs, be they princes or priuate men, no christian pastor or people may communicate. Phil. We desire no more. Theop. Inferre then.

The Iesuits proue that some princes were excommunicated, when they should proue they were deposed.

Phil. *Ergo* no christian pastor nor people may obey them. Theop. This consequent hath beene often framed, and often denied, and now you begin with a long discourse to proue the antecedent.

With idolaters and infidels we may cõmunicate in earthly, but not in heauenly things.

Phil. The sequele is sure. If we may not communicate with them, we may not obey them. Theop. What else haue we done all this while but refell that sequele? We may not communicate likewise with idolaters and infidels. May we therefore not obey them? Phil. With idolaters and infidels we may not communicate in spirituall and heauenly things, but in temporall and earthly we may, and for that cause must obey them if they beare the sword. Theop. We say the like for apostatacs and heretiks. We may not communicate with them in diuine things, but in terrene things we may, and therefore we must obey them

them if they beare the sword.

Phil. Heretiks be excommunicated, and so be not infidels. Theop. Infidels be without the Church of their owne accord, and heretiks be put out: this is all the difference betwixt them. Againe, your owne law saith, and true it is that excommunication doth not hinder any priuate * vtilitie, necessitie, or dutie, how much lesse doth it barre the publike vtilitie, necessity and duty that subiects owe their soueraignes? But these reasons were euen now opposed against you, and you retired from the scriptures to the vse and practise of Christs Church; promising as we tooke you, to bring vs not the selfe same weake and lame sequele, which we refuted before, but some plaine and apparant example, where the Church of Christ deposed princes from their seats, and discharged the subiects from their allegiance. This if you do, we be readie to giue you the hearing: if you runne bragging and vaunting of an other match, we know your mishap, a rotten tree will neuer yeeld sound timber, you would if you could, and because you do not, we conclude you can not.

Infidels of their owne accord be out of the Church, heretiks be thrust out.

* *Vt supra pag.* 350.

Phil. Yet answere that we bring, and of the sequele we will talke farther anon. Theop. That I will, what bring you? Phil. Numerius or Philip, it skilleth not whether, Theodosius, Arcadius, Anastasius, Lotharius, and Michael, the yongest of them 700. yeares old, though they were great and mightie princes and emperours, yet were they excommunicated by bishops. Theop. Your owne conclusion you haue suspended till anon, in the meane season heare ours and that out of your own words. These princes were excommunicated, as you say, but they were also serued, honored and obeied by all their christian subiects, bishops and others, as we say and you can not denie it: *ergo* we may serue, honor and obeie princes notwithstanding they be persons excommunicate; and consequentlie, your applying of scriptures that we may *not salute them, nor keepe companie with them*, is a violent deprauing of these texts, and refuted by the manifest practise of Christes Church.

Princes in the primitiue church were excommunicated, and yet honored and obeied, *ergo* deposition is no point of excommunication.

And because we be come so far, I will adde somewhat touching the rest of your wise pretences; Constantius, Valés, Valentinian

The princes were heretiks and yet obeied and serued, *Ergo* heresie then was no depriuation from their crowns. The Iesuits examples are flat against the depriuation of princes.

Valentinian the ponger, Anastasius, Iustinian, Heraclitus, Constantine the fourth & others were hereticall princes, Iulian an open apostata: and yet the Church of Christ indured, serued, and obeied them, not in temporall things onely, but in ecclesiasticall also, so farre as their laws did not impugne the faith, or corrupt good maners.

Phil. You inferre vpon our examples, which we can auoid when we wil, but you answer them not. Theo. Our illation, which you shall neuer auoid, proueth your examples to conclude for vs, and not against vs. You shew that princes were remoued from the sacraments, which we grant: but that they were remoued from their kingdoms, which we deny, that you shew not: & so by your silence you confesse that to be most true, which we affirme, that hereticall and excommunicate princes must haue their due subiection, honour and tribute as they had before they fell to such impieties, because they be perils to their soules, not forfeitures of their crownes: other answere we neede not make you since this will suffice.

Chrysost. contra gentiles, liber continens vitam Babyle Martyris.

And yet if we would examin your examples by the pole, I could take many of them tardie. I booke written in Chrysostoms name witnesseth, that Babylas bishop of Antioch excluded a christian emperour out of the church, for murdering a yong prince committed to him for an hostage: and was martired by the same tirant for his constancie: but this can not stand with the stories of the church, nor with your owne authour whom you alleage for the repentance and submission that you saie this emperour was after brought to by Fabian the generall sheepheard of Christendome.

This report of Babylas can not stand with the churches storie.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39. Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 26.

Eusebius who wrote an hundreth yeres before Chrysostom, saith, that Babylas bishop of Antioch died in prison vnder Decius an heathen tirant. After *Philip* succeeded *Decius*, who for hatred of *Philip* persecuted the church: in the which persecution *Fabianus* bishop of *Rome* was martyred: and *Babylas* bishop of *Antioch* died in prison after the (constant) confession of his faith. With him agreeth Nicephorus, *Babylas sub Decio post confessionem fortiter obitam in vinculis discessit*. Babylas after he had made a stout confession of his faith, died in prison vnder *Decius*. If he

Babylas died in prison vnder Decius, & not slaine by Numerius or Philip.

died vnder Decius, how could he be slaine by Philippus or

or Numerius that were before Decius? If he deceased in prison, how can your Chrysostome saie, that he was caried out of prison to his death and slaine? Can you reconcile these things and not giue one of your authors the lie? If that declamation were Chrysostoms, he wrate it when he came fresh from the philosophers schooles, as both the stile and matter argue, and before he was bishop, as his owne words declare. For speaking of the place where Babylas was bishop: he saith, *Nostri huius gregis curam gerebat*, he was pastor of this our flocke: and Chrysostome was bishop of Constantinople, not of Antioche. *Chrysost. contra gentiles.* *Chrysost. contra gentil.*

Who *pursued the said emperour by like excommunication* for killing his pastor, since the pastor was aliue after the emperour was dead, and died in prison without any violence, neither can you tel, neither need we care. Of Philip, Nicephorus saith no such thing in the place which you quote: he repeateth only that which Eusebius long before reported in these words: Of *Philip* the same is, that fauouring Christ, and willing the night before Easter to ioine with the multitude of Christians in their praiers, he was not suffered so to do by the bishop that then was, vnlesse he would first acknowledge his sins, and keepe his place with the repentants. Otherwise he could not be admitted, because his sins were many. And they say that he gladly hearkened (to the bishop) and shewed his sincere and religious minde to God-ward by his deeds. *Niceph. lib. cap. 25. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 34.* The prince instructed to aske pardon at Gods hands for all his former sins, and not depriued of his crowne.

The ground of the whol, in him that first wrate it, is but heare say: the principall matter, whether the prince were remoued from the communion, or neuer before admitted to the Lords table, very doubtfull. The thing required at his hands was no more but to humble himselfe in the sight of God, to whō al princes must stoope with as great deuotion & submission as the poorest woormes that are on earth. The conclusion may be, that princes then were trained to godlines; but that they were depriued of their kingdoms, is a wicked and vngodly suggestion of yours. We may with as good reason saie, a frier many times both shriue the pope: *Ergo* a frier may depose the pope, which I thinke your holie father will not like of.

Saint Ambrose is the onlie example in all antiquitie, which fully proueth that a bishop did prohibite a S. Ambrose is the onlie ex-

prince to enter the Church and to be partaker of the lords table: which we neither denie, nor dispraise, considering the cause and maner of the fact. The prince for a tumult raised by some of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, caused his soldiers, without finding or searching the doors, to murder the people; were they strangers or citizens, faultlesse or faultie, to the number of seuen thousand. After this execution at his next comming to the Church, S. Ambrose stepped to the Church doze, and said, Thou seemest, O prince, not to vnderstand what a monsterous slaughter of people is committed by thee, neither doth rage suffer thee to weigh with thy self what thou hast done: yet must thou know that from dust we came, & to dust we shall. Let not therefore the brightnes of thy robes hide frō thee the weaknes of flesh that is vnder them. Thy subiects are of the same metal which thou art, and serue the same Lord that thou dost. With what eies therfore wilt thou beh old the house of this common Lord, and with what feete wilt thou tread on his holie pauements? Wilt thou reach these hands dropping yet with the blood of innocents to receiue the most sacred bodie of the Lord? Wilt thou put that precious blood of his to thy mouth, which in a rage hast spilt so much christian blood? Depart rather, and heape not one sin on another, neither refuse this bond, which the Lord of all doth ratifie in heauen. It is not much, and it will restore thee the health of thy soule.

ample in all antiquitie (iustly prooued) that a bishop did excommunicate a prince.

Theodoret. li. 5. cap. 17.

Theod. lib. 5. cap. 18.

The maner of S. Ambrose his excommunication.

This strake the Christian prince to the hart, and turning about he went home with teares: and all the time that he was kept out of the church, as a man in mourning he would not put on his imperiall robes: but that *Ambrose commanded him to put off his kingly robes, and to leaue his imperiall throne in the Chauncell*, this is your venemous admixtion; the storie saith no such thing. You falsely father it on S. Ambrose, to make men beleeue, that the bishop might as well haue taken the princes scepter and sword from him, as his robes and his throne.

Sozome. lib. 7. cap. 24.

The Iesuits helpe this storie with their admixtions.

Theodoret. li. 5. cap. 18.

Phil. Did not Saint Ambrose send him word that he should go out of the chauncell, and stand among the people?

Theo. After his reconciliation when they approched to the diuine misteries, the prince came within the barres which were prouided for those that should helpe the bishop to minister the Lords supper, as his maner was at

Constan-

Constantinople, to whom the bishop sent word, being himselfe at the Lords table, that those railes were prepared for the priests, and that it was not lawfull for any man else to come within them. And so Sozomene confesseth. The emperors, saith he, were woont for an excellencie aboue the people to sit in the same place where the priests were. Ambrose seeing this to sauor of flatterie assigned the emperors a place in the Church next to the chauncell, before the people, but after the priests. This order Theodosius and other princes that succeeded him, greatly praised, and we see it obserued from that day to this. So that Saint Ambrose neither ment to take their seates from them within the Church, nor their robes without the Church; but thought it reason that the princes precepts should not trouble the priests in the seruice of God. And therefore take flatterie and heresie to your selues againe, we like and commend both the piette of the prince & the grauitie of the bishop: but your malitious depraued of the storie and mischieuous abusing the zeale of S. Ambrose to warrant rebellions & insurrectiõs against princes, whiles they repent them of their sinnes, we do not like; the more honorable his act, that sought to saue the princes soule with the hazard of his owne life, the more detestable is yours, that sell for princes crownes vnder a shewe of penance, as if earthly kings might not bewaile their sinnes, and keepe their seales, which you are loth they should.

Theod. Ibidem.

Sozome. li. 7. cap. 24.

S. Ambrose would not that the princes presence should hinder the seruice of God.

Princes may be penitent for their sins, & yet keepe their crowns.

If Anastasius had been excõmunicated by Simmachus, it hurteth not vs, deposed he was not; by him or any other: and with an heretical prince, neither Simmachus neither any other christian bishop might communicate: yet euen then was the east Church subiect to a prince that sauoured Eutiches heresie, and Italie to a follower of Arius; and the cõtention, which of the two should be bishop of Rome, Symmachus or Laurentius, was referred to the iudgement of king Theodoricus an Arian heretike: but that Symmachus did excommunicate Anastasius I finde it in no authentike writer. Euagrius saith that some condemned Anastasius as an aduersarie to the councell of Calcedon, and reckoned him out of the number of christian emperors. Yea they of Hierusalem accursed (or excommunicated) him.

Anastasius excommunication is not certainly prooued.

Lib Pontifi. in vita Symmac.

Euag. l. 3. c. 34.

Nicephorus rehearsing the words of Euagrius, addeth that they of Hierusalem excommunicated Anastasius yet liuing, which was more than Euagrius said. Sabellicus and Platina your very friends say this emperor was excommunicated by Gelasius, the second bishop before Symmachus: Martinus Polonus and Iohannes Marius affirme it was done by Anastasius the next before Symmachus: you say Symmachus did it: which of these reports is the truest, can you tell? A witnes is not trusted if he be taken with two tales, we finde you in three, and that touching matters done a thousand yeres before your time: (the wiser and elder historiographers whence you should fetch it, as Regino, Sigibertus, Vrspergensis, Frisingensis, Marianus, Scotus and others affirming no such thing; the latter and most partiall faintly comming in with, *sunt qui scribunt, *vt tradunt quidem, there be that write so: as some say,) shall we beleeue you?

Nicephor.li.16. cap.35. Sabel. AEnead.8.lib.2. Platina in Gelasio 1. Martinus in Anastasio. Ioh. Marius de schismat. & concil.cap.6.

*Platina in Gelas.1. *Sabellicus.li.2

Your canon law, the very hart & life of all your records at Rome, hath a very miraculous letter of the pope Gelasius to this Anastasius, where Gelasius telleth the emperor how Zacharie bishop of Rome deposed the king of Fraunce & put Pipine the father of Charles the emperor in his place, & discharged all the frenchmen from their othe and allegeance: Wheras Zacharie was bishop of Rome two hundred & fortie yeres after Gelasius was dead, and Charles began not his empire till eight hundreth after Christ, Gelasius dying within fiue hundreth. Thus Hilderike king of Fraunce was deposed two hundreth yeres before he was borne: & Gelasius wrate news of Charles three hundreth yers after Gelasius was dead & buried. By such deuises you may soon depose princes if not by mutinies, yet at lest by prophesies.

Caus.15.quæst. 6. ¶ Alius.

A strange kind of deposing princes.

Phil. The glose warneth you that some take these to be Gratians, and not Gelasius words. Theo. But Gratian himself warned you before that they were Gelasius words to Anastasius the emperor: for so he prefixeth the title. *Vnde Gelasius Papa Anastasio Imperatori.* In which sense pope Gelasius wrate thus to the emperor Anastasius. Then follow these words summed in red letters before, as his maner of aleaging is throughout the whole bodie of your canon law. And therfore vnles you saie the collector of your decrees & decretals wrate the title waking, & the text sleeping; you can=

Ibidem.

cannot choose but see what morter hath been vsed at Rome to plaster your holy fathers rottē right to depose princes.

Lotharius & Michael emperors, you say, were excommunicated by Nicholas the first. If we should aske you how you proue it, perhaps it would troble you more than you think. Late writers in this case we trust not, & ancient we finde none that report any such thing of Michael. Platina saith, that Nicholas the first entertained the embassadors of this Michael with great curtesie & sent them home with presents (to their master.) Zonaras a Grecian confesseth that the legates of the bishop of Rome in a counsell assembled at Constantinople, deposed Ignatius and confirmed Phocius. And though you haue shuffled into your decretals a flanting epistle vnder the name of Nicholas the first to this Michael, to frustrate the iudgement of those corrupt legates, & to reproue the prince for his ouerlusty letters, yet know you that no good storie maketh mention of any such strife between them; & that in the letter it selfe notwithstanding it be a perfect image of your shifting and forging to make the popes pride somewhat ancient, yet is there no word nor signe of excommunication denounced or threatned against Michael.

Michaels excommunication witnessed in no ancient writer.

Platina in Nicolao 1. Zonaras in Michaele filio Theophili.

Epist. Nicholai 1. ad Michael. Imperatorem, tomo. concil. 2.

Lotharius you grossely mistake; it was not the emperor, whom Nicholas the first offered to excommunicate, but a king of Lorraine named Lotharius and brother to Lodouike the second, that held the empire both during the life of Nicholas the first, & after his death. Neither did the pope excommunicate that king as you auouch; but he willed the king to beware least he fel within the compas of that sentēce which was giuen against his harlot, & least himselfe were forced to publish that his wilfulnes to the Church, & so the king should becom as an ethnike & publicane to al Christians. And that the deed was not done you may perceiue by pope Adrians behauior & speech to *Lotharius, and the rest, when he ministred the Lords supper to them at their cōming to Rome: yet the attempt was so strange, that Otho Frisingensis saith, See the kingdome decreasing, and the Church aspiring to that authoritie that she will iudge kings.

Regino in an. 855. & Otho Frising. lib. 6. cap. 2. Regino in anno 866.

Regino in anno 869. Otho Frisingen. lib. 6. cap. 3.

The famous, and as you say maiesticall excommunication of Arcadius and Eudoxia by Innocentius, well neere 1200. yeeres ago, is a ridiculous and peeuish corruption

This excommunication is prooued to be a

meere forgerie before.

deuised by some practiser at Rome, and imbraced ouer greedily by Nicephorus, and other latter Grecians in fauor of Chrysostom. Which insolent fansie wide from the matter we striue for, and full of forgerie, bicause it is refuted before, I may well ouerskip. If it were true, as it is apparantly false, it remoueth princes from the sacraments, but not from their scepters.

Of seuen examples but one proued, and that of no bishop of Rome.

Thus of seuen examples pretended, that princes were excommunicated in the ancient times of the Church onely one is duly proued, and no mo within 860. yeres after Christ, and that not by the bishop of Rome, but by S. Ambrose bishop of Millan. The rest are either enforced against the stories of the Church, or boldly presumed by you besides the stories. And yet were they al proued & confessed, they make nothing for your purpose. The question is not whether bishops shall receiue kings with open and obstinate vices to the Lords table, but whether they may chase them from their kingdoms or no. We mislike not repentance in princes, but resistance in subiects; bind their sins as fast as you can, but pul them not down frō their seats.

The cause why the Church of Christ did so rarely excōmunicate princes.

And yet least you should thinke that princes then had no faults, or that learned and godlie bishops did in those daies forbeare to excommunicate princes rather for feare or flatterie, than for any religion or dutie: marke what care S. Augustine wil haue obserued, how and when discipline should be vsed. If contagion of sinne haue inuaded a multitude, the mercifull seueritie of correction from God himselfe is necessarie; *nam consilia separationis & inania sunt, & perniciosa, atque sacrilega, quia & impia & superba fiunt, & plus perturbant infirmos bonos, quàm corrigant animosos malos:* For (then) the attempt to excommunicate is frustrate, and pernicious, yea sacrilegious: bicause it becommeth both impious & arrogant, and more troubleth the good that be weake, than correcteth the euill that be careless.

August. contra Parmenian. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Excommunications of whole realms then be much more proud, pernicious, and sacrilegious.

August. contra epist. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Neither was this the iudgement of S. Augustine alone: but the generall wisedome of Christs Church, as himselfe professeth when he entereth into this question. *In hac velut anxiæ quæstionis non aliquid nouum aut insolitum dicam, sed quod sanitas obseruat Ecclesiæ, vt cum quisque fratrum, id est Christianorum intus in Ecclesiæ societate constitutorum, in aliquo tali peccato fuerit deprehensus, vt anathemate dignus habeatur, fiat*

hoc

hoc vbi periculum schismatis nullum est, atque id cum ea dilectione de qua ipse alibi præcepit dicens, vt inimicum non eum existimetis, sed corripite vt fratrem. Non enim ostis ad eradicandū, sed ad corrigendum. In the straitnes of this questiō I wil say nothing that is new or vnwonted, but that which the soundnes of the Church obserueth: that when any of our brethren, I mean Christians within the Church is deprehended in any such fault that he deserueth excommunication, let that be done, where there is no danger of any schisme: & with such loue as the apostle cōmanded, saying, Esteeme him not as an enemie, but rebuke him as a brother. For you are not to root vp, but to amend.

The whole Church obserued this moderation which Austen speaketh of.

And to this end Saint Augustine largely disputeth throughout that chapter, shewing that excommunication is not to be vsed, where a schisme is iustly feared. It can not be an healthfull reprooving by many, but when he that is reprooued hath no number to take his part. But if the same disease hath possessed many, the good haue nothing left for them to do, but to sorrow and mourne. And therfore the same apostle finding many defiled with fornication and vncleannes, in his second epistle to the same Corinthians, doth not command them not to eate meate with such. He that calleth excommunication, a proud, pernicious, and sacrilegious attempt, where any number is linked togither, that a schisme may follow, what would he haue said to you, that excommunicate princes and whole realms, whence not onely dangerous schismes, but also cruel persecutions easily may, and commonly doe arise?

Aug. Ibidem, lib. 3. cap. 2.

Again, the end of excommunication, which S. Paul toucheth, and the meane which he prescribeth doe cease in princes. If any man obey not our sayings, haue no companie with him that he may be ashamed. Now the princes cōpanie the subiects may not fly, both in respect of the necessitie, that al men haue to deale with the magistrate, & dutie that must be yelded to the princes person & precepts. And how should the peple make their prince ashamed, who by Gods law they must honor, and obey in al things, & by whom they must iustly be punished, if they offer default in any thing? And this the church of God wisely cōsidering neuer biged any subiects to dishonor their princes, nether did S. Ambrose separate Theodosius from the companie of men: but he charged him in Gods name to refraine the

2. Thes. 3. The subiect neither may nor can fly the princes companie.

church & sacraments vntil he appeased the wrath of God by repentance. He charged not the people to disgrace or shun their prince, but he burdened the princes owne conscience, knowing ful well his religious disposition, & offering his life into the princes hands, if he misliked the fact.

Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 18.

The Iesuits prouide for this mischief by wilie dissembling with princes, till they be strõg ynough to take their crowns from them.

Your selues prouide for this mischiefe, but, as your maner is, by wicked and craftie dissembling, not by christian & sober forbearing the thing which you should not aduenture. The pope who is far ynough off and free from all hazards, he must first pronounce the sentence, you wil stand by & watch your time, when you may safely without losse of life or goods put his sentence in execution: till that pinch come, you may sweare and stare, & ou be loumg & obedient subiects: but then in any case you must shew your selues, or else you be accursed for euer. Toledo teacheth you, that if there be danger of life or goods, you may finely iuggle with excommunicate princes, & serue them, and honor them with all circumstances, till you be strong ynough to take their crowns from their heads in spite of their harts, and then you must spare them * no longer: and so much the dispensation, which Campion & Parsons obtained of his holines, when they came into this realme, importeth.

* *Tum demum obliget Catholicos, quando publica eiusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit, siculi tas concessa Roberto Parsonio & Edmundo Campiano, 14. April. 1580.*

Phil. Would you that men should communicate with hereticall princes? Theop. Condemne their errors, but pray for their persons: for so the apostle willeth you. I exhort you therfore, that first of al supplications, praiers, and intercessions be made for kings, and for all that are in authoritie: when kings were infidels and idolaters. So God commanded his people, when they were caried to Babylon. Seeke the prosperitie of the citie, whether I haue caused you to be caried away captiues, and pray to the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall you haue peace. Which Tertullian witnesseth the Christians did in all their publike assemblies. We cal vpon the euerlasting God for the health of our emperors, alwais beseeching God to send euery of them long life, happy raigne, trustie seruants, valiant soldiers, faithfull councellors, orderly subiects, and the world quiet: and whatsoeuer people or prince can wish for. Examine your selues how far you be from the innocencie and integritie of Christs Church. They wished all happines to heathen princes,

1. Tim. 2. Iere. 19.

Tertul. in Apologet. The Christians praied not only for their conuersion, but also for their health and welfare.

princes, and praied for the securitie of their liues, and prosperitie of their states. You curse and ban christian princes, and lay plots not onely for enimies to inuade them, but for subiects to shake off the yoke, and shorten the daies of their naturall and lawfull princes.

Phil. The Church of Christ praied for her princes if they were pagans, but not if they were heretiks. Theop. What was Constantius; a pagan or an heretike? Phil. An Arian. Theop. For him the Church praied. Phil. For his conuersion. Theop. For his health, raigne, & welfare. Phil. Heretiks perhaps, like himselfe, did. Theop. I say Catholiks. Phil. It was then at the beginning of his raigne before his impietie was notorious. Theop. About you fetch, and all will not serue. This testimonie that the Church praied for Constantius, though an heretike, was giuen by a councel of catholike bishops in the 21. yeare of his raigne long before his death. The Church praied for the prosperitie of hereticall princes.

Phil. Where find you that the Church praied for him? Theo. Read the two letters, which the west bishops sent from Ariminum to Constantius: and see whether it be not cleere. In the first thus they say, We beseech you that you cause vs not to stay from our cures, but that the bishops together with the people seruing God in peace, may humbly pray for your health, kingdome, & safetie, in which the diuine maiesty long preserue you. The conclusion of their second letter is this, For this cause we beseech your clemencie the second time, most religious Lord & emperor, that you cõmand vs to depart to our Churches, if it so please your godlines, before the sharpnes of winter come, that we may make our accustomed praiers togither with the people to the almightie God, and our Lord and sauior Christ, for your imperie, as we haue alwaies purposed, and now wish to continue. *Socra. li. 2. cap. 37. Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 18.* *Socrat. Ibidem.* Accustomed praiers alwaies made in the Church for Constantius the Arian; & the west bishops desirous to continue the same.

The writings of Hilarie and Athanasius to this very prince confirme the same. We beseech your clemency to permit, saith Hilarie, that the people may haue such teachers as they like, such as they thinke well of, such as they choose, and let them solemnize the diuine mysteries, & make praiers for your safetie and prosperitie. Athanasius by his praiers made for this prince in the open assemblie of the people, cleereth himselfe from hauing intelligence with Magnentius the murderer of his brother. With what eies could I behold *Hil. ad Constan. lib. 2.* *Athan. Apolog. ad Constan.*

that

that bloodie homicide? or how could I but call to minde your brothers face, whiles I made my praiers for your health? how could I endure to thinke euill of your brother, or sende letters to his enimie, and not rather pray and beseech God for your welfare, which verily I did? A witnes heerof is first the Lord, which hath giuen you the whole empire, that was left by your fathers. There can witnes also with me Felicissimus the captaine of AEgypt, Asternis the earle, Paladius the maister of your palace, and others. My words were, Let vs pray for the welfare of the most religious emperor Constantius: and presently the whole people with one voice cried; O Christ be fauorable to Constantius, and this crie they continued a long time. And appealing to the emperors owne conscience & knowledge: You haue good triall that all (the Christians) make their praiers & supplications to God that you may liue in safetie & continually raigne in peace. And God grant you, O most gratious prince, to liue many yeeres.

The zealous praier of Atha. and the people for their prince though an heretike. *Athan. Ibid.*

Yeare you deafe of eares, and dull of harts; the Church of Christ praied for hereticall princes in the midst of their impietie and tyrannie: and when it was but obiected to Athanasius, that he & others wrote letters to one that rebelled & tooke armes against the prince; he made answere, *Athan. eadem Apo. ad Const.* *Vincat quæso apud te veritas, & ne relinquas suspicionem contra vniuersam Ecclesiam, quasi talia aut cogitentur aut scribantur à christianis & potissimum episcopis.* I beseech you, let truth take place with you, and leaue not this suspition vpon the catholicke Church, as though any such things were written or thought on by Christians, and especially by bishops. How far then were these men from your humors, which professe to depose princes, and not onely licence subiects to rebell, but incite them to kill their soueraignes, as you did lately Parry with pardon, praise, and recompence both here and in heauen?

Rebellion & depriuation of princes not so much as thought on by Christians, and specially by bishops.

Phi. They might do this in the beginning of his raigne before he discouered his heresie. Theo. These be senselesse shifts. Hilarius wrote his booke after the councell kept at Millan by Constantius, and Athanasius his, after Liberius was banished. For those points be mentioned in their writings, and set out the one immediately before the other after the councell of Ariminum. And therfore the rathest of these defences came seuentene yeeres after the beginning

ning of Constantius reign and in the heatest of his tirannicall and hereticall persecution, as the bookes themselues declare: and yet they not onely indured but also obeied him as their liege lord, & detested all resistance in deed and thought as vnlawful for christians, & chiefly for bishops.

The defence, Cap. 5. When & vpō what occasions spirituall pastors began to vse the temporall sworde.

Phi. *But when in processe of time some princes, through Gods iust iudgement & the peoples sin, were fallen to such contempt of religion (as it lightly hapneth by heresie and apostasie) that excommunication, being onely but a spirituall penaltie, or other ordinarie ecclesiasticall discipline would not serue, then as well bishops as other godlie persons, their owne subiects, did craue aide and armes of other princes for their chastisement; as most holie and ancient popes (euen in the olde daies when the protestantes confesse them to haue been godly bishops) did incite catholike kings to the same: that those whom the spirituall rod could not fruitfullie chastise, they might by externe or tempovall force bring them to order and repentance; or at least defended their innocent catholike subiects from vniust vexation.*

Spirituall pastors neuer vsed the temporall sword till the pope began to rule al at his pleasure.

Theo. You begin now to shew your selues in your right kinde. From the Church you leape to the field; meaning belike as Iulius the second did, that since Peters keies will not pleasure you, Pauls sword shall better steede you. The side of your booke seemeth to direct vs *when, and vpon what occasion spirituall pastors began to vse the temporall sword,* but the text it selfe runneth quite awaie. We finde there neither time prefixed nor spirituall pastor named that euer vsed the temporall sword. Are rebellions such trifles with you, that you thinke to proue them with a marginall note?

The defence Cap. 5. War for the catholike religion both lawfull and honorable.

Phil. *There is no war in the world so iust or honorable, be it ciuill or forraine, as that which is waged for religion; we say for the true, ancient, catholike, Romane religion; which by the lawes of holie church and all christian nations, is adiudged to be the onely true worship of God; and vnto the obedience of which all princes and people haue yeelded themselues, either by oth, vow, or sacraments, or euerie of these waies. For this, it is goodly and honorable to fight in such order and times, as we be warranted in conscience and law, by our supreame pastors and priests; and not for wild condemned heresies, against most lawfull Christian catholiks, kings and priests; as the rebellious protestants and Caluinists of this time doe, without all order, law, or warrant of God or man. As the armes taken for defence of godly honor and inheritance in such sort and difference from heretical tumults, as is said, are so much more cōmendable and glorious; for that no crime in the world deserueth more*

more sharpe and zealous pursuite of extreme reuenge, (whether it be in superiors or subiects) than reuolting from the faith to strange religions.

Theo. Be you not marueilous sharpe and sound disputers, which alwaies proue that you neede not, and euer inferre that you should not? Phi. We proue directly that which we vndertooke. Theo. What vndertooke you? Phi. That princes might be depriued. Theo. By sentēce, meane you, or by violence? Phi. By sentence if that will serue: but if they yeld not thereto, then by violence. Theo. Your iudicial power to giue sentence of depriuation against them, you would faine haue established by the scriptures & examples of the primitiue Church: how short you came of that reckoning, I leaue the wise to consider: you proceed now to the violent expelling them from their princely seates, wherein it is a world to see how idely you hunt about, or rather purposely pursue the wrong foote, because in the right you finde no relefe.

The Iesuites should proue that subiects may rebell against their princes for religion, and they shew that one prince may warre vpon another. In all warres the person must be warranted to draw the sword, as well as the cause good, that they fight for.

Warre for the Catholike religion is both lawful & honorable, you say: you must adde *of the subiects against their prince*, or else you range cleane besides our questiō. We striue not what causes may lead christiā princes to make war on their neighbors, but whether it be lawful or tolerable for the subiect to beare armes against his natural & absolute prince. You proue, which is nothing to your purpose, that princes haue waged warres for religion: and when you come to make your conclusion, you secretly conuey this vnder hād which is most in doubt betwixt vs, and in generall termes you proclaime that wars for religion are iust & honorable. But sir in this interprise the person must be respected as well as the cause. Be the cause neuer so iust, if the person be not authorized by God to draw the sword, they be no iust nor lawful warres but barbarous & theeuish vproars. For say your selfe, when malefactors deserue to die, may priuate men put them to death without the magistrate? Phi. No. Theoph. And if they do, be they not murderers, though the crime which they reuēge, be worthy of death? Phi. They be. Theo. Then if in priuate punishments men may not presume without his authority that beareth the sword, much lesse may they venter on open wars (which are wilfull and furious executions by plaine force without all order of iustice) vnles they be directly warranted by

by him that hath the sword from God to take vengeance of the wicked.

Phi. *We be warranted in conscience & law.* Theo. We talke now of your conclusion, not of your commissiō. If princes who beare the sword may lawfully wage war for religion, is it consequent, I aske you, that priuate men which haue not the sword may do the same? Phil. Priuate men may not beare armes without authoritie. Theo. And if they do, be they not plaine theeues and murtherers? Phil. If they be not warranted to fight. Theo. To rifle & slea one is theft & murther by the lawes of God and man, what thē are they that spoile realmes & kill thousands with armed violence, but grand theeues & murtherers? Phi. If they be not lawfully authorized thereto, they be no better than robbers & slaughterers. Theo. Then princes may wage warre if the cause be good, because God hath giuen them the sword to maintaine iustice: and, if that be refused, to offer force both at home and abroad; priuate persons may not do the like, be the cause neuer so iust, for so much as they be not licenced by God to beare or vse the sword.

Priuate men can giue no warrant to vse the sword.

They be but theeues and murtherers that vse the sword without the magistrates authoritie.

Phi. I told you before, *that we be warranted.* Theo. So had you need. Your wars else for religion be no lawfull & iust armes, but desperate and wicked tumults. But by whom are you warranted? Phi. *By our supreme pastors & priests.* Theo. Do pastors & priests beare the sword? Phil. I say not so, but they warrant vs to take the sword. Theop. Can they warrant you to take the sword, that haue no authoritie to beare the sword? Phil. They be superior iudges to those that beare the sword. Theo. What? In temporall causes? Phi. No, but in spirituall. Theo. Fighting and killing, are martiall, not spirituall affaires. Phil. Yet to be directed by spirituall pastors. Theo. We striue not for directing, but for authorizing of armes. Preachers may be consulted whether the quarel be iust, but onely the magistrate that hath from heauen supreme power of goods, lands, life and death can warrant the subiect to vse the sword.

Pastors can authorize no man to vse the sword. They that beare it by Gods ordinance, must licēce others to vse it.

Pastors be no superior iudges for bearing armes.

Phi. *The cause maketh the war lawfull or otherwise. It is godly and honorable to fight for religion, we say: for the true, ancient, Catholike, Romane religion, in such order and time as we be warranted in conscience and law by our supreme pastors and priests: and not for vile condemned heresies against most lawfull christian Catholike kings and priests*

The defence.

priests as the rebellious Protestants and Caluinists of this time doe, without all order, law, and warrant of God or man.

Theo. If Nabals shœp be not all shorne, I dare warrant you better intertainment there, than euer Dauid had. Spoiles, massacres, conspiracies & treasons euen to the destruction & murther of princes, by their own seruants, if a priest say the word, you count in your selues to be *iust, honorable, and godlie wars*: if others doe but stand on their gard to kœp their liues and families from the bloody rage of their enimies, seeking to put whole townes & prouinces of them to the sword against al law and reason, and to disturb the kingdoms in the minoritie of the right gouernors: or if they defend their ancient & christian liberties rouenanted and agreed on by those princes to whom they first submitted themselues, and euer since confirmed and allowed by the kings that haue succeded. If in either of these two cases the godly require their right, and offer no wrong, impugne not their princes, but onely saue their owne liues, you crie, *rebellious heretiks, rebellious Caluinists, furie, phrensie, mutinie*, & I know not what. You may pursue, depose, & murther princes, when the bishop of Rome biddeth you, and that without breach of dutie, law, or cõscience to God or man, as you vaunt, though neither life nor lim of yours be touched: we may not so much as beseech princes that we may be vsed like subiects not like slaues, like men not like beasts, that we may be cõuented by laws before iudges, not murdered in corners by inquisitors: we may not so much as hide our heds, nor put our necks out of the greedie iawes of that Romish woolf, but the some of your vnclean mouth is redy to cal vs by al the names you can deuise. Howbeit looke well to your selues: it is not ynough for you to haue lawes of your own making to licence you to beare armes against your prince, you must haue Gods law for your warrant: or else you com within the compas of heinous & horrible rebellion. For you doe not defend your selues, but impugn your prince: you seek not the freedom of your religion, but the subuersion of other mens estates: you do not take armes that your cõdition may be tolerable, but that her highnes should be no prince: you saue not your own liues, but intend her deth. These shamefull & manifest treasons, against the law of god, nature & natiõs you smooth with a few faint colors, and

How fauorable the Papists be to their owne tumults.

Lawes of their owne making doe not excuse them from rebellion. The Iesuits take armes to depose princes, that is, to subuert their states, and liues, whom by Gods law they should honor and obey.

and publish them to the whole world for *iust, honorable and godlie wars.* But deceiue not your selues: the breath of your mouths may not ouerbear the lawes of god & states of mē. You must shew som better warrant thā the popes decrees or else your rising in arms against your prince, though the bishop of Rome back and abet you with all his buls & decretals, is an vnlawful, irreligious and wicked rebellion.

Phil. *Whosoeuer seeketh not after the Lord God of Israel, let him be slain (said king Asa admonished by Azariah the prophet) frō the highest to the lowest without exception. And al the people & many that followed him and fled to him out of Israel from the schisme there, did sweare and vow themselues in the quarrel of the God of their forefathers. And they prospered & deposed Queene Maachah mother to Asa for apostasie, & for worshipping the venereous god called priapus,* Theo. Doth the example of king Asa, forcing his subiects with an oth & vnder paine of death to seek after the Lord God of Israel, serue you to proue that subiects may assault their king & oppresse him with armes? Wil this go for a reason with you? The magistrate may vse the sword, & put offenders to death, *ergo* the subiect may vse the same, & that against his prince. Sure if you make such collectiōs, we shal mistrust rebellion hath so possessed your brains, that reason hath no place in you. Phil. This example proueth that heretiks may be deposed, and put to death. Theop. But by whom? By the prince, or the people? Phil. The king I grant was the doer. Theo. Then seek farther for your cōspiracies against kings; this example wil do you no good.

The defence cap. 5. 1. Par. cap. 13.

A king forcing his people is no proofe for subiects oppressing their prince.

Phil. *The people that fled to him out of Israel from the schisme there, did sweare and vow themselfe in the same quarrel* with the king of Iudah. Theo. The strangers that fled out of Israel for their conscience sake, toke an oth to serue the same God, but not to beare arms against their owne countrie.

These strangers did take an oth to serue God, but not to impugne their prince.

Phil. *They prospered & deposed Queene Maachah mother to Asa for apostasie, and for worshipping the venereous god Priapus.* Theop. You inlarge the number where you should not: which by your leaue is a plain corruption of the scripture. The text is, And king Asa deposed Maachah his mother from her regencie, bicause she had made an idoll. And again not (they) but he deposed Maachah his mother from her estate bicause she had made an idoll. The Queene mother was remoued from her honor & dignitie by the king her son for her idolatrie: but Asa did not put her to death though that were

2. Chron. 15. 3. Kings. 15.

the

The mother could haue no right to the scepter, her sonne being in ful possession of the crowne.

the summe of the oth, which the king & the rest tooke: and he that did this deed, was the true king of Iudah, & in full possession of the crowne many yeeres before, & suffered his mother not in hir own right, but of reuerence and curtesie towards her, to enioy some part of her former degree and dignitie: from the which he lawfully might & worthily did put her when she fell to erecting & worshipping idols.

2. Chro. 15.

Phil. The text noteth not how long he was king, before he deposed his mother. Theop. After the death of Abiah, Asa his sonne (saith the scripture) raigned in his steed, in whose daies the land was quiet ten yeeres. Then came the Aethiopians out against him with an huge hie host, and those he ouerthrew. And at his returne the prophet Azariah met him and incouraged him to go forward in the reformation of the land, which he performed in al the cities of Iudah and Beniamin; and gathered all the people of the land togither, in the fifteenth yeer of his raigne, where this oth was taken and paine appointed, before his mother was deposed. So that he, not she was rightfull gouernor of Iudah; & that which she lost was either the honor and dignitie, which otherwise did appertain to so great a state as the kings mother: or else that portiō of the land, which was assigned to her to rule vnder the king in respect of her dowrie. Howsoeuer, the kingdome she had not: and therefore the crowne she lost not, neither find you here a prince deposed by his subiects, but a prince remouing her that in nature was his mother, in condition his subiect, from that authoritie or dignitie (chose you whether) which before of fauor not of duty he suffered her to haue.

Asa had ben king 15. yeers and aboue, before he remooued his mother from her dignitie.

Asaes mother lost the dignitie which she had, but not the crowne which she had not.

The defence cap. 5. Deut. cap. 13.

Phil. *For that case also in Deuteronomie expresse charge was giuen to slea all false prophets, and whosoeuer should auert the people from the true worship of God, and induce them to receiue strange gods and new religions; and to destroy all their followers, were they neuer so neere vs by nature. And in the same place; that if any citie should reuolt from the receiued and prescribed worship of God, and begin to admit new religions; it should be vtterly wasted by fire and sword.*

Death by Gods law prouided not for hereriks, but for apostataes.

Theo. The cōmandement in Deuteron. toucheth not heretiks, but manifest apostataes, such as cleane forsook the very name & outward profession of God, & serued strange and new gods: and the rigor of this precept, I meane the punishment doth not bind vs that are vnder the gospell

by

by the iudgement of the best learned that euer taught in the Church of Christ. For by the same law of God blasphemers, adulterers, witches, strikers and cursers of parents should die: which penalties your owne Church did neuer execute, nor any christian magistrate that euer we read of. Touching heretiks, you heard S. Augustines opinion before, that it neuer pleased any good man in the catholike Church, that heretiks should be put to death. And therefore the ancient fathers did not extend these precepts to heresie as you do, or else they thought themselues and the Church of Christ not bound to the iudiciall part of Moses law, which properly concerned the Iewes common-wealth, and expired at the comming of our sauior. But admit this place were meant of heresie, which is not so; when God saith, that prophets shall be slaine: & thou shalt slea the inhabitants of that citie with the edge of the sword and destroy it vtterly: doth he speake to priuate or publike persons? To priuate men he said, * thou shalt not kill; *ergo* this precept, he shall be slaine, is directed to the magistrate to whom God gaue the sword for this purpose, that he should take vengeance of the wicked in his name, and according to his law.

Leuit. 24. 20. Exod. 22. 21. The penalties of Moses law stand not in force vnder the gospell.

August. cont. Cresc. lib. 3. ca. 50. nullis bonis in cathol. hoc placet. si vsq; ad mortem in quenquam, licet hæreticum seuiatur.

Deut. 13.

*Exod. 20.

Phil. What if the magistrate himselfe be the party that so sinneth, and should be put to death, shall he escape? Theop. That is the case which you take in hand to proue, that the people may punish the prince offending as well as the prince may the people. Phil. Either the people, or none must do it. Theop. And since the people may not do it, it is euident that God hath reserued the magistrate to be punished by himselfe, and not giuen the people power ouer their prince. Dauid committed adultery; Salomon erected idolatry; both offences being death by Gods law. Might the people therefore haue put Dauid and Salomon to death? In many christian common-wealths, rapes, thefts, murthers, be capitall crimes & punished by death: shall the people therefore take their princes if they be culpable in any of these, and by their owne lawes chop off their heads? I thinke you be not so mad to put the sword in euery mans hand that first will vse it.

The prince is to punish others, and not to be punished by others.

Phil. Then princes haue impunitie to do what they list without feare of lawes. Theop. Princes appoint penal-

Princes who they sinne must be left

to the righteous iudgement of God

ties for others, not for themselues. They beare the sword ouer others, not others ouer them. Subiects must be punished by them, & they by none, but by God whose place they supply. S. Cyrill saith rightly, *Nemo leges regum impunè reprobat nisi reges ipsi, in quibus præuaricationis crimen locum non habet. Prudenter enim dictum est, impium esse qui regi dixerit, iniquè agis.* No man may breake the lawes of princes without punishment but the princes themselues, who may not be charged with the transgressions *(of their owne lawes.)* For it was wisely spoken, he is wicked that saith to a king thou art an offendor. And if it be a monster in nature and policy to suffer the children to chastise the father, and the seruants to punish the master, what a barbarous and impious deuise of yours is this to giue the subiects power of life and death ouer their princes? Sticke not to these things if you be wise; least children and seruants thinke it more need you be purged for phrensie, than answered by diuinitie.

Children may not chastise their parents though faulty: much lesse subiects their soueraignes.

Phil. *Neither perteineth this to poore men onely, but to the gouernors and leaders of the people most of all. As we see in the booke of Numbers, where Moses by the commandement of God caused all the princes of the people to be hanged vpon gibbets against the sunne, for communication in sacrifice with the Moabits; and the rest of the people euery one by the hand of his neighbor to be put to the sword for the same fault: wherein Phinees the priest of God by sleaing a chiefe captaine with his owne hands deserued eternall praise, and the perpetuitie of his priesthood. By Moses also his appointment, the faithfull Leuits slue 3300. of their neighbors, brethren, and friends, for committing idolatrie, and forsaking the true God. Mary in all this (as you see by the examples alleaged) the prophet and priests must direct them for the cause and action, that they erre not of phantasie, partialitie, pride, and pretence of religion, as heretiks and rebels do, but the quarrell must be for the old faith, seruice and priesthood, against innouation; and directed and allowed by those which by order and function haue charge of our soules.*

Deut. 25. Execution done vpon princes.

You would slay 3000.

Theop. Can you see no difference betweene nobles that be subiects, and the prince that beareth the sword? Moses the chiefe magistrate was commanded by God to hang vp the heads and captaines of the people for committing whoordome with the daughters of Moab, and bowing downe to their gods, and so he did. Your conclusion is, *ergo* the people

Numb. 25. 4. vers. 1. 2. This fact had the commandement of God and the magi-

people may do the like to their magistrats. You may hang this reason on a hedge for the goodnesse of it. Your antecedent hath two sufficient warrants, which your conclusion lacketh. First God precisely commanded that kind of reuenge to be taken: and secondly the magistrate was the reuenger. How can you then vpon this inferre that subiects may do the same, since subiects be no magistrats, and haue a streit commandement from God not to lay hands on his annointed?

strate for a warrant; rebellion against princes hath neither.

Phil. Phinees the priest of God slue Zimri the prince of the house of Simeon, with his owne hands, and thereby gat the perpetuity of his priesthood: Theop. Phinees had for his warrant afore he did the deed, the voice both of God and the magistrate. For Moses had charged the iudges of Israell before Zimri came with the woman of Midian into the tents: Euery one slay his men that ioined vnto Baal Peor. And the magistrate commanding, as in this case you see he did, it was lawfull for Phinees or any other priuate person to execute that sentence. Phil. Why then was Phinees so highly commended and recompenced at Gods hands? Theop. Not for attempting to kill without commission as you imagine, but for his readinesse to accomplish the will of God, and word of Moses with his owne hands in the sight of them all, and hastning in his owne person to do that execution though he were the chiefe prince of the tribe of Leuy, and sonne to Eleazar the high priest: whose zeale for his seruice God so imbraced, that he willed the office of the high priest, after his fathers death to remaine to him and his line for euer.

Numb. 25. 5.

God imbraced the zeale of Phinees not for vsing the sword without authority, but for neglecting his owne dignity, whiles he did execute the precept of God and the magistrate. Exod. 32.

Phil. *The Leuits, before that, slue 3300. of their neighbors, brethren and friends, for committing idolatrie and forsaking the true God.* Theop. Why should they not, when as God and the magistrate appointed them so to do? Moses gaue them the charge in these words: Thus saith the Lord God of Israell, put euery man his sword by his side, and go to and fro, from gate to gate through the host, and slea euery man his brother, and euery man his companion, and euery man his neighbor. And the children of Leuy did as Moses had commanded, and there fell of the people that daye about three thousand men. What fact can be more lawfull than where God prescribeth what shall be done, and

The Leuits were charged by God and the magistrate to do this execution.

he that beareth the sword authorizeth others to do it?

Phil. The priests you see made this slaughter of the people. Theop. The Leuits were not all priests, though they were to attend on the arke, and the rest of the seruice of God: Aaron and his sonnes had the priesthood and not the whole tribe of Leui. The scripture it selfe will
1.Chron.6. giue you that distinction. The Leuits were appointed vnto all the seruice of the tabernacle of the house of God. But Aaron and his sonnes burnt incense vpon the altar of burnt offering. And what should let the Leuits to beare armes at Moses commandement, who afterward in defence of king Ioah at his coronation, in the temple, did compasse him,
2.Chron.23. Euery man with his weapon in his hand? Against the magistrate they did not bend their swords as you do, but rather for obedience to the magistrate, and therefore their example will not warrant your displaying of banners against your prince.

Moses was a magistrate. Phil. Was Moses a magistrate? Theo. How thinke you, was he not? Phil. The scripture saith he was a priest and a prophet, not a prince. Theop. Those be no reasons to exclude him from bearing the sword. Melchizedec was a priest of the most high God, and king of Salem. Ely was a priest and Samuel a prophet, and yet both were
Gen.14. Priests and prophets among the Iewes were sometimes magistrats. soueraigne rulers ouer Israell. Moses might annoint Aaron at the first erection of the priesthood, and deliuer the law of God vnto the people, and yet keepe the ciuill regiment.

Phil. Why then doth Dauid number Moses and Aaron
*Psal.99. among the * priests of God? Theop. The word which Dauid vseth doth signifie those that be chiefe in any seruice as well as priests: as in the second of Samuel the
*2.Sam.8. eight chapter, where it is said that * Zadoc and Abimelec (the sonnes of Phinees) were the priests, it is presently added, and the sonnes of Dauid, *cohanim haiu* were (no priests, but) chiefe princes or rulers: and yet the word is the very same that was vsed before to Zadoc and Abimelec, the
*2.Sam.20. The word *cohen* signifieth as well a prince as a priest. sonnes of Aaron. So in the 20. of the same booke,* Zadoc and Abiathar were priests, and Ira the Iairite was *cohen le-dauid*, not a priest to Dauid, for that had beene wickednesse against the law of God to make a meere stranger that was no leuite a priest, but a chiefe prince about Dauid. And so

Dauid

Dauid ioineth Moses & Aaron as the principall seruitors about God, and chiefe rulers of the people: Moses for regiment, Aaron for sacrifices.

And did the word exactly signifie priests, the letter *beth* which goeth before it, importeth either in the number of the priests or togither with the priests: so that Moses & Aaron with the Priests called on the name of the Lord. But that Moses was a priest after Aaron and his sonnes were annointed, is a manifest vntruth against the scriptures. God said to Moses, Thou shalt put vpon Aaron the holy garments and shalt annoint him. And sanctifie him that he may serue me in the priests office. Thou shalt also bring his sonnes, and cloath them with garments. And shalt annoint them as thou diddest annoint their father, that they may serue me in the priests office: so shall this their annointing be to them for an euerlasting priesthood in their generations. And againe, Thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sonnes to execute the priests office, and the stranger that commeth neer shall die. Which precept excluded not onely the rest of the tribes, but euen the Leuits themselues, that were not the sonnes of Aaron, from being priests or medling with the sacrifices, that should be offered vnto God.

Exod. 40. Aaron & his sonnes onely had the priesthood.

Numb. 3. Moses was Aarons brother and not his sonne.

To Aaron God said: Thou and thy sonnes with thee shall beare the iniquitie (or burthen) of the priests office. Thy brethren of the tribe of Leui shalt thou take to minister vnto thee: but thou and thy sonnes with thee shall minister before the tabernacle of the testimony. They shall kepe the charge of all the tabernacle, but they shal not come neer the instruments of the sanctuarie, nor to the altar, least they die, both they and you. Where you see the priests office so tied vnto Aaron and his sonnes, that the Leuits his brethren, and of his fathers family, might watch and ward about the tabernacle and minister vnto him and his sonnes that were priests, but not come neer the altar nor any instruments of the sanctuary. How then could Moses be a priest after Aaron was annointed, when the priesthood was deliuered and confirmed to Aaron only and his sonnes?

Numb. 18.

Aarons brethren might not come neer the altar.

Phil. Moses was a Leuit. Theop. He was Aarons brother, but the priesthood was giuen to Aaron and his

Moses might annoint Aaron, and yet be no priest. Heb. 5.

sons. Phil. He annointed Aaron & his sons. Theop. Not by his ordinary function as a priest, but by speciall direction from God as a prophet. For Aaron was called to that office, not by Moses, but by God himselfe, as the Apostle testifieth, though he were annointed by Moses hands. Phil. Moses might be a priest before Aaron was called. Theop. If Moses were a priest, what needed an other to be chosen? Why should Moses be depriued of his priesthood, he no way displeasing nor offending God? Reason you shew both his calling and his annointing, before you challenge the priesthood for him. Phil. Dauid saith he was. Theop. What Dauid saith, we saw before. The word by S. Hieroms owne obseruation signifieth a maister or ruler, *Ira Iairites erat sacerdos Dauid, id est magister: sicut alibi scriptum est: filij autem Dauid erant sacerdotes, id est magistri fratrum suorum.* Ira the Iairite was a priest of Dauids, that is a ruler as it is elsewhere written, the sonnes of Dauid were priests, that is rulers of their brethren.

Hier. traditiones Hebraicæ in libros Regū tom. 3.

Hier. in Psal. 98. S. Hierome & S. Augustine take the word priest largely, for him that teacheth as well as for him that offereth: and in that sense Moses may be called a priest, notwithstanding he were also a magistrate. *August. in Psalm. 98.*

Phil. Saint Hierome and Saint Augustine writing vpon this psalme of Dauid affirme that Moses was a priest. Theop. All that Saint Hierome saith is this: that Moses had the rule of the law, and Aaron of the Priesthoode, and that either of them did fore-shew the comming of Christ, with a priestly kind of proclamation: (Moses) with the sound of the law, and (Aaron) with the belles of his garments. Where Saint Hierome calleth the prophetical function of Moses to teach the people the lawes of God a priestly kind of proclaiming, and foreshewing that the sonne of God should come in flesh to teach vs the will of his father. Saint Augustine vseth the word in like sense for that sacred seruice which Moses yeelded vnto God in reporting his lawes and precepts to the people. And therefore in the same place he saith of Samuel, he was made high priest, which is expressely against the scriptures, if you take the word priest for him that was annointed to offer sacrifices vnto God. For Samuel was but a Leuite and no priest, much lesse high priest. The sonnes of Samuel are reckoned in the scripture it selfe among the * Leuites apart from the priests office and linage, & the high priesthood was long before

* 1. Chr. 6. 33. 34.

before * giuen to Phinees and his house by couenant from Gods owne mouth, and in the dates of Samuel was held by * Abiah the sonne of Abicub, who was directly of the descent of * Phinees. * Num. 25.13. * 1.Sam.14. * 1.Chron.6.

Saint Augustine else-where debating this question of Moses and Aaron, resolueth in doubtfull manner. Moses and Aaron were both high priests, or rather Moses (the chiefe) and Aaron vnder him: or else Aaron chiefe for the pontificall attire, and Moses for a more excellent ministerie. And in that sense Moses may be called a priest, if you meane as Saint Augustine doth, an interpreter of Gods will to Aaron and others; which is the right vocation of all prophets that were no priests, and common to them all; saue that by a more excellent prerogatiue than any other prophet of the old Testament had, God spake to Moses * mouth to mouth, and * face to face, as a man speaketh vnto his friend. But this doth not hinder his ciuill power which was to be chiefe iudge and soueraigne executor of iustice amongest them, and by vertue thereof to put them to death that were offendors against the law of God. And in his steed succeeded not Eleazar or Phinees the sonnes of Aaron, but * Iosua, and * Iudah the captaines and leaders of Israel. *Aug.quæst.super Leuit.lib.3 cap.23. * Num.12. * Exod.33. * Num.27. Deut.31. * Iudg.1. 1.Sam.16.

Phil. Your collection of Samuel is not true. For God sent him to do sacrifice when he annointed Dauid, and therefore Samuel was a priest. Theop. My collection is grounded vpon the law of God. Samuel was none of the sonnes of Aaron, *Ergo* Samuel was no priest, nor might not come neere the altar to offer any sacrifice in his owne person. Phil. The scripture saith, * He tooke a sucking lambe and offered it for a burnt offering vnto the Lord. Theop. You mistake the speech of the holy Ghost. So Iephtah said, * That thing which first commeth out of the doores of mine house to meet me, I will offer it for a burnt offering: and yet Iephtah was neither priest nor Leuite. So the angell said to Manoah, * If thou wilt make a burnt offering offer it to the Lord: and yet Manoah was of the tribe of * Dan. Of Dauid that was no priest the scripture saith, * Then Dauid offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord. And againe * Dauid built there an Samuel no priest. * 1.Sam.7. * Iudg.11. * Iudg.13. * Iudg.13.2. * 2.Sam.6. * 2.Sam.24.

altar vnto the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings: and the Lord was appeased toward the land. And likewise of Salomon, The * king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; a thousand burnt offerings did Salomon offer vpon that altar. * Thrise a yeere did Salomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings vpon the altar which he built to the Lord, and he burnt incense vpon the altar that was before the Lord. Nothing is oftener in the scriptures than these kinds of speeches: by the which no more is meant, but that either they brought these things to be offered, or else they caused the priests to offer them. For in their owne persons they could not sacrifice them, because they were no priests.

* 1.Kings.3.

* 1.Kings.9.

What the scripture meaneth when it saith that they which were no priests offered.

In that sense the scripture saith of Saul that * He offered a burnt offering at Gilgal before Samuel came, not that Saul offered it with his owne hands, as you before did fondly imagine, and said he was deposed for *aspiring to the spirituall function:* but he commanded the priest to do it, who was then present in the host with the arke of God, as the next chapter doth witnesse in two seuerall places.

* 1.Sam.13.

1.Sam.14.ver. 3.& 18. Sauls offence was distrust & impatiéce: & not sacrificing in his owne person.

Phil. Then was Saul free from sinne when Samuel reproued him. Theop. Samuel reproued him for distrusting and disobeying God. For when God first aduanced Saul to the kingdome, he charged him by the mouth of Samuel to go to Gilgal and there to * stay seuen daies (before he entered to do any sacrifice) till the prophet were sent to shew him what he should do: but seeing his enimies * gathered to fight against him on the one side, and his people shrinking from him on the other side, because Samuel came not; began to suspect that Samuel had beguiled him, and therefore vpon his owne head against the commandement of God, willed the priest to go forward with his sacrifices, & to consult God what he should do. This secrete distrust & presumption against the charge which God had giuen him, was the thing that God tooke in so euill part: and since he would not submit himselfe to be ruled by God and expect his leasure, God reiected him as vnfit to gouerne his people. Neither did Samuel chalenge him for inuading the priests office, but for not staying the time that God prefixed him, before the prophet should come.

* 1.Sam.10.

* 1.Sam.13.

Phil.

Phil. *We reade in the booke of Numbers, that the captaine and all the people were commaunded to go in and out, that is, to proceed in warres according to the order of* Eleazarus *the priest. Such were the warres of* Abia *and other kings of Iudah, that fought most iustlie and prosperouslie against the schismaticall Israelites, and iustlie possessed the cities which they conquered in those warres. As also* Edom *and* Libuah *reuolted from king* Ioram *for religion; euen because he forsooke the God of their forefathers, and could neuer be recouered to the same againe. Wherein also the example and zeale of the children of Israel was verie notable; that they would haue denounced warre against the tribe of* Ruben *and* Gad, *only for erecting (as they tooke it) a schismaticall altar out of the only place where our Lord appointed that sacrifice should be done vnto his honor.*

The defence cap. 5. Numb. 27.

The punishment of princes for schism and reuolt. 2. Paral. 13. 1. Paral. 21. 4. Reg. 8.

Theop. Ye be tried men to interprete scriptures. The words which you applie to Eleazar the priest, stand in the text *indifferent to be referred either to God or to Iehoshuah, or to Eleazar: and you iustlie leaue out both God and the magistrate, and will haue the priest to be the maister of the musters. And did the words pertaine to Eleazar, no such power as you conceiue is thereby giuen to the priest, to caulme and kindle warres when he list, but only to consult the Lord before his arke, and to report backe to the captaine and leader of the people, what the Lord said: that no warres might be vndertaken without expresse warrant from God. This kind of asking counsell at Gods mouth in their warres, you should find exemplified in sundrie places of the old Testament as Iudges *twentie, *first Samuel fourteene, *first Samuel twentie-three, *first Samuel thirtie. But in this case the priest had no farther authoritie than to inquire at Gods mouth, and that he did when the king commaunded him, which is far from licencing subiects to rebell against their king, as you would haue it.

*Num. 27. 21.

The priest was to consult God for the kings warres, but not to appoint the king what he thought good. *Verſ. 18. 28. *Verſ. 18. *V. 2. 4. 11. 12 *Verſ. 8.

The warres of *Abia the king of Iudah against Israel, were not of subiects against their soueraignes, but of a lawfull prince bearing the sword, and thinking to recouer the kingdome of Israel, which Roboam his father lost, from his enimies. Where you iustifie the warres of Abia against Israel more boldlie than wiselie: God himselfe prohibiting the children of Iudah and Beniamin in the daies of Roboam his father to *fight against the children

*2. Chro. 13. The warres of Abiah were of one prince against another.

of

*2. Chro. 11. of Israell their brethren, and professing the diuision of the kingdome to come from God and not from man.

If you saie that Abia sought not for the kingdome but for religion, though his owne words *found to the contrarie, know you that as Ieroboam was starke naught, so Abia for all his crakes and your praises was little better. The holie Ghost, whose report we must beleeue before yours, saieth, that he walked in all the sinnes of his father, which he had done before him, and that his heart was not right with the Lord his God. And the sinnes of his father are thus described in the scripture: *Iudah* wrought wickednesse in the sight of the Lord, and they prouoked him more with their sinnes, which they committed, than all that which their fathers had done. For they also made them high places, and images, and groues on euerie high hill, and vnder euerie greene tree. There were also Sodomites in the land that did according to all the abhominations of the people which the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel. This was in the time of Roboam, and Abia walked in all his waies, and therfore lacked not much of Ieroboams wickednesse, though you make him a victorious and religious conquerour.

*2. Chr. 13.5. And not so much for religion, as for renting the kingdome of Israel from Iudah.

3. Kings. 15.

3. King. 14.22.

Abia was as bad as Ieroboam.

That Edom *and* Libuah *reuolted from king* Ioram, *is verie true:* but that their reuolt was either lawfull or for religion, that you proue not. Edom had no such respect; they were prophane persons and infidels, and as soone as they saw their time, they cast off the yoke which the kings of Iudah had laid vpon them. But not long after in the raigne of Amaziah, they were meetlie well plagued by the king of Iudah for their reuolting, he smiting tenne thousand of them with the sword, and taking other tenne thousand aliue, and casting them downe from the top of a rocke that they burst all to peeces, thereby to giue them a iust recompence for their former rebellion.

4. Kings. 8. The men of Edom were prophane infidels, and had no respect to religion when they reuolted.

2. Chron. 25.

The scripture saith, that Libuah, a citie of the priests, as appeareth by the first allotment made in the 21. of the booke of Ioshua, rebelled at the same time, but it commendeth their rebellion no more than it doth the rebellion of Edom. It will be as hard for you to proue either of them did well, as that your selues may do the like. Lewd deeds are reported in the scripture as well as good: but not commended,

Iosh. 21.

4. Kings. 8. Euery thing reported in the scripture is not by and by commended.

commended. ℣ No more are these.

Phil. The text saith they did it, * because (the king of Iudah) had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers. Theoph. The scripture doth not set downe the cause why they might lawfullie do it, but addeth this as a reason, why God suffered these troubles to fall on king Ioram. As if it should haue said, no maruell to see these rebell against him, for he had forsaken the God of his fathers. And if this were a fault in king Ioram to forsake the God of his fathers, as in truth it was, how can the priests of Libuah be excused for seuering themselues from the line of Dauid without warrant from God, and that which was worse, from the temple & seruice of God established by expresse commandement at Ierusalem? If that be true which you say, that Libuah *could neuer be recouered againe* to the kingdom of Iudah, your selfe conuince them of a pestilent and wicked reuolt. For though they might pretend religion against king Ioram, yet against the godly kings of Iudah which followed, as Ezechias, Iosias, and others, they could pretend none: & therefore by your owne confession it was no defection from Iorams idolatrie, but a plaine rebellion against the kingdome of Iudah, & an vtter renouncing the altar, temple, & seruice of God at Ierusalem. Which, how it might stand with their duties to God & his law, we yet conceiue not: neither wil you euer be able to iustifie that fact of theirs with all your cunning and eloquence. The ten tribes *assembled to fight with Ruben & Gad for building an altar by Iordan against the cõmandement of God: and therin they did but their duties. If you aske by what authority they did it, the answere is easie. Their common wealth cõsisting of 12. tribes, & al indued with like soueraignty, 10. might lawfully represse 2. without any farther warrant, as after they did the Beniamits for that filthy fact of the mẽ of Gibeah. But yet at this time Ioshua liued, whom God himself had appointed captain & ruler of the twelue tribes, & therfore besides that authority which the whole had ouer a part, & that in common regiment, is sufficiẽt, ther was a superior magistrate at the denoũcing of these wars: & though they had fought togither as equals, yet will not that exãple ratifie the rebelling of subiects against their princes, which is your purpose.

Phil.

*2. *Chro.* 21. They did euil to rebell, or else all the rest that obeied did not well.

This defection of Libuah from the kingdome of Iudah and temple of God, was directlie against the law of God.

* *Ioshua.* 22. The ten tribes had sufficient authoritie to fight with twaine. *Iudg.* 20.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Since Christs law and religion was established, diuers great and honorable fights haue been made for the faith against princes and prouinces that vniustlie withstood and annoied the same.*

But what fights can you shew of subiects against their princes? The warres of prince against prince are nothing to this purpose.

Theop. What warres haue been for religion since the comming of Christ, if you meane betweene prince and prince, realme & realme, is bootlesse for you to seek, & needlesse for vs to answere. We dispute not what causes may iustlie be pursued with battell, but what what persons are permitted to take the sword, and against whom. And vnto the time of Gregorie the first, (which compasse you take to bring vs some presidents of your doings) you can not shew that euer christian subiects did beare armes against their princes for anie quarell of religion, and were allowed. Rebellions were rife in those ages as wel as now: but we denie that the church of Christ, or the godlie bishops of those tunes did euer consent, allow, or like those tumults: much lesse procure them, or vse them for the safegard of their sees, as you beare men in hand they did.

The defence cap. 5. *Euse. li. 9. ca. 6.* The Armenians were no subiects but confederats.

Phil. *In old times of the primitiue church the christian Armenians lawfullie defended themselues by armes against their emperour* Maximinus. Theop. You that feare not to deprane the scriptures, will make no bones to corrupt and vitiate other stories at your pleasures. The Armenians, being no subiects but confederats, when Maximinus would haue compelled them to worship idols, and to that end offered them force, resisted; as they lawfullie might, and of fellowes and friends became strangers and aduersaries. The words of Eusebius are verie plaine for that purpose.

Euse. li. 9. ca. 7. Maximinus had also warre with the Armenians, who of long time before that had been friends and confederats with the Romanes. That people being christians, and verie deuout, this hatefull tirant attempting to force to the sacrifices of idols and diuels, made them of friends foes, and of collegues enimies.

The defence cap. 5. Warres made for religion.

Phil. *The Catholike people of diuers prouinces haue often by force defended and kept their bishops in their seates against the infidels; but speciallie against the commandements of heretical emperors: yea, and resisted them in defence of their churches, and the sacred goods of the same. As the citizens of Antioch defended their church against the emperour* Galerius *his officers.*

Theop.

S. Basill allowed not the people to rebell for his defence. *The third part.*

Theop. Your generall and voluntary reports we may hardly trust, since your speciall instances be so corrupted and wrested. And could you shew that which you speake of, as you can not, you must also prooue it well done, or at least to haue bene liked and allowed of the Church of Christ before we can receiue it. The Apostles rule is strong against it: * You must be subiect not onely for wrath, but for conscience sake. Many thousand martyrs, bishops and others, submitted themselues and endured the vilest tormentes that could be deuised against them, as the ten persecutions of Christs Church vnder heathen princes most clearely witnesse: that euer any of their subiects rebelled against those bloody persecutors in respect of religion, must be your care to shew. We reading all the monuments of those times, verily find none, and by your silence it should appeare your selues know none: otherwise we do not thinke you would disfurnish your cause, and trouble the reader with impertinent matters.

It is not enough to proue that some rebelled, but this also must be shewed that their rebellion was allowed.

*Rom. 13. Well they might shut the Church dores against Ethnicks, whiles they were at the diuine mysteries, but they neuer rebelled, nor refused to suffer any punishment that Galerius or others would inflict on them.

That *the citizens of Antioch defended their Church* with armes *against the emperor Galerius his officers*, I find it written in no good author, neither do you quote the place: that story you may put in your legend as taken thence by most likelihood. The temples of their bodies which were farre more precious, they did not defend from the furious and insatiable rage of Diocletian and Maximinus, but as well at Antioch, as in all other places subiect to the Romane empire; the christian men and women mildly and gladly suffered those * torments, deaths and * shames, which in our cies neither flesh could beare, nor nature brooke: so that we haue cause rather to marualle at their patience, than to mistrust their disobedience.

*Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 7. 9. 10. 12

Phil. S. Basil *and* S. Ambrose *people, defended them against the inuasions of heretiks.*

The defence, cap. 5. *Nazian. de laude Basil. Ambros. lib. 5. epist.*

Theop. After Valens the emperour had twise decreed to banish S. Basil, & was the first time stopped of his course by the suddaine sickness of his sonne, and terror of his wife, and the second time by a strange * trembling of hand and heart as he was subscribing the sentence of deportation against him, he neuer after offered to meddle with S. Basill, but suffered him quietlie to enioie his bishoprick. Yet fell there out after this a contention betweene the

*Theod. lib. 4. cap. 19.

S.Basill wold not suffer the people to grow to a tumult for his defence. See Nazianzenes funerall oration in the praier of S.Basill.

the lieutenant of Pontus and S. Basill, about the liberties of the sanctuary for a noble woman, that had taken the Church for her refuge, to saue her selfe from one that would haue forced her to mariage against her will. The deputy required the woman to be deliuered: the bishop replied that he might not violate the lawes of God and man. The deputy stomacking Saint Basill, and the more for his stout defence otherwise of the christian faith, sent for the bishop to his tribunall, and commanding him to be stript, threatned to whip him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes. This indignity the people could no longer abide, but seeing their pastor thus shamefully handled without the emperors commandement or knowledge, vpon the priuate displeasure of a deputy for the liberties of the Church established by the Romane lawes, the whole city, men and women fell to an vproare, and were like enough to haue done the deputy some mischiefe, but that Saint Basill with much a do repressing the people, deliuered his persecutor from that perill. This is the true report of Saint Basils case, euen out of the same author which you auouch, Gregorie Nazianzene.

The people offered to saue their bishop from the priuate and intemperate rage of a deputy, but not from the emperor.

Nazianz. in laudem Basilij oratio funebr.

Their griefe you see was not against the emperors power or fact, but against the malice of a lieutenant presuming vpon a priuate grudge without any warrant from the prince, not onely to do that which the emperor in his owne person had refrained, but in most spitefull and seruile manner to abuse their bishop against all order of law: & this tumult S. Basil neither procured or praised, but asswaged with his presence, and offered himselfe to the deputies pleasure.

This tumult seemed tollerable, and yet S.Basil would not allow it.

Of S. Ambrose we spake before by occasion, and thither we send you. It is most vntrue that the people of Millan either did, or might take armes against the emperor; though he were then but a child, and therefore might make no lawes for religion, or otherwise, without Theodosius ioint emperor with him, & in possession of the scepter before him. Which exception neither S. Ambrose, nor other godly bishops vsed against him, but submitted themselues with all meekenesse, when in reason they might haue taken this aduantage. Of the people S. Ambrose

S. Ambrose would not suffer the people of Millan to defend him against the emperor.

broſe himſelfe giueth this teſtimony. *In ſingulis vobis Iob reuixit, in ſingulis ſancti patientia & virtus refulſit. Quid enim præſentius dici potuit à viris Chriſtianis, quàm quod hodie in vobis locutus eſt Spiritus ſanctus? Rogamus Auguſte, non pugnamus, non timemus, ſed rogamus. Hoc Chriſtianos decet.* In euery one of you Iob is aliue againe; in each of you his pacience and vertue ſhined. What could be ſaid fitter by chriſtian men than that which the holie Ghoſt this day ſpake in you? We beſeech, O emperour, we offer not armes. We feare not (to die,) but we intreate (thy clemencie.) This beſeemeth chriſtians to deſire tranquillitie of peace and faith, but to be conſtant in the truth euen vnto death. And for his part, when he heard that his church was taken vp by the (emperours) ſouldiers, he ſet only ſomewhat the deeper ſighes, and ſaid to ſuch as exhorted him to go thither, deliuer vp my church I may not, but fight I ought not. *Ambroſ. epiſt. lib. 5. epiſt. ad Marcel. 33.* *Ibidem.* *Pugnare non debeo.*

Phil. But the people were in a commotion: which appeareth by that S. Ambroſe anſwered, when they willed him to aſſwage their furie, it laie in him not to incite them, but he had no meanes to repreſſe them. Theop. Truth it is that the people flocked to their churches, and choſe rather to be ſlaine in the place, than to leaue them vnto Arians. But that they offered armes, or attempted anie force either for S. Ambroſe, or againſt Valentinian, is a manifeſt vntruth. The merchants were amerced and empriſoned: the nobles were hardly threatned, and S. Ambroſe himſelfe charged as with a ſedition, and yet all the violence that was offered was this. The people paſſing from one church to another, met a chapleine of the Arrians, & ſome vnrulie perſons, as in ſuch heates it can not otherwiſe be choſen, began to illude and abuſe the man; but the biſhop preſently ſent his prieſts & deacons, and reſcued him from that iniurie: which yet the emperour tooke ſo greuouſlie, that he laid a number of them in irons, and impoſed a great mulct vpon the whole citie to be paide within three daies. Farther force was none offered by the people of Millan, and yet of that ſmall diſorder S. Ambroſe ſaith, If they thought him to be the inciter (or ſtirrer) of the people, they ſhould ſtraightwaie reuenge it on him, or baniſh him into what wilderneſſe they would. And to that end, * he departed home to bed to his owne houſe, that

See the fifth booke and 33. epiſtle of S. Ambroſe for this whole action This caſuall diſorder was much againſt the biſhops will: and yet nothing neer a rebellion.

Lib. 5. epiſt. 33.
**Ibidem.*

that if any man would haue him into exile, he should find him ready. Had you been there, you would not onely haue set the people against the prince, but incouraged the subiect to pull the young boy by the eares, and to teach him better manner against an other time to meddle with bishops: and it greeueth you to see Ambrose so faint hearted as you take it, that when so fit opportunity serued him and the rest, they would giue no president to rebell against princes: which is the thing you seeke to proue, and long to do.

Had the Iesuits been in S. Ambrose place, they would haue told the emperor another tale.

Phil. *Not the people onely, which may do things of headinesse without counsell or consultation: but the bishops of countries so persecuted by heretical princes haue iustly required helpe of other christian kings.*

The defence cap. 5.

Theop. If the multitude of Christians in the primitiue Church for all their rashnesse and headinesse were afraid in respect of the apostles doctrine to rebell against powers, whom shall you perswade that their religious and godly pastors were firebrands of sedition? If they taught other to obey, with what conscience could they themselues resist? Or rather with what face do you slander them with that they neuer did?

If the people were afraid to rebell in the primitiue church, what thinke you were the bishops?

Phil. *Holy Athanasius: (who knew his duty to his souereigne well enough and in what case he might resist him) asked aid against Constantius the Arrian the first heretical emperor (whom pope Felix declared to be an heretike) of his owne brother Constance catholike emperor of the west. For feare of whose armes the said Arrian restored Athanasius and other catholike bishops to their Churches and honors againe, though after this catholike emperors death the other more furiously persecuted Athanasius than before.*

The defence cap. 5. *Theodoret. li. 2. cap. 13.* The example of Athanasius. *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 13. Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 7. Dama. in Pontific.*

Theop. He that neuer sounded the fidelitie and honestie of Iesuits afore this time, may take hence his light how to trust them in other cases. Did Athanasius aske aide (of armes) against Constantius the Arrian? Phil. *For feare of armes the said* Arrian *restored* Athanasius *and other catholike bishops to their Churches and honours againe.* Theop. But did Athanasius moue Constans so to do? Phil. *He asked aide of* Constans against his brother Constantius. Theop. But did he aske that aide, to be restored by armes? For of that aide we now dispute, and that aide must you meane, if you will saie ought to the purpose. Phil. He accepted it, and therefore it is likely he requested it. Theop. You would

Athanasius no rebell.

would proue by this example that Athanasius (*who knew his dutie to his soueraigne well enough, and in what case he might resist him*) not only vsed but *asked* (forcible) *aide against Constantius of his owne brother.* Phil. So he did. Theo. Be you well in your wits to auouch it with such confidence? Phil. Why should we not? Theo. Why should you not? Athanasius himselfe, when that very point was obiected to him, not onely abiured it as false, but detested it vnto Constantius as a wicked and vngodly part for himselfe to haue stirred brother against brother. What extreme boldnes was it then for you to fasten that on him which he defieth & forswereth? Phil. Where doth he so? Theo. Where you might soone haue found it, but that you thought to haue brought the matter frō words to blowes before this time.

Athanasius horribly belied by the Iesuits.

It was laid in his dish by Constantius amongst other things after the death of Constans, that he prouoked and incited his brother against him, and that he resisted the princes precepts. To this Athanasius answereth in his Apologie to Constantius: I am not mad, I am not besides my selfe, O emperor, that thou shouldest suspect, I had euer any such thought. And that made me say nothing to it, when others questioned with me about it, least whiles I labored to cleare my selfe, other perhaps would make a doubt of it. But to your highnes I answere with a loud and plaine voice, & with my hand held out, as I learned of the apostle, I call God to witnes against my soule, & as it is written in the book of kings, I sweare, the Lord can beare me record, and his annointed (your brother,) (suffer me I beseech you so to say) I neuer made mentiō of you for any euil before your brother of blessed memorie, I meane that religious emperor Constans; neither did I euer stir him vp against you as these * (Arrians) do slander me; but contrariwise whensoeuer I had accesse vnto him, he himselfe recounted your gratious inclination; & God knoweth what mention I made of your godly disposition. Suffer me and pardon me most curteous prince. That seruant of God Constans (your brother) was not so open nor so lent his eares to any man, neither was I in such credit with him, that I durst speake a worde of any such matter, or derogate from one brother before an other, or finde fault with a prince, in the hearing of a prince. I am not (so) mad, neither haue I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse

Athanasius cleareth him selfe of that which the Iesuits father on him. *Athanas. ad Imperator. Constantium Apolog.*

Did this man stir Constans against Constantius.

*And Iesuits.

Athanasius saith it had been madnes to haue done

not the king in thine hart, nor backbite the mightie in the secrets of thy chamber. For the birds of the aire shall tell it, and the fowles which flie shall betraie thee. If the things which be spoken in secret touching you princes can not be hid; what likelyhoode, that I in the presence of a prince, and so many standing by, would say any thing of you otherwise than well?

that which the Iesuits say he did.

And shewing how often he spake with the emperor Constans and in whose presence, and to what effect, which were too long to repeate, he concludeth: I beseech your highnes (for I know well the force of your memorie) call to minde my behauior when it pleased you to admit me to your presence, first at Vimimachum, then at Cæsarea, & thirdly at Antioch, whether I did so much as offer an euill word of Eusebius my bitter enimie, or gaue a displeasant speach of any my pursuers. If then I refrained my toong when I was to plead against them in mine owne defence, what madnes had that been for me to traduce an emperor before an emperor, and to stir vp one brother against an other?

Athanas. Ibidem.

What thinke you? Doth not Athanasius reiect that which you would father on him, as a manifest vntruth; nay as a villanous and frantike attempt to set brethren togither by the eares, and to stir wars between princes? Why then do you burthē a godlie bishop with that which he neuer thought; and which he was farthest from? Why make you Athanasius your rest for rebellion against princes, whereas he thought it vnlawful in hart to curse a cruell and heretical prince? How far he did, and said he was bound to obey Constantius, his owne words will testifie, and therfore no reason we beleeue your vaunting and facing, that he procured war against Constantius, when he himselfe affirmeth the contrarie. They lay to my charge, saith he to the same prince, that I obeied not your precepts, by the which it was enioined me that I should depart from Alexandria. I neuer resisted the commandements of your highnes: no no: God forbid I should. I am not he that will withstand the gouernour of any citie: much lesse so great a prince. Truly I prepared to depart: for so Montanus (your messenger) knoweth, that vpon the receite of your letters, if your grace vouchsafed but to write, I might presently be gone, and with my readines to obey preuent your rescript.

Ibidem.

How far then was he from rebelling.

For

For I am not so mad as to thinke I may contradict such precepts. With what forehead then can they say, I obeied not powers? Neuer reckon this man for a resistant that so many waies protesteth & confirmeth his obedience to princes: learne you rather to follow his submission, and draw him not against his owne both deedes and words, to be of your faction.

Be they sober or wel in their wites that not only thinke but openly affirm they may resist and depriue the princes?

Phil. The people of Alexandria were twise or thrise in an vproze about him: first vnder Constantius, and after vnder Valens. Theo. The people of Alexandria were very tumultuous, and raised many horrible garboiles both in the Church and common-wealth. Socrates saieth of them, *Populus Alexandrinus præ alijs populis seditionibus delectatur, & si quando occasionem seditionis fuerit nactus ad intolerabilia mala prorumpit, nec sine sanguine sedatur.* The people of Alexandria delight in sedition more than other cities, and if at any time they catch any occasion to make a tumult, they run headlong to foule outrages, and neuer ende but with blood. The selfe same report Euagrius giueth of them: The people are soone stirred and easilie incited to a tumult, most of all others they of Alexandria: who by reason of their great number, and those obscure persons, and of all sorts, are insolent, rash, bold, & in furie will venter on any thing. Lamentable examples wherof you may reade in the stories of the Church, describing the horrible fights and slaughters that were betweene the Iewes, Gentiles, and Christians of that citie, as well against the truth as with it. And therfore in these populous and tumultuous cities, if you did shewe some insurrections of the people for their pastors, it would do you no great good. Men haue raised tumults in all ages, and that doth iustifie rebellion in you, no more than Cains sword dipt in his brothers blood at the first beginning of the world, and neuer since vntil this day, doth warrant theeues to take mens liues by the high waies side; yea rather lesse: for they kill to supplie their needes, you to reuenge your griefes: they vnhorse priuate men, you vnthrone princes: they rifle houses, you spoile kingdomes: they flie vpon the fact, you stande to the defence of it before the whole world.

The people of Alexandria were verie seditious. *Socra. li. 7. c. 13.*

Euag. li. 3. ca. 8.

Socra. lib. 3. cap. 2. & lib. 5. cap. 16. & li. 7. cap. 13. Euag. lib. 2. cap. 5. & 8.

Theeues and murtherers far more tolerable than deposers of princes.

Far from this affection were S. Basil and S. Ambrose, as euen now we saw: and Athanasius as far, if you dare

trust him on his oth: if not, you shall shift him neerer by his acts. When he saw the people of his Church grudge (at the emperors precept to remoue him from his seat) and readie to take weapon in hand, he departed the citie. Under Valens the people of that citie likewise resisted and would not suffer any violence to be offered Athanasius by the captaines, vntil the emperors pleasure were precisely known touching Athanasius. In so much that the multitude flocking togither, and a great hurlie burlie rising in the citie, a sedition was feared. When the people some daies after was appeased, Athanasius by night closely conueigheth himselfe out of the citie. Others saie that foreseeing the rashnes of the multitude, and fearing least he should seem to be the author of that euill which might ensue, he hid himselfe all that time in his fathers tumbe. Thus when he might haue been defended by the people, he would not: and because they suffered him not to depart frō them by day, he stale from them by night, and left his bishoprike to be disposed by the prince.

Zozom. lib. 4. cap. 9.

Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 13. Athanas. euer submitted himself, when he saw the people inclined to any tumult for his cause.

Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18. And so did Chrysostom.

The like did Chrysostome in his troubles. For when the people knew (of his deposition) they brake out into an vprore, & would not suffer those that had it in charge from the emperor to carrie him into banishment. Chrysostom fearing least any other crime should be fastned on him, either that he did not obey the emperor, or that he stirred the people to sedition, the third day after his depriuation priuilie leaueth his Church and yeeldeth himselfe to be caried into exile. So that by S. Chrysostoms iudgement it is first a fault in a bishop, not to obey the prince; next it is another fault to stir the people to sedition, be the cause neuer so good, as Chrysostoms was not bad.

The defence, cap. 5. Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 17. 30. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Phil. *Likewise against Valens the Arrian emperor; Petrus successor to Athanasius and brother to S. Basil, did seeke to the pope of Rome for succor, as all other afflicted bishops and catholiks euer did.*

*Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37. The tumult at Alexandria for the receiuing of Peter and reiecting of Lucius.

Theo. The bishop of Rome in those daies was neither so mightie that he could, nor wicked that he would assist subiects with armes against their souereignes. Peter bishop of Alexandria brought letters from Damasus bishop of Rome, allowing his election and confirming the same: the people vpon that spying their time, displaced Lucius an Arrian, and receiued Peter their right bishop. Phi. And what was this but resistance to the prince? Theo. Resist they

might

might and did, but not with armes. Phi. Which way then? Theop. By refusing his communion, disobeying his iurisdiction, and withdrawing their duties from him, and yelding the same to Peter, as to their lawful & true bishop.

Phil. Socrates saith the people taking courage expelled Lucius, and set Peter in his place. Theo. They might driue him away, and make him forsake the citie though not with armes. But whatsoeuer the people did against Lucius in their heate, hauing as I noted before vnto you out of the same writer, a very sharpe and seditious humor, and being miserably handled by Lucius, as scourged with whips, their flesh torne with hookes, and diuersly tormented with fire vnto death: the letters of Damasus incited them to no such thing, but onely approoued the election of Peter.

Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

The people draue Lucius from his see: but not with armes.

Phil. But Peter, it should seeme, allowed the people in their enterprise, for by their tumult he recouered his bishopricke. Theo. You must not imagine rebellions, where none are written. The people draue Lucius from the see, being an intruder, an heretike, and a murderer, other tumult the storie doth not mention.

Phil. The prince had placed Lucius there. Theo. The election of bishops in these daies belonged to the people & not to the prince, and though Valens by plaine force placed him there, yet might the people lawfully reiect him as no bishop, & cleaue to Peter their right pastor. Phil. Might they reiect him with armes? The. I say not so. Phi. But so they did. Theo. That must you proue: we finde no such thing in the storie, neither of Socrates nor Sozomene. Phil. Socrates saith they expelled them. Theo. But not with armes. Phil. Do you thinke he would yeld without force? The. Do you think any great force needed for a whole citie to expell one mā? But why come you with thoughts when you should bring vs proofes? That he was expelled, we grant: but whether it were done by forsaking, threatning, compelling, or inuading him; the storie doth not expresse, neither may you suppose what you list without any proofe: had they assaulted him with armes, it had beene as easie to haue slaine him there; as to haue driuen him thence: but no doubt Peter their bishop, kept them from that, which Moses a conuert of the Saracenes, not long before bitterly reproued in Lucius.

The people might cleaue to their true pastor, though the prince by force had placed an other in his steede.

That Lucius was expelled from his bishopricke is confessed, but the mean how it was done is not expressed.

Phil. You meane Moses the monke that Mauia the queene of the Saracens required to haue for the bishop of her nation, whose faith the bishop of Rome confirmed in the same letters with Peters election. Theo. I do. Phil. What of him? Theo. When he was brought to Lucius to be made bishop; he saide, I thinke my selfe vnworthy of this function: but if it be profitable for my countrie that I take it, Lucius shall neuer lay hands on me (to make me bishop:) for his right hand is imbrued with blood. Lucius answering that he should not raile, but first learne what religion he taught. I aske not a reason, saith Moses, of thy religion, thy doings against thy brethren conuince what religion thou hast. A christian doth not strike, doth not slander, doth not fight. The seruant of God may not fight. But thy works openly shewe themselues by those whome thou hast banished, whom thou hast cast to be deuoured of beasts and consumed with fire. If Moses thus abhorred Lucius for fighting and striking, what would he haue saide to Peter for bearing armes and rebelling, if he had beene so good a warrier as you make him.

Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 36.

Lucius detested for shedding of blood by one that was a conuert of the Saracens.

Phil. *So did Atticus bishop of Constantinople craue aide of Theodosius the yonger against the king of the Persians that persecuted his Catholike subiects, and was therby forcibly depriued, and his innocent subiects deliuered.*

The defence cap 5. *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 18. Niceph. li. 14. cap. 21.*

Theo. The Christians of Persia being barbarously persecuted by Bararanes an infidell, and put as Theodoret sheweth to strange and *vnusual torments, fled their countrie, and sauing themselues within the Romane dominion, besought the Christian emperor they might be harboured within his lande and not be pelded vnto the furie of their king. The Persian presently sent legates to haue them backe that were departed his realme. Atticus the bishop of Constantinople *opened their cause to the emperor, and labored what he could for them. Theodosius the emperor would not deliuer them, as being suppliants to him, and no offendors against their king, but onely that they professed the Christian religion: and hauing besides iust * cause to make warre vpon the Persians for that they spoiled his merchants and would not restore his goldminers, which they hired of him, bid open battell to them, and caused the king to be glad with peace, and to

Theodoret. li. 5. cap. 39. How the Persians were harbored by Theodosius the yonger. *Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 18. *Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 18.*

*cease

*cease his persecution against the Christians.

Here is nothing for your purpose, vnles you say that subiects may rebell for religion because strangers may be harbored for religion, which were a mad kind of conclusion. The Persians asked not armes against their king though a tirant, but refuge for themselues; neither did they assault their prince on the one side when the Romans inuaded on the other, but with praier expected what end God would giue.

Atticus was no subiect to the king of Persia: and therfore whatsoeuer he did against a stranger and an enemie, is no president for subiects to do the like to their princes; and yet all that he did was this; *Atticus Episcopus supplicantes cupide suscepit, & totus in eo erat, vt pro viribus ipsis succurreret, & Imperatori Theodosio, quæ gererentur significauit: Atticus* the bishop embraced their request (for themselues) with great good wil, and labored what he could to helpe them, and signified their state to Theodosius the emperor.

Theodosius was a lawfull magistrate, and had other, and those iust causes to war vpon the Persian, and in that he refused to deliuer the profugient and innocent Christians to the slaughter, he had the law of nature & nations for his defence. And lastly the king of Persia was neither deprined of his kingdome, as you falsely report, nor his subiects discharged from their obedience: but a peace concluded wherein the king was contented to cease from pursuing the Christians. All this you shall find, not in the second booke as you quote, but in the seuenth where* Socrates describeth the occasion and conclusion of this Persian warre. From him Nicephorus taketh his light, and more than Socrates said before, he neither doth nor could affirme.

* *Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 20.* Can the Iesuits find no difference between deposing princes by their own subiects, & harboring of strangers by other princes? Atticus no subiect to the Persian, can be no president for subiects.

Theodosius the emperor had other good causes to war vpon the Persian *Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 20.*

Cap. 18. & 20.

Phi. *So did holie pope* Leo *the first, perswade the emperour, called* Leo *also, to take armes against the tyrannt of* Alexandria *for the deliuerie of the oppressed Catholiques from him and the heretiques* Eutichians: *who then threw downe Churches, and monasteries, and did other great sacrileges. Whose wordes for examples sake I will set downe.* O emperor (saith Saint Leo) if it be laudable for thee to inuade the heathens, how much more glorious shall it be to deliuer the Church of Alexandria from the heauie yoke of outragious heretikes, by the calamitie of which Church all the

The defence cap. 5. The example of pope Leo the first. *Leo. epist. 75. Euag. li. 2. c. 8.*

Christians in the world are iniuried?

Leo requested the prince to punish his subiects, what is that to the depriuation of princes? *Euag. li. 2. ca. 8*

Theop. Leo was so holie that he neuer taught any man to beare armes against his prince: and yet it did nothing hurt his holines to pray the emperor to pursue with due punishment the wicked byroze that was made in Alexandria by Timotheus an heretike, that placing himselfe in the bishoprike, and killing Proterius the true bishop at the font in the church: caused the carcase by some of his faction to be drawne along the streets in a rope, and to be so cut and mangled, that the very intrals drailed vpon the stones, and the rest of the bodie to be burnt, and the ashes scattered into the aire.

It is a glorious thing for a prince to punish heretiks, but not for subiects to rebell against their prince.

That villanous and diuelish fact, Leo the bishop of Rome beseecheth Leo the emperor with all seueritie to reuenge, assuring him that it is as glorious a conquest before Christ to punish such outragious heretiks, as to represse miscreants & infidels. But how this should serue your turns we can not imagine. Will you reason thus? Leo the bishop of Rome persuaded the emperor to chastise some of his subiects that were heretiks and murderers, *Ergo* the people may assault the prince with armes. Take heede least Timotheus heresie and furie reuiue in you againe, if you fall to liking such consequents.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *In briefe; so did Saint Gregorie the great mone Genadius the Exarch, to make wars specially against heretiks as a very glorious thing.*

Gregorie made the like request to the emperors deputie.

Theop. You speake truer than you are ware of. In deed Gregorie the great wrote to Genadius the Exarch in the selfe same sense that Leo before did to Leo the emperor, which is that magistrats ought to resist and punish the aduersaries of Christs Church, as well as the troublers & disturbers of the commonwealth; neither is there any difference in their writings or meanings, saue that Leo wrote to the prince himselfe, and Gregorie to his deputie.

For 600. yeeres after Christ, no subiect took armes against his prince for any matter of religion.

And since you be come to Gregorie, it is high time you begin to awake and remember your selfe that for fiue hundreth yeeres you haue not, nor can not shew vs any one example, where hereticall prince was deposed, or subiect allowed to beare armes against his soueraigne. Which is a sufficient conuiction that pagans and heretiks were all this while honored, obeied, and endured by the Church of

Christ,

The Christians subiect to Iulian though an apostata. Christ, if they were princes. Or if that collection be not good, heare Saint Augustines confession of him that was the very worst of them, I meane Iulian the apostata: and learne that they which suffered and obeied him would neuer resist nor rebell against any. *Iulianus extitit infidelis imperator, nonne extitit, apostata iniquus, idolatra? Milites Christiani seruierunt imperatori infideli. Vbi veniebatur ad causam Christi, non agnoscebant nisi illum qui in cœlo erat. Quando volebat vt idola colerent, vt thurificarent, præponebant illi Deum. Quando autem dicebat producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant. Distinguebant Dominum æternum à domino temporali, & tamen subditi erant propter Dominum æternum, etiam domino temporali.* Iulian was an vnbeleeuing emperor: was he not an apostata, an oppressor, and an idolater? Christian soldiers serued that vnbeleeuing emperor. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord, but him that is in heauen. When he would haue them to worship idols, and to sacrifice, they preferred God before their prince. But when he said, go foorth to fight, inuade such a nation, they presently obeied. They distinguished their eternall Lord from their temporal, and yet were they subiect euen vnto their temporall lord, for his sake that was their eternall Lord and master. The like testimony your law bringeth out of Saint Ambrose. Iulian the emperor though he were an idolater, had yet vnder him christian soldiers: to whom when he said, go, fight for the defence of the commonwealth, they did obey him: but when he said, go fight against the Christians, then they regarded the Emperor in heauen (before him.)

August. in Psal. 124.

If apostataes were serued and obeied by Christians, what princes should be deposed?

Caus. 11. quæst 13. §. Iulianus.

Phil. *The holie bishops might most lawfully (and so sometimes they did) excommunicate the Arrian emperors, and haue warranted their catholike subiects to defend themselues by armes against them. But they alwaies did not so; because they had no meanes by reason of the greater forces of the persecutors. As there is no question but the emperors, Constantius, Valens, Iulian, and others might haue beene by the bishops excommunicated and deposed, and all their people released from their obedience, if the Church or Catholikes had had competent forces to haue resisted.*

The defence cap. 5. What princes may be excommunicated and when.

Theop. Vaine shifts you haue brought vs manie, but none vainer than that which heere you broche. You vndertooke to shew vs ancient examples that princes were iudicially deposed by priests, and impugned with armes by

The Iesuits finding no example in the primitiue Church

where a prince was vrged with armes by his owne subiects, come to this shift, that they might haue doone it, though they did it not.

by their owne subiects: you be now come to the vttermost pitch of antiquitie, and finding your selfe not able to be as good as your word, you tell vs that though bishops did it not, yet they might *most lawfully haue warranted their catholike subiects to defend themselues by armes, against* (the Arrian emperors.) But sir, you were to bring vs their examples *what they did, not your vaunts what they might haue done.* The point we began with, was; what bishops in this case might doe. You to shew what they might doe, promised vs the particulars of ancient ages what they had done: and hauing perused the hundreth yeres after Christ, and perceiuing no such deed done, you come with a returne at the last, that though they did it not, yet they might haue done it, whereas we rather collect they might not doe it, because they did it not. If ye had it beene *most lawfull*, as you say; we can proue it most needfull they should haue done it. The blaspheming of Christ, the murthering of his saints, the seducing of many thousand soules (which things were not only committed by their means, but also maintained by their power, that were suffered to beare and vse the sword for the strengthening & establishing of their error;) were causes sufficient to moue the bishops to doe what they lawfully might to preuent these mischiefs, and saue the bishops you cannot frō the blemish of permitting & increasing the pestilent heresies of Arius & others, if they did not what they might in dutie to withstand and depose those princes that were ye chief patrons of those impieties.

If the bishops might haue deposed princes and did not, then were they permitters and increasers of their heresie and tyrannie.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *There is no question but the emperors Constantius, Valens, Iulian, and others might haue been deposed by the bishops, and all their people released from their obedience, if the Church or Catholiks had had competent forces to haue resisted.*

The Iesuits slaunder the ancient martyrs of christs Church, as if they had been willing, but not able to resist their princes. *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 22.*

Theop. You falsely and wickedly slander the martyrs of Christs Church, when you auouch they wanted not will, but power to resist their princes. The Christians had forces sufficient, and many fit opportunities offered them to set those heretical emperors besides their seats, and would not. Constans the west emperor was of power sufficient to haue repressed Constantius his brother, for feare of whom Athanasius was restored to his bishoprike by Constantius, and with whom if the Catholiks of the east would haue but ioined themselues, it had beene most easie for them to haue

haue taken the scepter from Constantius.

When Constans was slaine, Magnentius the tyrant surprised all Italie, subdued Africa and Lybia, and had France in subiection: and the soldiers of Illyricum erected Betranion against Constantius; in which distresse if the Christians would but haue forsaken Constantius, and not ventured their liues for him, he must haue beene deprined of the west empire, if not of the east also. Athanasius being charged that he with others secretly by letters incited this Magnentius, to take armes against the emperor, answered as I shewed you before: Cast not this suspition, O emperor, vpon the whole Church, as though such things were written or thought on by Christian men, and specially by bishops. The like occasion was offered the Christians to displace Constantius, when Gallus, who was both Cæsar and next to the crowne, began to aduance himselfe to the empire; but they tooke it, as you see by Athanasius words, to be no christian mans part to thinke on bearing armes against their emperor though an heretike. What oportunities the Christians had to distresse Constantius. *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 25.* *Athanas. apolog. ad Const. it.* *Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 34.*

Of the christian soldiers vnder Iulian you heard S. Augustine say, they *serued their temporall lord (though an idolater and an apostata) not for lacke of force to resist, but for respect of their euerlasting Lord in heauen. Otherwise the christian soldiers had Iulian in his voiage against the Persians far from home and from helpe, and might haue done with him what they would; and yet they chose rather to spend their liues for him, than to lift vp their hands against him; and the christian world in his absence stirred not against him, but with patience endured his oppression, and with silence expected his returne. And Iulian. *In psal. 124.

Phil. They were heathen soldiers that were with Iulian in the Persian wars. Theop. Their own words testifie they were Christians, for when Iouinian the next day after Iulians death was chosen emperor by them, and refused the place, because he thought the most part of the soldiers to be gentils, *they cried all with one common voice, and confessed themselues to be Christians. *Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Against Valens, the Church of Christ had forces abundant, if she would haue sounded or vsed them. For all the time of his raigne not onely the west emperors were Catholiks, first Valentinian, and after him Gratian, but Procopius And Valens.

copius at Constantinople taking armes against Valens, and the Gothes detaining al Thracia from him, gaue the Christians great aduantage to haue shaken him cleane out of the east empire: if their wils had been answerable vnto their strength.

Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 35.

And Valentinian. *Paulus Diaconus de gest. Romanor. li. 1.*

Valentinian the yonger infected with Arianisme, Maximus a rebell of this land thrust quite from the west empire, and made him flie into the east parts, and had not Theodosius a catholike prince conquered that tyrant, and restored the yong prince to his scepter againe, he had lost his crowne for euer. Where you see not onely what forces the Catholiks had, but how far they were from deposing hereticall gouernors, that would hazard their liues to restore them.

And Anastasius. *Euag. lib. 3. cap. 44.* Anastasius an heretike offered to resigne his crowne, and the people would not suffer him.

And what thinke you was the force of all the Christians in the world, when the people of one citie falling into a sedition for matter of religion so preuailed and passed all the power of resisting, that Anastasius the emperor was faine to come to an open place without his crowne, and by heraults to signifie to the people that he was readie with a very good will to resigne the empire into their hands? At the sight of whom, the people mooued with that spectacle changed their minds, and besought Anastasius to keepe the crowne, and promised for their parts to be quiet. Yet was Anastasius both an heretike and an excommunicate person, if your owne words before, or stories otherwise may be trusted.

Regard of dutie, and the apostles doctrin, kept the primitiue Church from resisting heretical princes.

Not therefore disabilitie but dutie, not lacke of competent forces, but a reuerent regard of the apostles doctrine kept the primitiue Church of Christ from resisting her princes. She neuer determined, she neuer attempted any such thing: she might often times haue repelled them from their seats and would not, but taught all men to submit themselues, and rather to be crowned as martyrs for enduring, than to be punished as rebels for inuading their princes. For * they that resist, shall receiue iudgement, which not onely the ancient Christians but the very Barbarians did confesse. Athanaricus king of the Gothes, when he came to visit Theodosius, *Sine dubio, inquit, Deus terrenus est imperator, contra quem quicunque manus leuare nisus fuerit, ipsi sui sanguinis reus exiſtit.* No doubt, saith he, the emperor is the

* Rom. 13.

Paulus Diaconus de gest. Romanor. li. 1.

god

god of the earth, against whom, whosoeuer wil offer to lift vp his hand, is guiltie of his owne blood.

Phil. *Yea the quarrell of religion and defence of innocencie is so iust that heathen princes not at all subiect to the Churches lawes and discipline may in that case by the Christians armes be resisted, and might lawfully haue beene repressed in times of the Pagans and first great persecutions, when they vexed and oppressed the faithful, but not otherwise (as most men thinke) if they would not annoy the Christians, nor violently hinder or seeke to extirpate the true faith and course of the Gospell. Though S. Thomas seemeth also to saie that any heathen king may be lawfully depriued of his superioritie ouer Christians.*

The defence c ap. 5. See. S. Thomas. 2. 2. *quest.* 10. *artic.* 10.

Theo. What S. Thomas seemeth to say we care not, so long as we know what S. Paul saith: & that is, You must be subiect, not onely for feare of wrath, or lacke of force, when you can not choose, but euen for conscience sake, though you were able to resist. If your schooles haue gotten any other doctrine than this, looke you to that: we be the disciples of Christ, & not of Occam, Scotus, or Thomas; men may by this perceiue what your schoolmen would aduenture in other points of religion, that in so cleare a case of conscience and obedience, they would flatly contradict the holy Ghost. Heathen princes may not be resisted by their Christian subiects: of them S. Paul wrate when he said, Whosoeuer resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and of them Christ spake, when he charged vs to giue vnto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsars. *They might not therfore lawfully haue been repressed in the times of the Pagans and first great persecutions when they vexed and oppressed the faithful,* because sufferance made their subiects martyrs before God, whom resistance would haue doubbed for rebels against God and man.

Rom. 13.

Their scroles resolue directly against S. Paul. Rom. 13. Luke. 20.

If your meaning be, that by christian princes, (had there beene any such in those daies,) they might lawfully haue been repressed & pursued with armes, you alter the question, and touch not our case: we reason not what Christian princes may do to heathen tyrants, but what dutie Christian subiects must yeld to their princes be they pagans or others that beare the sword. And for that we haue the manifest voice of Gods spirite which I haue often repeated, and against the which we giue care to no creature, man nor angell.

This is neither pertinent to our question nor any part of their meaning.

That

The third part. The church of Christ wanted

Tertullian. ad Scapulam. Neuer rebels were Christians in the primitiue Church.

That voyce the church of Christ diligētly remembred, and constantly followed, as Tertullian **witnesseth.** * We are diffamed, saith he, concerning the emperours maiestie, but neuer yet Albinians, Nigrians nor Cassians, (Albinus, Niger, **and** Cassius **being rebels in his time**) could be found to be Christians. A Christian is enemie to no man, much lesse to the prince: whom he knoweth to be appointed of God, & so of necessitie must loue, reuerence, and honour him, and wish him safe with the whole Romane empire. Therefore we sacrifice for the health of the emperour, but vnto our God and his GOD and with chast prayer, as GOD hath commanded. So that we pray for the emperours health more than you, asking it of him that is able to giue it. And god forbid we should take those things which we suffer, in euill part, since we desire to suffer them, or imagine any reuenge against you, which we wayte for at Gods leasure. Yet needefull it is we lament your case, since not a citie of yours shall escape at Gods hand for the shedding of our blood.

The reasons why Christians would not resist, taken out of their owne confessions.

Tertul. in apologetico. **And againe in his apologie for all Christians:** Thou that thinkest we haue no care of the welfare of our princes, looke vpon the wordes of God, I meane our bookes, which neither we suppresse, and many chaunces bring to your eyes. Knowe, that there we are commaunded for the plentifull encrease of our charitie to pray to god for our enemies, and to wish well to our persecutours. **Yea namely and plainely he sayeth,** Pray for kinges, for princes, and powers, that all thinges may be peaceable (vnto them.) For the empire can not be shaken but we also must be partakers of the fall. **And after some wordes,** But what speake I more of the religion and pietie of Christians towardes the emperour? whome we must needes reuerence as one that our lord and master hath chosen. And to speake the truth, Cæsar is rather ours (**than yours**) as being ordained by our God. **And giuing a better reason for their obeying than you can for your warring:** We are, saith he, the same men to our princes that we are to our neighbours. To wish euill, to doe euill, to speake euill, to thinke euill, is indifferently forbidden vs towards all men. We may do that to no man, which (**we say**) we may not to our prince: and if to no man, so much the lesse to him that is so highly aduanced by (our) God.

Ibidem. Christians commanded by God to pray for their princes though they were persecutours.

Ibidem.

This

This is sounder and seemlier doctrine for Christians than that which you bring vs out of Thomas Aquinas. And where you wil vs by the note in your margin to See S. Thomas, a saint of your making, we will you to See Saint Paul and Saint Peter, saints past all doubting. You see the continuall obedience of Christs Church, so long as pagan and heathen princes had the sword. She taught that all men, and most of all Christians, should loue, reuerence, and honor heathen princes, as ordained by God, to beare the sword, euen by the God of Christians, and that they might neither wish euill, doe euill, speake euill, or thinke euill of any such powers, much lesse *resist them with armes, and deprive them of their superioritie ouer Christians*, as your new saint seemeth to say. See S. Paul and S. Peter for obedience to heathen princes.

And least you thinke the Christians of those times serued and honored heathen princes rather for feare than for conscience (which is an open slander to them, and a lewd shift of yours, directly thwarting the words of Saint Paul, You must be subiect not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake:) You shall heare Tertullians report in the same place what forces the Christians had, if they had thought it lawfull or godlie to resist when they were cruelly vexed and oppressed. One night, saith he, with a few firebrands, would yeeld vs reuenge sufficient, if it were lawfull with vs to requite euill with euill. But God forbid, that either they which take part with God, should reuenge them selues with humane fire, or be greeued to suffer, wherein they be tryed. If we woulde not practise secrete reuenge, but professe open enmitie, coulde we lacke number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores thinke you, or the Parthians, or any one nation whatsoeuer, mo in number than we, that are spredde ouer the whole worlde? We are not of you, and yet wee haue filled all the places and roomes which you haue; your Cities, Ilandes, castles, townes, assemblies, your tentes, tribes and wardes, yea the very pallace, senate, and iudgement seates. For what warre were we not able and readie, though we were fewer in number than you that go to our deathes so gladly, if it were not more lawfull in our religion to bee slaine than to slea? Wee coulde without armes neuer rebelling, but onely diuiding our selues from you haue done you spite enough with that separation. Rom. 13. *Tertul in apologetico.* Mark what faces the Christians had 200. yeeres after Christ.

For

For if so great a multitude as we are should haue broken from you into some corner of the world, the losse of so many citizens would haue both shamed you, and punished you. Beleeue me you would haue beene afraid to see your selues left alone and amazed, as amongst the dead, to see silence and desolation euery where. You would haue had mo enimies, than inhabitants, where now you haue fewer enemies by reason of the multitude of your citizens that are almost all Christians. Within two hundreth yeeres after Christ, the beleeuers, as you heare by Tertullian, wanted neither number, strength, nor courage to resist or reuenge their persecutors. What numbers and forces then had they foure, fiue, sixe hundreth yeeres after Christ, when they were backed by princes, defended by lawes, and prouoked with fauors and honors to professe religion? And yet all that while, neither vnder Pagans, nor Arrians, did they, or would they resist with armes, but yeelded their liues with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes, nor multitude conuenient for any warres.

Desolation would haue followed if the Christians should haue but forsaken the Pagans.

The citizens almost all Christians.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Howsoeuer that be; plaine it is that kings that haue professed the faith of Christ, and the defence of his Church and gospell, may be and haue beene iustly both excommunicated and deposed for iniuries done to Gods Church, and reuolt from the same; as sometimes also for other great crimes tending to the pernition of the whole people subiect vnto them.*

Theop. You presume more in seuen lines than you are able to proue in seuen yeeres. That popes haue attempted to depose princes, and for the performing of their enterprise haue shaken the Church with horrible schismes and wearied the world with slaughter and bloodshed we know full well, you need not vrge it. But that they iustly did, or might depose princes, which is the point we striue for, though you affirme it to be *plaine*, we denie it to be true: and therin the pawne of your bare credit, if you knew not so much before, we take for no good euidence in this cause.

The defence cap. 5. Princes excommunicated and depriued for defects in religion.

Phil. *To speake specially of matter of religion, and the crimes thereunto belonging: Leo the third was excommunicated and depriued of all his temporalities in Italie by Gregorie the second. For defect also in religion and of the Churches defence, were the Greeke emperors discharged, and the empire translated to the Germans by pope Leo the thirde. As afterward diuers German emperors for notable iniuries done*

done to Gods church, for sacrilege, and for heresie; by godlie discipline of the church, and by the diligence of sundrie popes, haue been brought to order, or in fine depesed; or else where they would not obeie Christs vicar, either in themselues, or in their posteritie haue been notoriously by God confounded. As Frederick the first, Frederick the second, Otho the first, Lewes the third, Lewes the fourth, and whome we name last (because we must saie some thing more of him) Henrie the third (or as some call him) the fourth, by Gregorie the seuenth; which example the Libeller and other heretikes most mention; for that the said Henrie so obstinatelie resisted (though otherwise by the inuincible courage and constancie of the pope often brought to penance and extremitie) that in fine by armes he draue the said pope out of his sea; and placed an Antipape: that is to saie, one so opposite to Christs vicar as Antichrist shall be against Christ: which by armes and patronage of this wicked emperour, vsurped and occupied the apostolicall throne against the true pope Gregorie the seuenth, whome the Libeller (after the vulgar vaine of rebellious heretiks) voutsafeth not the name of Gregorie the seuenth, but calleth him commonlie Hildebrand: as the heretikes when they were in armes in Germanie against their emperour, would not name him Charles the fifth, nor emperour, but Charles of Gaunt.

An Antipape

Hereticall malice.

Theop. Finding no president for the depriuation of princes within the first sixe hundred yeeres after Christ, you go lower to get somewhat for your purpose: and within the next foure hundreth yeeres you name vs one that was not depriued of his empire, but denied his reuenues in Italie by the rebellion of the souldiers & citizens of Rome, Rauenna, Venice, and other places against him.

No president for the depriuatiō of princes within a 1000. yeeres after Christ.

Phil. The Greeke and Latine writers do consent that this was Gregories act. Zonaras saith, Gregorie which then ruled the church of old Rome refusing the fellowship of the bishop of new Rome, and of all that were of his opinion, wrapped them together with the emperour in a synodicall excommunication, and staied the tribute which till that time was paied to the empire: and made a league with the Germanes. Vrspergensis saith, Gregorie the pope of Rome prohibited anie tribute to be giuen to the emperour out of the citie of Rome, or out of Italie. Frisingensis hath the like, Gregorie the pope warning the emperour oftentimes by letters, and finding him incorrigible perswaded Italie to reuolt from his empire. And so Sigebert, Gregorie re-

Zonar. annal. to. 3. in imperio Leon. Isauri.

Vrspergens. in anno 718.

Otho Frisingen. li. 5. ca. 18.

Sigebert. in anno 731.

prooued Leo the emperour for his error, and turned both the people of Rome and the tribute of the west parts from him. Woe I could bring you, but these are enough.

The rebellion of the Italians against Leo might be the popes secret practise, but he durst not appeare in the matter.

Theop. You speake truer than you are ware of. The rebellion of the Italians against Leo the third was like enough to be pope Gregories act. For the Bishops of Rome were then Malcontents, to see the bishops of Constantinople liue in such wealth, ease, and honor, and themselues neglected by the Greeke emperours, and afflicted daily by the Lumbards. And therefore I thinke they were forward enough to kindle the people against their prince vpon the least occasion that might fall out. And that may be the meaning of those Greeke and Germane writers which you bring, that the bishop of Rome occasioned or secretlie incouraged the rebellion of Italie against Leo: but that he tooke vpon him in those daies to be the deposer of princes, as now he doth, or that he openlie shewed or pleaded his vniuersall and supreme power to dispose kingdomes, which is the thing that you should proue, that I denie: and therein your owne stories, as wel the elder as the latter sort of them, that otherwise be verie partiall, will iustifie my speech.

Paulus Diaconus de gestis Rom. lib. 8. in Leo.

The bishop of Rome depriued not Leo the third of his temporalities.

Regino in anno Dom. 655. Blondus decadis 1. lib. 10.

This was a rebellion of the souldiers, and not a depriuation of the popes.

Diaconus aliue in those daies, saieth: Leo the emperour tooke the images of saints at Constantinople, and burnt them, and commanded the bishop of Rome, if euer he looked to haue his fauour, to do the like. But the bishop refused to do it, and all the souldiers of Rauenna and Venice resisted this precept with one consent, and but that the bishop of Rome prohibited them so to do, they had attempted to make another emperour ouer them. Regino, that liued 200. yeres before Sigebert, Frisingensis, Vrspergensis or Zonaras, saith the same.

Blondus a diligent searcher and reporter of antiquities, where partiall affection doth not blind him, saith: The emperour dealt by faire meanes at first with the bishop of Rome, if he would haue his fauour, to pull downe and burne the images in all places of Italy as he had done in the East. Vpon this precept of the emperour, first the citizens of Rauenna, then the people and souldiers of Venice brake into an open rebellion against the emperour and (his deputie) the exarch, and laboured to the bishop of Rome, and

to

to other cities of Italie to abrogate the empire of Constantinople, and to chuse one of Italy or Rome for their emperour: and the rebellion went so farre, that reiecting magistrats which the exarch had appointed, euerie citie and euerie towne began then first since the inclination of the Romane empire, to create and elect magistrats of their owne, which they call Dukes. But Stephen the Bishop of Rome represed that attempt of the Italians to chuse a new emperour, because he hoped Leo would vpon better aduise heereafter forbeare such enormities. Yet the rebellion of the people of Rome, and of other persons in Italie, went forward, and euerie daie increased against the emperour. Nauclerus agreeth with Blondus, saue that he maketh Gregorie the second then bishop of Rome, when Blondus nameth Stephen.

The pope durst not openly be seene to take their parts howsoeuer he priuately incensed or fauored this tumult. *Nauclerus generat. 25.*

Platina telleth his tale this way. Leo the emperour, the third of that name, when he could not haue his will at the bishop of (Rome) proposed an edict that all men vnder the Romane empire, should take out of their temples the images of all the holie martyrs, and angels, for auoiding of idolatrie as he said: and who so did not, he would accompt him for an open enimie. Gregorie (the second) not onely obeied not, but also warned all the Catholikes, (so your adherents call themselues, though they be nothing lesse than Catholikes) that they should not fall into that errour for anie feare or precept of prince. By the which exhortation the people of Italie were so animated, that they lacked verie little of chusing themselues another emperour: but Gregorie interposed himselfe to staie them by his authoritie from doing it.

Platina in Gregorio 2.

This made the Germans and Græcians impute this rebellion to the bishop of Rome: and perhaps not without cause if all his priuate packing had been known. *Sabel. Ennead. 8. lib. 7.*

Sabellicus adding a third cause why the people of Rome and Italie were soze greeued with the emperour, and with-held their tribute, and not long after diuided the empire, which was the continuall impugning of them and preuailing against them by the Lombards without anie help from the Græcians.

Leo, saith he, praied (the bishop of Rome) friendly that following his example, he would raze the images of saints out of all the temples (in Italie.) Wherein the bishop not onlie would not gratifie the prince, but wrote vnto all the churches that they should continue their most ancient

The Italians were manie waies greeued with the Græcians, and that made them take light occasions to reuolt.

custome. That procured Leo passing hatred amongst other nations but chieflie among the Italians, insomuch that the people of Rome began to consult of the choise of a new emperour within Italie, and the hearts of all Italie were ioined with them in that attempt, and that consent of theirs had broken foorth into an open defection, had not the bishop of Rome enterposed his authoritie, and restrained the fiercenesse of his citizens by mollifieng them, and admonishing them to persist in their former dutie to the emperour, when as that conspiracie had alreadie so preuailed, that Marinus the ruler of the citie and his sonne the president of Campania being slaine by the people, and the Exarch likewise murdered at Rauenna, the cities and commons had chosen for themselues new magistrats.

Aeneas Syluius in Decad. Blond. lib. 10. Decad. 1.

Æneas Syluius, euen when he was pope Pius the second speaking of this byzoze made against Leo the third, saieth: To this rebellion the bishop of Rome did not consent, hoping that Leo would be better aduised.

The pope calleth Leo most religious lord the last yeere of his life.

If the repozt of other wziters be not sufficient, the letters of Gregory the 2. and Gregory the 3. wil witnesse no lesse: the one wziting in the 7. yeere of Leo, the other, in the 23. which was the last yeare of the raigne and life of Leo the 3. where they call him not only emperour, but most religious lord: which could not be, if foz his impietie they long before had forsaken his obedience, as Zonaras the monke imagineth. Gregory the 2. endeth his letters with

Auen. li. 3. annaliu fol. 289. Ibid. fol. 291.

Imperante Domino piissimo Augusto Leone, à Deo coronato, magno Imperatore, imperij eius anno septimo. In the 7. yeare of the raigne of the great prince crowned by God, Leo the emperour (our) most gracious Lord. Gregorie the third wziteth, *Imperante Domino piissimo Augusto Leone, Imperij eius anno vicesimo tertio.* In the 23. yeere of the raigne of (our) most religious Lord Leo the emperour. Both which letters Marianus Scotus remembzeth with their dates in his accompt of times and yeares. If Leo the last yeer of his life were called religious lord & emperour by the bishop of Rome, how can it be true, that either of the Gregories forsoke his obedience and deprined him of all his dominions in Italy long before his death? Who stirred this rebellion against Leo the third, I will not dispute: the Græcians had good cause to suspect the bishop of Rome, & to thinke him to be the very authoz

Marianus in annis. 727. & 741.

and

and contriuer of it, as Zonaras doth: but that which he did was closely done vnder hand, by conspiring priuily with other places, & inciting the people by secret meanes to reuolt from the empire. As for any open and apparant act, he was so farre from taking vpon him to depriue the emperor by iudiciall sentence in his consistory, that he durst not be knowne in this tumult to stand with the people, or fauor their doings by any publike aid or consent, but seemed rather to stay them by his persuasion, and to labor against that defection of theirs in the sight of others, as your owne stories do confesse. And therefore you may proue if you will by this example, a rebellion of the Romans against their prince, which the bishop of Rome neither did, nor durst auouch; but deposition of princes by the popes censures, which is the point that we demand, you can not proue by this or any other president in the west parts for a thousand yeeres after Christ.

The bishop of Rome did not the take vpon him to be the deposer of princes

This proueth rebellion of the people against their prince if the Iesuits will, but it concerneth not the popes censures.

Phil. *You can not deny but that for defect in religion and of the Churches defence, the Greeke emperors were discharged, and the empire translated to the Germanes by pope Leo the third.*

The defence cap. 5.

Theop. That the empire was diuided, I do not deny, but that it was done for defect in religion, or that the pope alone of his absolute authority did it, both these I deny: and therein though certaine monks and friers of yours do stubber vp the matter, and attribute the doings thereof to the popes sole and soueraigne power: yet the truer and exacter writers of your owne side do witnesse the contrary.

The diuision of the empire.

And that first it was not done for any defect in religion, the time when it was done, will declare. The second councell of Nice was celebrated in the eight yeere of Constantine and Irene, as the first session of the councell doth specifie: where not onely the legats of Adrian bishop of Rome say of themselues, *Nos postquam ab apostolico patre nostro Adriano litteras accepissemus, eas ad pios nostros imperatores pertulimus.* The letters which we brought from our apostolike father Adrian, we deliuered to the hands of our religious emperors, (Constantine and Irene.) But Adrian himselfe writing to them by name, saith: Being lately by your godly commandement aduertised of your pleasure, we offered prai-

The empire was not diuided for any defect in religion. *Synod. Nicen. 2. actio 2.*

Ibidem epist.

Adrian. ad Constant. imperat. & Iren. matrem eius.

ers & thanks to almighty God for your empire. And growing to an end, *Hæc sunt serenissimi & pyssimi imperatores*. These are the things, most gratious and godly emperors, which we haue gathered out of the scriptures, &c. the which by our apostolike relation we present to the good affection of your maiesties with all humility and sincerity: beseeching your clemency, and as it were kneeling in your presence, and prostrate before your feet, I with my brethren make supplication and request to you in the sight of God, that keeping the tradition of this your most holy and blessed church, you will detest the wicked rage of heretiks that you may imbrace this catholike and apostolike Church of Rome which is yours, without dissolution. At this synod Constantine and Irene were acknowledged by Adrian and his legats for emperors of Rome: and after this synod till the diuision of the empire, there was no change of religion in Greece, but the affaires of the Church stood in the same state in which they were at the time of this synod. And sure it is that Irene was wholy addicted to images, for by her helpe this councell was kept and images restored: and yet in her raigne, when she alone had the rule of all, the empire was diuided. So that religion can not be pretended for the translation of the Romane empire from the Greekes to the Germans.

The pope confesseth the Church of Rome to be the Greek emperors, in the second Nicene synod: and after that councell was no change of religion in Greece.

The empire was diuided by the publike decree of the Romane state, and not by the popes keies.

Platina in Leone. Blondus decad. 2. lib. 1. Naucl. volu. 3. generatio 27. in anno 800. Sabel. enead. 8. lib. 8. Auent. annal. boior. lib. 4. fol. 344.

Against the maine consent of your stories is; that the senate and people of Rome did concur with the bishop in this action, and their decree that he should, and request that he would crowne Charles for their emperor, are expresly remembred in the most of your writers, otherwise deriuing all the power they can in these and such like cases to the bishop of Rome. Platina and Blondus say it was done, *Populi Romani scito ac precibus*: by the decree and request of the people of Rome: Nauclerus saith it was done, *populi Romani consensu*, with the consent of the people of Rome. Sabellicus saith, *Scito rogatuq; populi Romani*. The pope did it by the determination and petition of the people of Rome. Auentinus saith, *Pontifex, senatus, populusq; Romanus, imperium transferre, iure suo in Germanos Carolumq; tacito Senatus consulto, plebisciteq; decernunt*. The bishop, senat, and people of Rome, conclude by a decree of the senate and people secret among themselues, to remoue the (Romane) empire, and in their owne

The diuision of the empire was not for religion. *The third part.*

owne right to deriue it vnto the Germanes and vnto Charles.

Sigebert shewing the time, and adding the cause, saith, *Romani qui ab imperatore Constantinopolitano iam diu animo discesserant, nunc accepta occasionis opportunitate, quia mulier excæcato imperatore Constantino filio suo eis imperabat, vno omnium consensu Carolo regi imperatorias laudes acclamant, eumq; per manus Leonis Papæ coronant, Cæsarem & Augustum appellant.* The Romans, which in hart were long before fallen from the emperor of Constantinople, taking this occasion and opportunitie that a woman, which had pulled out the eies of her owne sonne the emperor, had gotten the dominion ouer them, with one generall consent proclaime king Charles for their emperor, and crowne him by the hands of pope Leo, and salute him as Cæsar and emperor (of Rome.) Frisingensis saith of her: *Digna cuius diebus orbis imperium quod in manus fœminæ non dignè deuenerat, ad Francos transferretur.* She well deserued that in her daies the empire of the world, which came into the hands of a woman by so vile meanes, should be translated to the Germans.

Sigebert. in anno 801.

The Romans pretended the wickednes of Irene to be the cause why they forsooke the Grecians.

Otho Frisingen. lib. 5. cap. 29.

Æneas Syluius giueth an other cause that moued them no lesse than this. *Demùm verò negligentibus Romam Græcis, eamq; nunc Barbarorum, nunc alicrum direptioni relinquentibus, populus ille Romanus, qui suo sanguine tantum parârat imperium, qui suis virtutibus monarchiam fundauerat orbis, venientem in auxilium eis Carolum magnum Francorum regem, qui vrbem sacraq; loca ab omni hostium incursione defendit, concurrente summi consensu pontificis Cæsarem salutauit.* The princes of Greece beginning to neglect the city of Rome, and to leaue it to the spoile of Barbarians and others, the people of Rome which with their blood had gotten so great an empire, and with their vertues established the monarchie of the world, saluted Charles the great king of Germans (as he came to helpe them, and had defended the citie and temples from all inuasions of enimies) for their emperor, not without the consent of the bishop of Rome.

Æneas Syluius de authorit. Romani imperij. ca. 9.

A second cause pretended for the diuision of the empire.

So that the wiser sort euen of your owne fellowes do neither pretend religion, nor the popes supereminēt power ouer all kingdoms, for the translation of the empire as you do, but set it downe as an act done by the generall consent & authority of the bishop, senate, and people of Rome

Their owne stories do not pretend religion, for meere ciuill respects. And at the time of their defection from the Grecians, they neither deprized prince, nor pretended any papall censure for the matter; but abhorring to see a wicked woman (that had thrust the right heire and her owne sonne from his throne, and pulled out his eies) to inuade and hold the monarchy of the world by iniury and tyranny, they reiected her as an vsurper, and disposed otherwise of their owne state, by electing a new emperor.

The indignity which the Romans conceiued against Irenes vsurpation and cruelty.

Phil. They would neuer after be vnited againe to the Grecians. Theop. You range without your bounds. The diuision of the empire so long as it was neither for matter of religion, as I haue proued, nor done by the popes apostolike power, as your owne companions grant, but by the consent of the whole state of Rome, either for displeasure to see themselues neglected in their miseries by the Grecians, or for disdaine that a wicked tygresse vsurped the empire without all right, is nothing to your question; and therefore whether it were lawfull or vnlawfull for the Romans so to do, can do you no more good than it can do vs, to proue that the queene of England, or the king of France may depose princes, because either realme had long before that seuered and disioined themselues from the Romane empire, and had by this time, when the Romans fell away, peaceable and absolute regiments of their owne.

The diuision of the empire maketh nothing for the popes depriuing of princes.

Many realms fell from the Greeke empire before the Romans.

Phil. These countries were conquered, and so by the law of armes diuided from the empire. Theop. So could we say that Italy was conquered first by the Lombards, and after by Charles, who tooke their king captiue, and by the law of armes inherited his crowne. But we stand not on that as being without our compasse: it sufficeth to confute you that the empire was diuided by the Romans for earthly respects, as appeareth by the confession of your owne fellowes, and not any prince deposed by the popes authority for default in matter of religion. You heard before what Æneas Syluius said: Blondus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus and others report the like occasion and reason for the Romans diuiding the empire.

Aistulfus king of the Lombards, saith Blondus, inuaded and spoiled the parts of Italy that belonged to the Romans.

Blond. decad. 1. lib. 10.

The

The bishop of Rome did his best with gifts and intreaties to pacifie the wicked king; and when he perceiued it did not auaile him, he wrote to Constantine the emperor, & shewed him in what state the citie of Rome and all Italie stood, assuring him that vnlesse he did send helpe, the citie and the whole countrie would be subdued by Aistulfus: the emperor mooued with the earnest petition of Gregorie (the third) wrote to Aistulfus, but his legats brought nothing backe from Aistulfus but words, and those sharpe enough. The bishop hearing this and seeing no good doone, called an assemblie of the whole people of Rome, and there at their earnest motion and request resolued to deale thus with the emperour, that vnlesse he would succour the citie and countrie in this extreamitie with his presence and armie, they would seeke some other way to saue and defend themselues. The messengers were skant gone, but Aistulfus sent heraults to menace the bishop and people of Rome, that vnlesse they would yeeld themselues and the citie, he would come and take them by force, and kill man, woman, and child. The pope did not cease with presents and promises to winne Aistulfus to continue the league which he had begunne with the Romanes. And when he laboured in vaine, and the messenger which was sent to the emperour neither returned, nor gaue them any hope of aid (from the empire) TOGETHER VVITH THE PEOPLE OF ROME HE DETERMINED to desire the helpe of the king of France.

Vpon what occasion the empire was diuided, by the report of their owne stories.

The pope himselfe pretendeth not religion in this consultation.

Helpe sought frō the king of France by the common assent of the people of Rome. *Sabel. Ennead. 8. lib. 8.*

Sabellicus putting Stephen where Blondus doth Gregorie saith: Not long after Aistulfus tooke Rauenna, which when the bishop of Rome by legats required to haue restored, the Lombard not onely refused, but with great threats willed them to tell the bishop and people of Rome, that except they did render their citie and whole dominion into his hands, he would shortly come and subdue them with armes, and kill them euerie one. Stephen amazed with these terrours of warre, gaue counsell to send to Constantinople, whence they which were sent signified by letters that there was no looking for helpe from Constantine, either for that he would not or could not, and therefore they must seeke some other way. The bishop appalled with these letters, dealt with the people that some might be sent into

into France to king Pipine. Nauclerus and others say the same, insomuch that when Aistulfus straitly besieged Rome three moneths and wasted all that was round about it with fire & sword, Blondus saith *Dum tantis fluctuat angitúrque vel detrimentis vel periculis Roma & Italia, Constantinus imperator nullam subueniendi curam suscepit.* Whiles Rome and Italie tottered & was readie to sincke vnder these ruines and hazards, Constantine the emperor had no manner of care to relieue them.

The pope had his secret purposes in laboring the diuision of the empire.

This neglect of their calamities, not religion, made the Romanes seeke and take all opportunities to forsake the Grecians. I speake of the people, not of the pope: for he had deeper reaches and other purposes in laying this plotte, and those were the bettering his state and inriching himselfe with the spoiles of the empire, & aspiring to be free from the princes checke, to whom till that time he was wholy subiect: which were the chiefe intents of his first ioining with the Germans. And therfore when he was once set at libertie from the yoke of the Grecians and indued with a good part of the emperors reuenues in Italie, he neuer left practising till he brought the Romane scepter to nothing, & himselfe to this height that we now see him in, by the finall ruine and subuersion of the east and west empire.

The Iesuits by this may proue the Romans to be rebels if they list, they can not proue the pope to be the disposer of kingdomes. *See Zonaras annalium. lib.* 3.

Phil. Might the people of Rome forsake the Grecians that bare the sword? Theop. Looke you to that. You may proue them rebels, if you be so disposed; you can not proue the bishop of Rome to be the deposer of princes. That which was done had the common consent, and was the publike act of the Romane state, when there was no disagreement in religion betweene them & Irene; but a dislike for lacke of conuenient aid in their distresses as some affirme, or else a discontentment to see that furious woman vsurpe the imperiall dignitie, and no lawfull successour left to vindicate the same out of her hand, as others seeme to say.

Whatsoeuer the cause was that moued the Romans; the empire amongst the Grecians at that time went neither by succession nor election, but they were fallen to cutting of throats, and he that was mightiest tooke the sword. Iustinian the yonger was depriued of the empire

pire and banished, and his nose cut off by Leo the second: and Leo the second thrust from the throne and imprisoned by Tiberius the third. Against them both when Iustinian had preuailed and recouered his crowne and put them to death, Philippicus in open field slue Iustinian, and gat his place: but kept it not long. For Anthemius the next yeare after tooke from him the scepter, and both his eies. Theodosius saw that, and he set Anthemius besides the stole, and with maine force of armes made him of a prince a poore priest, and was himselfe within one yeare serued of the same sauce by Leo the third. This wretched tumbling for the empire by rebellion and murder might prouoke the Romans to giue eare to the popes priuat whisperings: & when they saw Constantine the sixt the last of Leos line depriued both of his kingdom & eyesight by his owne mother, to forsake her as well as the Grecians, did after depriue her, and close her in an abbay; but that I esteeme not, so long as the pope by the power of his keies did not diuide the empire, for defect in religion, as you vainly auouch.

The Grecias were fallen to catching and fighting for the scepter, before the Romanes shranke from them.

The Grecias depriued Irene as vsurping the scepter.

Philander. Manie writers witnesse with vs that the bishop of Rome translated the empire. Theophilus. We do not denie but the bishop as a principall part of the citie and policie of Rome had a stroke therein, and gained well thereby: but that he did it by his priestly power as Peters successour, and not rather the people and the bishop ioining together with their common aduise and authoritie as a politike state, that you shall neuer proue.

The pope by right of his keies had naught to do with the Romane empire.

Phil. What had the people to do with translating the empire? Theop. May what had the pope to do with disposing the temporall sword? The Romane state & common-wealth had as good right to dispose the Roman empire, as all other christian & heathen kingdoms & coūtries had to settle the sword & scepter that raigned ouer them. And since all other nations, once members of the Roman empire, were suffered to plant those seuerall formes of regiment which they best liked, and when the right heires failed to elect their owne gouernors, I see no cause why the Romans might not prouide for themselues, as well as other realmes had done before them, specially if the purports

The people had more to do with trāslating the empire than the pope.

purpoꝛts of your ſtoꝛies be true, that they were neglected by the Grecians when they were beſieged by the Lombards, and the ſcepter at Conſtantinople went not by deſcent oꝛ ſucceſſion, but by violent and wicked inuaſion and ſedition; but that the biſhop of Rome by his prieſtly keies, oꝛ apoſtolike power did oꝛ might diſpoſe the empire, that we deny: and if any of your ſide to flatter the pope, make repoꝛt that he did it of his abſolute power and iudiciall authoꝛitie, we little eſteme ſuch ſtragglers: as hauing the generall conſent of your beſt authoꝛs and chiefeſt pilloꝛs foꝛ the contrary.

Platina foulⁱy ouerſeene in the tranſlation of the empire. *Plat. in Greg. 3. Nauc. vol. 2. generatio 25. anno 725. Volum. 2. generatio. 25.*

Phil. The chiefeſt of our ſide are againſt the moſt of your aſſertiõs. You hold opinion that Leo the third was not depriued of all his temporalities within Italie by Gregorie the ſecond: and yet Platina and Nauclerus ſay, that Gregorie put him *Imperio ſimul & communione fidelium*, both from his empire & from the communion of the faithful.

Theop. This they ſay of Gregorie the third, not of Gregorie the ſecond as you do: but it can be true of neither. Nauclerus by and by reciteth an epiſtle of Gregorie the third written the ſame yeere that Leo the emperoꝛ died, where he calleth him *Dominum piiſſimum, Auguſtum Leonem*: moſt religious lord, Leo the emperour. Sabellicus leaueth out the word (*imperio*) as vnlikely to be true, and ſaith that Gregorie the third *magno cleri, populiq; conſenſu piorum communione priuat*: put the emperor (Leo) from the communion with the conſent and liking of the clergie and laitie. Blondus holdeth hardly that Gregorie the third was not biſhop of Rome, whiles Leo the third had the empire.

Sabel. ennead. 8. lib. 8.

Againe the empire could not be tranſlated in the time of Leo, but Conſtantine his ſonne muſt likewiſe loſe the ſame; his father taking him into the ſociety of the crown the fourth yeere of his empire, and writing ſeuen where Conſtantine wrote foure, as appeareth by the letter of Gregorie the ſecond to the Germans, and Bonifacius * oth and conteſtation before the ſame Gregorie. Now to Conſtantine * the ſonne of Leo did the biſhop of Rome ſend both * letters & Legats foꝛ helpe againſt Aiſtulphus when he beſieged Rome, as to the right owner, protectoꝛ, & emperoꝛ of that citie. And therefoꝛe it muſt nœds be falſe that Platina ſaith, the tutele of the Church was remooued from

Habetur Auct. lib. 3. fol. 888. Blondus Dec. ad. 1. lib. 10. & Sabel. ennead. 8. lib. 8. Platina in Greg. 3.

from the emperors of Constantinople to others by this Gregorie in the raigne of Leo: for so much as * Blondus, Sabellicus, and Nauclerus witnesse the defence of the city against the Lombardes, was craued at Constantines handes by those whom Platina placeth after Gregory. *Supr. fol. 414.

And the chiefest reason which he giueth of this transferring the defence of the Church is most false. Gregory deriued it to others, saith he, *maximè quod vrbem regiam ægrè Leo à Saracenis tutaretur*: chiefly because Leo was hardly able to defend his owne city (of Constantinople) from Saracens: whereas the Saracens besieged not Constantinople, but the * first yeere of Leo, before his edict against images came forth: and Luitprandus besieged Rome, not (*Interim*) as Platina saith, but a long time after: and the bishop of Rome sent first for helpe into France, not when Luitprandus, but when Aistulphus besieged him: and then he sent not vnto Charles, as Platina would haue it, but to Pipine the father of Charles, with many such errors which conuince Platina to be a very indiligent and insufficient writer in this point. *Plat. in Greg. 3.* Platina contradicteth all other stories. **Sigebertus, Zonar. & Cuspinian.*

Nauclerus contented himselfe with the words of Platina, and searched no farther: which Sabellicus perceiued to be so repugnant to the course of other stories, that he saith, *Neque tempora legentibus, neque rerum ordo constare liquidò potest.* It is hard for the reader to distinguish either the times or the order of those things which were done, by reason Platina in these words runneth so on head against the rest. And therefore you shall pardon vs for receiuing a man of meane iudgement, and one that writeth verie negligently of these affaires, before the rest, that purposely and largely treated of those matters as neere as they could get the knowledge or come by the likelihood of those actions. *Sabel. ennead. 8. lib. 8.* Much shuffling in popish writers about the diuision of the empire.

These be your presidents for the depriuing of princes betweene sixe hundred and a thousand yeers after Christ. Other or better you haue not, & these you see, be very slender. Phil. We could alledge more, but you will shift them, as you do these. Theop. We shift not, when we reproue the partiall and corrupt reports of your owne fellowes by better and elder testimonies, Woe if you haue, you need not spare.

Phil.

Philip and Childerike depriued.

Phil. Philippicus was depriued of the empire by the bishop of Rome: and so was Childerike of the kingdome of Fraunce. Theop. Your law doth not sticke to boast that * Zacharias deposed Childerike king of Fraunce, and placed Pipine in his roome. Phil. So he did. Theoph. Who saith so besides you? Phil. Platina saith; *Eius authoritate regnum Franciæ Pipino adiudicatur*. By Zacharies authoritie the kingdome of Fraunce was adiudged vnto Pipine. And Frisingensis affirmeth that Pipine was absolued by pope Stephen from the oth of allegiance, which he had giuen to Childerike, and so were the rest of the nobles of France; and then the king being shauen and thrust into a monasterie, Pipine was annointed king: Which you thinke much the pope should do in our daies.

Cauſ.15.queſt. 6.¶ alius.

Plat. in Zach. 1.

Friſingen. li.5. cap.22.

Well the pope might make a pack, for the deposition of Childerike: but his keies were then of no such power to depose princes.

Theop. Set aside your helping and interlacing the storie, and I see no cause why Zacharie should be thought by his apostolike power to haue deposed Childerike.

Phil. Deposed he was. Theop. But neither for religion, nor by the popes consultorie. Phil. For the cause of his deposition I will not greatlie striue. Our law saith he was deposed, *Pro eo quod tantæ poteſtati inutilis erat, for that he was vnfit for the kingdome*, but sure pope Zacharie deposed him. Theoph. Sure you be deceiued. Pope Zacharie was then of no such accompt that he could depose princes. He was consulted whether it might lawfullie be done or no, but farther than so the bishop of Rome did not in open sight intermedle with the matter, whatsoeuer his priuie practises were: though manie of your monks and bishops to grace the pope, do make it his only act.

Cauſ.15.queſt. 6.¶ alius.

Phil. In all these cases our stories are against you; and no reason we credit you, to discredit them. Theop. I desire you not to credit me: and giue me leaue to do as much for you: but if your owne stories make with vs, I see no cause you should discredit them. Phil. We do not. Theop. You may not.

Sabell. ennead. 8. lib. 8.

Then touching the persons which did the deede: Sabellicus saith, *Proceres Regni & populi amplexi Pipini virtutem, perteſiq; regis amentiam, Zacharia Romano Pontifice prius conſulto, regis appellatione Childerico adempta, vt ſpes etiam regni adimeretur in clerum detondent, Pipinum regem creant*. The nobles and commōs (of France or Germany) imbracing the valour of Pipin,

and

and hating the fooliſhneſſe of their king, hauing firſt conſulted Zacharie biſhoppe of Rome, tooke from Childerike the name of a king, and to cut him from all hope of aſpiring to the crowne, they ſheere him a Monke, and elect Pipine for their king. Blondus ſaith, I finde in Alcuinus, Paulus, and diuers others, which wrote the actes of the Francks, that the nobles and commons of that nation duely conſidering the worthineſſe of Pipine, and ſottiſhneſſe of Childerike, conſulted Zacharie the biſhoppe of Rome, whether they ſhould tolerate ſo fooliſh a king any longer, and defraud Pipine of his deſerued princely honor; and when the biſhop made anſwere, that he was (beſt worthy) to be king which could beſt diſcharge the duetie of a king: the Frankes with the publike conſent of the whole nation pronounced Pipine for their king: and Childerike was ſhorne and made a monke. Nauclerus ſaieth: The Franckes elected Pipine for their king by the publike conſent of the whole nation: which is all one with that Blondus ſayeth, They declared or pronounced him for their king. And this is the reaſon that your owne gloze limiteth your lawe in this ſort, *Depoſuit, id eſt deponentibus conſenſit*: Zacharie depoſed Childerike, that is, he conſented to them that depoſed him.

The germans conſulted the Pope, whether it were lawfull for them to depoſe the prince or not.

Blondus Decad. 1. lib. 10.

The whole nation depoſed Childerike.

Naue. generat. 26.

Cauſ. 15. queſt. 6. ¶ Alius & gloſſ. ibidem in ver. Depoſuit.

Phi. The moſt of our ſtories ſay, he did it. Theoph. Your ſtories are very forwarde to attribute euery thing to the pope that may any way increaſe his power. And it may be the pope had an oare in that boate more than euery bodie well perceiued. For Pipine was the man on whome the pope wholy relied, and whoſe power he afterwarde vſed to quaile the Lombardes, and defeate the Grecians; that the pope and Pipine might diuide the ſpoyles of the Weſt betweene them. And therefore I can be ſoone induced to thinke that a maine plotte was layde, firſt to make Pipine king of France: and then by his helpe to turne the Greeke emperour out of Italie that the pope might haue ſhare of the reuenues of the empire, as not long after it came to paſſe: but that the pope then claymed any power to depoſe princes and giue kingdomes; or that the better ſort of your owne ſtories ſtaie on any ſuch pretences, you ſhall neuer ſhewe. Zacharie being conſulted made anſwere, what the Germanes by Gods lawe, as he thought might doe: but he did not appoint

The depoſing of Childerike to make Pipin king of France had a further reach than euery man ſawe. The pope and Pipin deuided the weſt partes of the worlde betweene them.

appoint them by ſentence or cenſure, what they ſhould do.

Phil. How ſhall we know that in this diuerſitie of reports? Theop. You ſhall heare Zacharies anſwere to the legats that were ſent about this matter: and that you may ſafely truſt. Phil. I miſtruſt not his owne words. Theop. You need not, he would fauour himſelfe as much as he might with any good colour. When Volorade and Burchard were ſent to Zacharie to vnderſtand his iudgement, his anſwer was, I find in the ſacred ſtorie of the diuine ſcriptures that the people fell away from their wretchleſſe and laſciuious king, that deſpiſed the counſell of the wiſe men of his realme, and created a ſufficient man, one of themſelues, king, God himſelfe allowing their doings. All power and rule belong to God, princes are his miniſters in their kingdomes. And rulers are therefore choſen for the people, that they ſhould follow the will of (God) the chiefe ruler in all things, and not to do what they liſt. He is a true king that guideth the people committed to his charge according to the preſcript and line of Gods law. All that he hath, as power, glorie, riches, honour and dignitie, he receiueth of the people. The people create their king, and the people may (when the cauſe ſo requireth) forſake their king. It is therefore lawfull for the Francks and Germanes refuſing this vnkindlie monſter (Childerike) to chuſe ſome ſuch as ſhall be able in warre and peace by his wiſedome to protect and keepe in ſafetie their wiues, children, parents, goods and liues.

Auen. lib. p. 299. Zacharies anſwer to the German legats.

This pope claimeth no power to depoſe princes, but ſuppoſeth it to be lawfull for anie realme to prouide thẽſelues of a fit king.

I will not examine the popes diuinitie, in that he ſaith, Princes haue their powers of the people: which the ſcripture ſaith they haue of God: this is plaine, he claimeth no power to depoſe princes, but alleadgeth an example that the people may change their king when he is not able (for frenſie or follie) to do the dutie of a king. And by that concludeth it lawfull for the Germanes to refuſe that ſimple idiote, which had the ſcepter by ſucceſſion, and elect an other.

Rom. 13. Ieroboam and the ten tribes had Gods warrant for their reuolt, and ſo had not the Germanes when they choſe Pipine.

Phil. Though you hold the pope may not, yet you confeſſe the people may depoſe their prince.

Theop. I tell you not what I thinke, but what pope Zacharie ſaid to the Germanes.

Phil.

Phil. Do you like or dislike that he said? Theop. I should haue asked you that question: but because you preuent me, you shall heare what I say. Zacharie toucheth not the causes for which princes may be deposed, but the persons by whom it must be done, if it be needfull to do it: and that is by their owne realmes, and not by tribunals abroad, as you suppose. Phil. Then it may be done. Theop. When it should be done, the whole realme must do it, and not the pope. Phil. But neither he, nor they can do it, except you first assent that it may be done. There can be no deposers, if princes be not deposeable. Theop. There may fall extremities: when princes are not able to guide themselues, much lesse their realmes. Phil. What be those? Theop. I named them before, frensie and follie. As if the right heire to any crowne be a naturall foole; or he that is inuested in the crowne, waxe madde, and runne besides himselfe. In either of these two cases any realme by publike consent and aduise may choose an other.

When princes are vnfit for the regiment of their people, their owne realmes and not the pope must haue care of that defect.

Extreme folly and frensie be iust causes to remoue princes from bearing the sword.

Phil. What vnlikely cases you bring vs which neuer yet fell out in proofe? Theop. Yes that they haue. Childerike, of whom we spake euen now, was deposed by the Germans for a foole. And Charles the 3. the last emperor of Pipines line (Gods iustice requiting his children with the very same measure that he met before vnto his maister) was deposed by the same people for * a bedlem. As also when Iustinus the yonger was * distract of his wits, Tiberius was placed in the empire.

The last of Pipines race deposed for a bedlem. *Regino lib. 2. anno. 887. Euag. lib. 5. cap. 11.*

Phil. You make Childerike a foole, because you would auoid the popes power to depriue princes. Theop. If you made him not a foole, when you put him from his right vnder that pretense, I do him no wrong: your stories blaze him for a frantike foole. Blondus and Nauclerus say they did it * *Pensantes regis amentiam:* considering the madnesse of the king. Sabellicus addeth thereunto * *Regis deliria & ineptias*, the follie and frensie of the king. Gaguinus saith he was * *homo vecors & bellua*: a verie sot and a beast: and for that cause his title in your stories is *Childericus stupidus*, Childerike the foole: whether he were or no, God knoweth: but this we see, they handled him like a foole, and the pope had information against him that he

Blon. Decad. 1. lib. 10. Naucl. volum. 3. gen. 26. Sabel. ennead. 8. lib. 8. Gag. li. 3. in Carolo Martel.

was *Deneger monstrum*, a monster and not a man; and therefore were the causes which they alleaged for this deposition true or no, we greatly care not. They pretended a cause sufficient, if it were true; and the pope confessed it lawfull for the whole realme to displace such a prince, as was both unfit and unable to beare the sword.

Vrspergens. in anno 753.

Phil. But *Stephen absolued Pipine* from the oth of allegiance which he had giuen vnto Childerike. Theop. High time to absolue Pipine from his oth three yeres after Childerike was deposed, and he placed in the kingdome.

Regino, lib. 2. anno 753.

Regino, whence that fable first came of Stephens sickenesse at Paris and his recouerie by a vision of S. Denis, saith not a word of any such absolution, but onely that Stephen confirmed Pipine and his two sonnes as lawfull kings of France, and adiured the nobles not to chose them a king of any other line so long as Pipines race indured. The rest is added by monks and friers in fauour of the pope as infinite other things are in the accidents of euery age. Howbeit absoluing from others if they be lawfull and good, is a greater matter than we yet beleeue your holy father may deale with.

The Iesuits must proue that the pope may dispence with a lawfull oth.

The staggering of their stories make many men thinke that Childerike was no foole.

The wauering of your stories in the cause of Childeriks deposition, (for sometimes they vrge a defect in Childerike, sometimes they plead a right in Pipine without the king, and aboue the king, as hauing the regiment of that realme & all publike affaires committed to him & his, for the space of fourescore yeres by way of inheritance before he sought the crowne:) this wauering in the cause, and curious seeking for absolutions, and confirmations maketh many men suspect that your pretences against Childerike were not all true. But whether Pipine had better interest to the crowne of Fraunce than Childerike: by reason the * Mareschall of the palace was become the kings maister, insomuch that the king could not command his owne diet but at the marshals pleasure; and was gouerned and ouerruled in all things by him as a boy by his tutor, which is the constant report of all your writers touching the state of the German kings, when Pipine aspired to the crowne: or whether Childerike were an idiot & the last of his house, as for the better strength of Pipines title your stories auouch, I will be no iudge.

* *Auent. lib. 3. fol. 293. & Nauclerus vol. 3. generatio. 26. anno 750. & Frising. lib. 5. cap. 13.*

This power of the marshal ouer the king made Pipine aspire to the crown.

Childerike

Childerike I say was deposed by the nobles & commons of his nation, and the pope being consulted whether it were lawfull for them so to do, made answer, they might, but added no word of his owne power to dispose kingdomes to his liking. And this for Childerike may suffice.

For Philippicus the answer is easier. He was a rebell and slue his maister in the field, and therefore without any further cause the Romanes might refuse both his name and his reigne. To this usurpation when he added as they thought impietie, it was no marueil to see them so earnest against him: but in this as in many other things your latter stories stray from the former. The elder sort of historiographers as Beda, Regino, Marianus, Frisingensis, and Vrspergensis say: The people of Rome decreed that neither his name, nor letters, nor coine should be receiued: the latter, as Blondus, Sabellicus & Nauclerus haue chaūged their tune, & say: The bishop of Rome did it at the clamor & petition of the people. Sigebert as indifferent betweene them saith, the bishop and the people iointly did it. So handsomely you can hammer things whē they come to your fingering, and such credit your stories deserue when the case concerneth your holy fathers authoritie.

Beda de sex aetatibus mundi. Regino lib. 1. in anno 648. Marianus in Philippico. Frisingens. lib. 5. cap. 15. Vrspergens. in anno 713. Blondus decad. 1. lib. 10. Nau. volum. 2. gen. 23. Sabel. ennead. 8. lib. 7. Sigebert. in anno 712.

These be all the examples you do or can bring for the space of a thousand yeeres after Christ, where princes were depriued of their crownes by the bishop of Rome: and these how litle they make for your purpose, I leaue to the iudgement of the christian reader.

Mo examples than these they haue not for a thousand yeeres after Christ.

Your catalogue of the Germane emperors, that insueth: as of *Frederike the first, Frederike the second, Otho the fift, Lewes the third, Lewes the fourth, & Henrie the third (or as some call him the fourth)* maketh shew to the simple, but doth you no good. The eldest of these that were offered depriuation by the pope, is Henrie the fourth whome Gregorie the seuenth, a thousand threescore and six yeeres after Christ prouoked with that iniurie, but to his owne and bitter ouerthrow.

The eldest of the German emperors that were offered deprisuation by the pope, was Henrie the 4. Lewes the 3. was not deposed.

You reckon Lewes the third, and Lewes the fourth for princes depriued of their empires by the bishop of Rome, but reason were you did first tell vs whome you meane, and how you proue it. Marianus Scotus & they that follow him make Lewes the third to be Lodouicus Balbus, to whome pope Iohn fled and annointed him king of the Ro-

Marian. in Lodouic. 3. Sabel. ennead. 9. lib. 1.

This Lewes was not deposed.

mans, when the nobles of Rome, inclined rather to Charles the third, and gaue him possession of the citie, who was after annointed by pope Iohn at his returne; Lodouike the third liuing skant two yeres after his coronation. Martinus Polonus numbreth him for Lewes the third that was next after Arnulphus: but whether it were Lodouike the sonne of Arnulphus, or an other of that name the sonne of Boso, he doth not determine, onely he saith Berengarius caught him at Verona and recouered the empire: which Blondus & Marianus report of Lodouike the sonne of Boso, & not of Lodouike the sonne of Arnulphus, as Platina doth. In this vncertainetie of your stories you might haue done well to haue distinguished the person, and pointed out your author: you now driue vs to suspect that you go about to haue them deposed that were neuer crowned.

Marian. in Lodouic. 3. Blond. Decad. 2. lib 2. Marian. in Lodouic. filio Arnulph. Platina in Benedict. 4. Martinus in Arnulph. Plat. in Form.

This Lewes was neuer crowned.

Of Lodouike the sonne of Arnulphus, Martinus saith: He succeeded his father, *sed ad coronam imperij non peruenit*, but he neuer was crowned emperor. And Platina confesseth the same: In the place (of Arnulphus) we read that Lodouike was made emperor, *quem tamen nusquam habuisse imperij coronam accepimus*: of whome we do not find that euer he had the crowne of the empire. If he neuer receiued the crowne, how could he be deposed from the crowne? Phil. Perhaps the pope kept him from it. Theop. Perhaps you can not tell: but thinke you that princes will loose their crownes for your perhaps? Phil. He neuer had it. Theophil. But had he any wrong to be kept from it? Phil. How thinke you of that? Theop. Your proofes be verie mightie that must depend on my thoughts. Phil. We brought in these instãces as it were by the way, to let you see what store of examples we had. Theop. Then take them out of the way, for they do but hinder your cause.

When Charles the third, otherwise called Carolus Crassus, grew both sicke and lunatike, the nobles of Germanie cleane forsooke him, and chose Arnulphus which as some say was the sonne of Charlemaine, but as Blondus affirmeth, was * *obscurissimo natus loco*, a man verie basely borne, and not of Charles line: by reason whereof * the kingdomes which before were subiect to Charles, now as destitute of a right heire, beganne to fall in sunder on euerie side

The last of Pipines line deposed for a mad man. *Blond. Decad. 2. lib. 2. Regino lib. 2. anno 888.*

side, and to choose kings of themselues. Then France *tooke Charles the childe, cognamed Simple, and when his simplicitie displeased them, they * set Otho the sonne of Robert Duke of Saxonie in his place. At the same time the people of Italy meaning to haue a king of their owne, could not agree on the matter, but chose some Berengarius: and others Guido, and so had two kings in Italy both calling and bearing them-selues as emperours. Besides these defections, Arnulphus had long and sharpe warres with *Rodolph that proclaimed him-selfe king of Prouince, and with the * Normanes that ranged in many partes of Fraunce and Germanie. So that the Pope did not depose Lewes the thirde, as you would insinuate: but Italie seeing the line of Charles to be expired, thought to make an emperour of their owne bowels, and to keepe off straungers that before had the rule ouer them: and so they did for threescore yeares, till barbarous inuasions, and domesticall seditions, and disorders made them glad to sende to Otho the great, and to receiue him for their emperour, and to yeelde to a forme of electing to the empire by certaine bishops and princes of Germanie, which hath indured vntill this present.

Blond. vt supra Italy forsooke the Germanes and chose to themselues two kings of their owne. *Regino lib. 2. anno 888.*

Seditions and inuasions made the Romans glad after 60. yeers to submit themselues againe to the Germanes. *Regino lib. 2. anno 896. Decad 2. lib. 2. Blond. decad. 2. lib. 2.*

This your owne stories abundantly confirme, saue that some write of Arnulphus that he marched with his armie through the middest of Italy and tooke Rome, and caused himselfe to be crowned emperour, (as Regino sayth who then liued) by Formosus the bishoppe of Rome: which * Blondus doeth graunt beleeue. Howsoeuer that were, they all agree that Berengarius and Guido were chosen kings of Italy when Arnulphus was first aduaunced to Charles his place. Blondus saith, *Arnulpho apud Francos in Imperatorem creato, Romani & cæteri Itali nullum ab Imperatore nouo dissidijs regni Franciæ implicito auxilium aduersus rebelles Longobardos affuturum intelligentes, Berengarium Foronilienſem ducem Roma oriundum crearunt Imperatorem.* Arnulphus being chosen emperour by the Germanes, the Romanes and Italians perceiuing they might looke for no helpe against the rebellious Lombardes from that newe emperor, hauing his handes full of the dissentions of his owne kingdome, created Berengarius the duke of Frioli a Romane their emperour. Neither yet did they so well agree in that election, but that

An other change of the empire, but not by the popes keies.

The third part. The pope gained by roling the empire too and fro.

other chose Guido the Duke of Spoletum to be king of Italie.

Otho Frisingen. li. 6. ca. 9. & 10. Frisingensis maketh the same report. Charles the next yeere after he was deposed, died. From that time to Otho we find the regiment at Rome verie confused. For after the death of Charles, which raigned sixe yeeres, and led a priuat life, the seuenth yeere the empire was rent in manie parts, euerie prouince desirous to haue a seuerall king: onelie Arnulphus had the greatest share. Therefore the Italians make themselues two kings, Berengarius Duke of Friault, and Guido Duke of Spoletum. Of the which Berengarius chased out of his countrey by Guido, fled for succour to Arnulphus.

You can not proue hence that Arnulphus or Lewes his sonne were depriued by the pope, but onlie that the Romanes made an other defection from the empire: who after they had once tasted the sweetnes that came by cutting the empire in peeces (for where before they wer suppliants & subiects, now by the larges of Pipine they were lords of halfe Italy) by their willes could neuer haue rested. And though the Germans & Italiās differ in their reckonings, the Germans accounting *Berengarius* & those that succeeded him vntill *Otho* the great, for vsurpers, and contrary-wise the Italians accepting them for their natural & true emperours; yet that is no cause for you to auouch that the pope deposed any of them. For put the case either way, that the Germanes were lawfullie excluded, as hauing no right, or wrongfullie debarred of their right, you may cōclude hence a iust allegation, or a ciuil sedition in the Romanes, but no depriuatiō of princes by the pope.

The Romans were no lesers by often cutting the empire in peeces.

The Germans and Italians differ in their reckonings.

If by Lewes the third, you meane Lewes the sonne of Boso, (for him you may meane, and by your indistinct speaking, you driue vs to ghesse at your meaning) he with violence gate some dominion in Italy, putting *Berengarius* to the worst, and by negligence lost not only that he gate, but his eies also, which he might haue saued with staying at home: mary the doers of it were *Berengarius* his enimie, and the citizens of Verona which betraied him: mention of the pope there is none, except you thinke it vnfit for his holinesse that any treason should be wrought without him, for that his see is so well practised in them. Of this Lewes, Otho saith: In the yeare of our Lord 905.

Lewes the sonne of Boso was not deprived by the pope.

Lodouike

The pope gained by roling the empire too and fro. *The third part.* Lodouike the sonne of Boso getting the empire, expelled Berengarius: and hauing the whole kingdome of Italie at his becke, dismissing his armie, went to Verona with a small traine, where being betraied by the citizens (that sent for Berengarius from the place where he was in exile) he was caught, and his eies pulled out. And after that Berengarius held the kingdome of Italie together with the Romane empire. So haue we three Lodouikes, each of them in sundrie writers surnamed Lewes the third, and not one of them deposed by the bishop of Rome. *Otho Frisingensis.lib.6.ca.15*

Three Lodouikes, and not one of them deposed by the pope.

Henrie the fourth was the first that was troubled with the popes presumption to depose princes: but he was so farre from taking it, that he put the pope besides his cushine, and had him deposed from his triple crowne, not onelie by force, but also by iudgement and sentence as good or better than that which the pope pronounced against him. Respect whether you will, the cause, or the manner of their proceeding each against other.

Henry the fourth was the first, that euer was offered deposition by any pope.

Phil. You crake of this emperour: *For that in fine by armes he droue the said pope out of his sea, and placed an Antipape, that is to saie, one so opposite to Christes vicar, as Antichrist shall be against Christ: which by armes and patronage of this wicked emperour vsurped & occupied the apostolike throne against the true pope Gregorie the 7.* The defence cap.5.

Theop. We crake not of princes as you do of popes, neither do we defend them in open wickednes as you do popes in their pestilent disorders and outrages: only we say neither your holie father with his proude claime, nor you with your smoth tongs may take from princes their crownes, without warrant from God, of whom they haue their power, and by whom they are exalted to their rotall dignitie. And therefore if you will plaie the proctour for pope Hildebrand in that attempt of his to depriue Henry the fourth, leaue wastfull words, and spitefull spæches, & go to the matter. Scoffes and taunts are soone cast and recast without any paines or praise.

Phil. *Because this good and notable pope, was not able in fine to resist the emperours forces (the which emperour, as all the histories of that time record, was a most wicked, sacrilegious, simoniacall & heretical person) the aduersaries of Gods Church do triumph (as the Libeller heere doth) ouer the blessed man, as Herode might haue done ouer Iohn Baptist, whose admonitiō was takē in so euil grē, that it cost him his* The defence cap.5.

life: as also the executing of the churches sentence, which is Gods, hath done to manie a prophet and bishop in the world.

It is no sinne nor wrong, to call Gregory the seuenth Hildebrand. The Iesuits manner lie speeches of the emperor.

Theop. If to call Gregorie the seuenth, Hildebrand, which was his proper name, and whereof neither he nor you should in reason be ashamed, be a note of *rebellious heretikes* as you tearme them: what is it for you to call a prince (on whom by Gods law you are forbidden to raile) *a most wicked, sacrilegious, simoniacall, and heretical person?* What is it to say that *all the stories of that time record the same*, and to produce none? As for Iohn baptist you may vse his name when you follow his works. Herode was an incestuous tirant, yet did not Iohn Baptist take the scepter from him nor arme his subiects against him, but warned him of the breach of Gods law, which he wilfullie committed, and the punishment which would ensue at Gods hands: farther practises against Herode, Iohn Baptist had none, and therfore you might as wel haue poked Belial with Christ, as Hildebrand with Iohn Baptist. But you must be suffered, whē other things faile you, to haue glorious words: which is a right Herodian affection.

Acts. 12. vers. 22.

The defence. cap. 5. The contention between pope Gregorie the seuenth, and Henry the third emperour. Proue the popes right to depose princes, and we remit the successe.

Phil. *By the euent of things, whosoeuer measureth the right of causes; will make a good religion, and a good defence of the execution of iustice. For so most tirants might be iustified for a time against all the saints of God. This Gregorie saie they was in fine banished by the emperour: and so was saint Chrysostome by Arcadius and Eudoxia, and died in banishment as Gregorie the seuenth did: yet they were but homelie christians that would iustifie the emperours, and condemne S. Chrysostome.*

Theop. We measure not the right of causes, neither by the sequele nor successe of things, for then the saints of God from the first beginning of the world should haue had an euill cause, since their successe hath alwaies been to lose their liues for bearing witnes vnto the truth. We make it no reason that Hildebrands cause was euill, because in the end he was banished: We all this while haue stood with you on this point, that neither Hildebrand nor anie other pope had or hath right to depose princes. Your commendation of Hildebrand, and accusation of Henry the 4. if both were true, are little to this purpose, vnlesse you will reason thus, the pope was a good mā & the prince an euill, *Ergo* the pope might depose the prince, which

which were a very ridiculous conclusion.

Phil. The popes right to depose princes we haue proued before. Theop. Not yet that we see. Your authorities came very short of it, your examples shorter. Some shifts and sophismes you haue here and there offered vs, but so weake that children would hardly be deceiued by them. Those you thought, being destitute of other helpes, to strengthen with examples: and hauing searched all the corners you could for a thousand yeeres after Christ, you find not one, till you come to Gregory the seuenth, who did attempt it but could not effect it, and lost his popedome for enterprising it. That right is yet vnproued

And here you slip from the right of the cause to the praise of the person, which is vtterly impertinent to this purpose. For what trow you, is euery thing good that good men do? May you not so commend any vice? What sinne is there but some good man otherwise hath fallen into? If to measure things by their euents, be no sure way to iudge rightly of them, what is it to alleadge no better ground for the deposition of princes than the bold attempt of the bishop of Rome? Were the person commended not by the allentation of his adherents, but by the confession of his aduersaries; that proueth not his fact to be good, or his enterprise lawfull. We must balance things by the lawes of God, & not by the fancies and affections of men: and yet touching the person, if the sincerest of your owne side may be trusted, I see no such cause to commend him. The praise of the person is nothing to the right of the cause.

Phil. *This pope, whom they specially hate, because (as it may be thought) he was the first man that authentically condemned the Berengarians heresie, and in open disputation refuted it; though certaine of the said emperors flatterers and enimies of the see apostolike (as the fashion of our heretiks is at this day) wrote slanderous libels against him; yet was he a very notable good man and learned, and did suffer whatsoeuer he did suffer, for meere iustice: in that he did godly honorably, and by the duty of his pastorship, whatsoeuer he did against the said emperor: whereof we could alleage all the best writers of those daies, or neere that time, but that we should be tedious.* The defence, cap. 5. Pope Hildebrand a good man.

Theop. Whatsoeuer Berengarius heresie was, the recantation which your holy father with his learned aduise prescribed him, is a very wicked and palpable error. If Hildebrand might wel be a dealer in Berengarius

recantation for the goodnes of it.

Hildebrand were the author of that condemnation, We enuie not his praise. A lewder or grosser folly was neuer vttered with tonge.

The Iesuits should condemne them selues if they should not commend Hildebrand.

No marueil to see you so forward in affirming that Gregory the seuenth *was a very notable good man, and learned, and did suffer, whatsoeuer he did suffer, for meere iustice, and did godly and honorably, and by the duty of his pastorship whatsoeuer he did against the emperor*: he was the first pope that euer serued or fitted your rebelling humor: your case and his are all one, and therefore vnlesse you should praise him, you must dispraise your owne doings, which you will not, you be so farre entered into these Italian policies, and perceiue them to be so profitable for your Rhemish monarchy. But sirs, if you were asked vnder benedicite whether S. Peter did better in submitting himselfe to Nero, and charging all others to do the like, or pope Hildebrand in taking the crowne from Henry the fourth, and discharging his subiects, which would you preferre? The mild and christian submission of Peter suffering death at Neroes hands, or the disdainfull & arrogant stomacke of Gregory the seuenth, making the emperor with his queene and young prince in extreme frost and snow, wait his leisure three daies barefooted, and in woollen, at the gates of Canusium, whiles himselfe was warme in a ladies chamber: and (notwithstanding this rare example of humility in a prince) practising a generall reuolt of his nobles and people from him, and causing an other to be chosen in his place, and licencing his owne subiects, seruants & sonnes, to beare armes against him, & filling the christian world with vnnaturall and parricidiall wars and bloudshed? I know you dare not in plaine termes disgrace S. Peter, but in deeds euident to the eies of all men, you take part with pope Hildebrand against S. Peter, extolling & praising him for *a very notable good pope*, that first gaue this detestable and damnable aduenture.

Which like they better, Peter induring or Hildebrand displacing princes.

Lambert. Schaf. Abbas Vrsperg.

The mildnes of pope Hildebrand.

He did suffer, you say, *whatsoeuer he did suffer for meere iustice.* It was mad *meere iustice* that the Church of Christ for a thousand yeeres would not be so much as acquainted with; and a madder imagination of yours that all that refused to be partakers of Hildebrands wickednesse, were flatterers *to the emperor, and enimies to the see apostolike*: farre

What iustice call you that which the Church of Christ for 1000 yeeres counted wickednes?

better

better cause haue we to say, that they which conspired with the pope against their prince, vpon so great submission as Christendome hath not scene the like, were * DESPISERS OF GOVERNMENT, * RESISTERS OF POVVER, and consequently disobeiers of Christ, & worse than hirelings of Antichrist. And if you may shake them off that liued in the same age, and wrate of things they saw with their eies, and heard with their eares, who smothed not the vices of men, but defended the ordinance of God: what should bind vs to regard the corrupt and partiall iudgements of those that came some hundreds after and knew no more of the certainty of those actions, than we do at this instant; and were withall so wedded to the see of Rome, that in respect thereof they did resist, as you do now both the power of man, and the truth of God?

* *Iude epist.*
* *Rom. 13.*

Phil. We haue for Gregory the seuenth *the graue testimony of Baptista Fulgosius, a noble and learned man, that was duke of Genua, aboue an hundred yeeres past*, which *we shall not let to set downe as we find it in the Latine. Constantissimus habitus est Gregorius septimus pontifex, qui quòd Henricum tertium imperatorem propter apertas nimis symoniæ crimina, pro pastorali officio reprehendebat, grauibus ab eo iniurijs affectus est. Itaque iniuriarum magnitudine compulsus, Henricum Gregorius vt hæreticum imperij honore priuauit. Cùm autem Henricus solui ecclesiastica censura non emendatione vitæ, sed armis quæreret, alium creari pontificem enixus capta vrbe obsidere Gregorium cæpit. Quæ mala cùm Gregorius pateretur, nunquam tamen à iusto proposito dimoueri potuit. That is*, Gregory the seuenth was notable for his constancie; who for that according to his pastorall charge, he had admonished Henry the third emperor to leaue his knowne impietie of symonie, was by manifold intollerable iniuries vexed by the same emperor; and by the greatnesse of his wickednesse was compelled to depriue him as an heretike of his imperiall dignitie. But Henrie seeking not by amendment of his life but by armes to be absolued from the censure; hee went about to sette vppe a newe pope, and besieged the citie of Rome and brought the pope into great distresse. In all which miseries Gregory could neuer be remooued from his iust purpose. *So he writeth of the parties both. And of the horrible crimes for which the emperor was moste iustly in the*

The defence cap. 5. *Lib. 3. cap. vlt. factorum memorabilium.*

The testimony of the duke of Genua for pope Hildebrand.

See *Vrspergen. lib. 5. annalium.*

sight

sight of all good men deposed.

Theop. Truth dependeth not vpon nobility but sincerity. Noble men haue their affections and ouersights in writing as well as others. Baptista Fulgosius liued foure hundreth yeres after Gregory the seuenth, and had no better inteligence of the cause than we haue at this day. In his banishment he collected certaine examples out of such bookes as came to his hands, to spend the time, and ease his misery: but he toke not vpon him to iudge betweene your stories which were credible and which not. All that he saith of Gregory the seuenth, is *(Constantissimus habitus est)* he was counted very constant, and could neuer be remooued from the purpose, which he thought to be iust: the rest is a report of the fact, no debating of the cause.

How knew Baptista Fulgosius the goodnes of Hildebrand that liued 400 yeers before him?

Lib. 3. cap. 8. de Constan.

And had this exiled person giuen greater commendation to Gregory than he doth, euery noble mans fansie that is or hath beene these fiue hundreth yeres in Christendome, must not appoint what power the pope shall haue ouer princes. And if nobility might preiudice truth, as in deed it can not, Why should the iudgement of Baptista Fulgosius in this case be preferred before a thousand others of greater nobility that haue taken part with their princes against the pope: Meaner states than princes will not lose their liberties for the duke of Genua; and therefore if you seeke for the right of the cause, it must be tried neither by dukes, popes nor princes. The word of God doth not go by the verdicts of men: if you stand not on that, but on the vices of Henry, and vertues of Gregory: Your Italian duke is too yong to pronounce exactly what they were that died some hundreds before he was borne.

A noble mãs fansie is no fit balance for this cause.

No reason that princes rights should be tried by Italian dukes

Phil. Trithemius *reporteth in briefe thus, of the wickednesse of this emperor: Episcopatus, Constantiensem, &c.* He sold the bishoprikes of Constance, Bamburgh, Mentz, and diuers others for money: those of Ausburgh, and Straisburgh for a sword: that of Munster for sodomy: and the abbacy of Fuld for adultery: heauen and earth witnesse and cry out on these: & for the same abhominations he standeth excommunicated and depriued, and therefore hath no power nor iust title to raigne ouer vs Catholiks.

The defence cap. 5.

Trithem. in chron.

Theop. This is the next way to build the tower of Babell, to descend from a duke to an abbat: from one that liued

ned fine scoze peeres ago, to one that died not much moze than three scoze peeres since; and to thinke by men of your owne faction, that were aliue in this our age, to make proof of things that were done fiue hundzed peeres before. Trithemius an abbat of late daies, hath no credit in this case: you must shew vs some elder writer and nearer the time wherein these things were done, oz else we shall passe it ouer as a peeuish and pestilent slander. Phil. We haue elder if you list to beleeue them: but you will discredit them, as you do Trithemius. Theop. I discredit not Trithemius: but leaue him his due commendation: onely I say there is no reason that a man of your side, and our age, should be the first and sole deponent of matters many hundzed peers elder than himselfe. Phil. We haue long before him that did witnesse the same. Theop. Produce them.

If Baptista knew little of Hildebrand, Trithemius knew lesse of Henry the fourth.

Trithemius a man of their side, and our age, is no good witnes in this case.

Phil. Dodechinus, who liued within an hundzed peeres of that time, hath the same report word for word of Henry the fourth that Trithemius hath. Theop. We find that repeated by Dodechinus, but not of his owne knowledge oz iudgement. Valtrame bishop of Megburg wzate a sober and seemely letter to county Lodouike, to persuade him to submit himselfe to the king, and not to resist the powers which God had ordained. Lodouike puffed with pride, and filled with disdaine, wzate backe to Valtram a furious and spitefull libell both against the bishop and the king: wherein these things are obiected to the prince without farther triall oz testimony. Both their letters abbat Dodechine inserteth in his storp. So that the first author of this tale was Lodouike, in fauour of himselfe, diskaming the prince which he sought to subuert: and what credit that can haue in the eares of indifferent men, let the wise consider.

Dodechinus in anno 1090.

This pestilent slander of Henry the fourth, came first from the mouth of a rebell that sought to supplant him.

Where he saith the emperor sold the bishopriks of Ratisbon, Ausbourg, and Straisbourg for a sword, his malice was so great that he could not dissemble his folly. For he that tooke but a sword for three bishopriks, was no great symonist: your holy father would haue made a better bargaine for himselfe, if he had had the sale of them. Sure swords were very deere, oz bishopzikes very good cheape, when the prince let go three bishopziks for a sword. Such toies you seeke to deface princes and, so quickely you giue credit

Three bishopricks for one sword is no such hainous symony.

credite to him that will say any thing against them.

How Henry the fourth behaued himselfe, in giuing the abbay of Fuld and bishoprike of Mounster, I know not, neither do I find it credibly reported in any good writer. The rebellious hart, and contitious mouth of Frederike first raised this vncleane suspition vpon the emperor: and you now are as earnest to proclaime your abbasses for whoores, and your bishops for Sodomits, rather than you will distrust the bare accusation of a malcontent against his prince; you be so linked with him in cause and condition: but for our parts as we detest the vices, so we beleeue not euery crime, that an enimie and a rebell in excuse of himselfe list to vpbraid his prince with: we require some surer proofe for so hainous a crimination as this is before we trust the vnbridled tonge of a seditious subiect against his soueraigne.

The Iesuits are content to make their abbasses whoores, and their bishops Sodomits, to deface this emperor.

Marianus Scotus, and Lambertus Scafnaburgensis, which liued, both of them, at the same time with Henrie the fourth, and were no flatterers of his, but fautours of Hildebrand, and of the Saxons that rebelled against him, neuer charged him with those enormities. Dodechinus himselfe, when he commeth to the finall censure of Henries faults and offences, omitteth these as vnlikelie, or at least, as vnproued, and saith, He sold all spirituall liuings, and was inobedient to the see Apostolike, by setting Wigbert in Gregories place, by exceeding the order of christianitie toward his lawfull wife, and by neglecting the sentence of the apostolike see. These be the crimes for the which Dodechinus saith he was iustly cast out of the Church. And Marianus, saith he, was excommunicated, *maximè propter symoniam*, chiefly for symonie, not for Sodomitrie.

The greatest fautors of Hildebrand, aliue at the same time with him, neuer charged him with these vncleane surmises.
Dodechinus in anno 1106.
Marianus in anno 1075.

He that will rebel against his prince must be a sklanderer of his prince, or else he shal seeme to rebel without cause.
Vita Henrici 4. habetur in fasciculo rerum sciendarum coloniæ impresso.

He that wrate the life of Henrie the fourth presently vpon his death, a modest, ancient, and christian reporter of such things as happed vnto that emperor, saith of the Saxons and others that sought to palliate their ciuill sedition with a faire shew, *Conflictis, conscriptisque super eo criminibus, quæ pessima & immundissima potuit odium & liuor excogitare, & quæ mihi scribenti tibique legenti nauseam parerent, si ea ponerem, vera falsis miscentes apud Romanum pontificem Gregorium septimum, eum deferebant:* Faining and articulating crimes against him, the worst and most vncleanest that hatred and enuie could

could imagine, which are lothſome for me to write and thee to reade, if I ſhould name them, and mingling ſome truth amongſt their lies, they complained of him to Gregorie the ſeuenth then biſhop of Rome. *Vrſpergenſis* ſaith: The Saxons, making a generall coniuration againſt the king, put vp againſt him to the ſee apoſtolike, *accuſationes blaſphemas & inauditas*; blaſphemous acculations, and neuer heard of before. These blaſphemous and fained accuſations you rake vp againe, and publiſh them to the worlde with great ſcath vpon the credit of an abbate that liued in this our age; ſuch is your diſcretion and grauitie that you patrone not onely the violent and armed rage of rebels againſt their prince, but euen their vnhoneſt and lothſome ſuſpitions.

He toucheth the very crimes that the Ieſuits obiect.

Vrſpergenſis anno 1071.

If we would bring againſt Gregorie the ſeuenth not lay-men but biſhops, not one but many, not ſtrangers but his owne Italians, Romanes and cardinals, that knewe him and were conuerſant with him, hee would lacke a great deale of that praiſe which you, and other ſuch phariſaicall friers as you be, giue him. The counſell of Wormes, where were preſent *Vniuerſi penè Teutonici epiſcopi*, almoſt all the biſhops of Germanie, condemned him of great periuries, & newfangled abuſes, & manifold infamies of life: after that thirtie biſhops of Italie gathered together at Brixia, hauing there the legates and letters of nineteene biſhops aſſembled at Mentz with the nobles of Italie and Germanie, not onely anouched of him; that he moſt impudently intruded himſelfe into the ſee of Rome by fraud and monie, ſubuerted the eccleſiaſticall order, troubled the regiment of the chriſtian empire, ſought deſtruction of bodie and ſoule vpon thier catholike and peaceable king, and maintained a periure againſt him, but in fine they adiudge, the ſaid Hildebrand a moſt ſhameleſſe perſon, breathing out ſacrilege and ſpoile, defending periuries and homicides, calling in queſtion the catholike and apoſtolike faith of the bodie and blood of Chriſt, the ancient ſcholler of the heritike Berengarius, an obſeruer of dreames and diuinations, a manifeſt coniurer, and a worker with a familiar ſpirit; and therefore fallen from the true faith to be canonically depoſed, and expelled from his biſhoprike.

It were eaſie to paint out Hildebrand in his coulors, if that were to this purpoſe.

Vrſpergenſ. in anno 1076.

Vrſperg. in anno 1080.

Vrſperg. Ibidem.

Phil.

The Iesuits beleeue one rebel against his prince without proofe: but they wil not beleeue the bishops and nobles of Italie & Germanie iudicially pronouncing against the pope.

Phil. These be the slanderous libels, which I told you some of the emperors flatterers and his enimies wrote against him. Theop. You beleeue not the report of so many bishops and nobles iudicially proceeding, and finding him culpable in these things, and affirming so much to his face: and euen now you when you heard the malitious and slanderous accusation of one priuate man against his prince, neither discussed, nor proued, but obiected onely in defence of his rebellion, you beleeued that, and put it in print to the view of all men, with no lesse leuitie than partialitie; as if all were true that liketh you be it neuer so vnlikely or vntrue: and againe all false that fitteth not your fansie, be there neuer so many deponents for it, and iudges with it, both bishops and nobles. Such indifferencie well becommeth such writers as you are, which seeke nothing but that your tales may take place, be they neuer so vnchristian or vncredible. Phil. Will you beleeue men in a faction one against another? Theop. If the princes faction may not be credited against the pope, why should the popes faction be receiued against the prince?

Italie displeased with Henrie for submitting himselfe to Hildebrand.

And yet the princes faction against Hildebrand, if it were a faction, was very generall. France, Germanie, and Italie were of that faction, in so much that when the emperor had reconciled himselfe to the pope at Canusium, and legates were sent to absolue such as were excommunicate, the princes and people of Italie fell to an vproare against the emperor for submitting himselfe, and meant to haue set his sonne in his place, as Schafnaburgensis confesseth in these words: When the legate came, and shewed to the people of Italie the cause of his comming, a vehement offence and dislike was conceiued against him. *Fremere omnes, & sœuire verbis ac manibus cœperunt; apostolicæ legationi irrisorijs exclamationibus obstrepere, conuicia & maledicta vtcunque turpissima furor suggessisset, irrogare, se excommunicationem illius nihili æstimare, quem ipsum omnes Italiæ episcopi iustis de causis iampridem excommunicassent, qui sedem apostolicam per Symoniacam hæresim occupasset, homicidijs cruentasset, adulterijs aliisque capitalibus criminibus polluisset, regem secus ac deceat egisse, crimenque gloriæ suæ intulisse nunquam abolendum quod homini hæretico & probis omnibus infamato maiestatem regiam submiserit, &c.* They all began to mutter, and to manifest their griefe of mind

Lambert. Scafnaburg. in anno 1077.

mind with words and hands, and to deride and interrupt the popes legate, and to taunt him and raile on him euen as their rage led them, saying, that they esteemed not (Hildebrands) excommunication, whom all the bishops of Italy long before had excommunicated, for that he gate the apolike seate by simony, and had embrued it with blood, and defiled it with adulteries, and other capitall crimes: and that the king had done otherwise than became him, and had vterly blemished his glory in submitting his roiall maiesty to an heretike, and one that was infamous for all vices. This sedition growing ripe, they were all of one mind and determination to refuse the father, who had made himselfe vnworthy of the scepter, and to chuse his sonne to be their king, though very yoong and vnfit for the affaires of the realme: and to go to Rome with him, and elect them another pope, by whom both he should be crowned, and all the acts of this apostaticall pope should be reuersed.

All the bishops of Italy had condemned Hildebrand for capitall crimes.

Hildebrand infamous for all vices.

Hildebrand an apostaticall pope.

This opinion his owne people had of him, how learned and godly a man soeuer he seemeth in your eies: and these were not procured by the prince, but ready to forsake the prince, for humbling himselfe to so infamous an heretike as Hildebrand was, whom you call a *very notable good pope*. The rest of his goodnesse if I should lay forth as Beno the cardinall, that lined with him, describeth him; all other the vicious and infamous popes which the whore of Babylon hath bred vs, would seeme pures to him: but thither I refer the reader that list to behold the man of sinne exalting himselfe in the Church of God: I seeke to examine the fact and not the life of Gregory the seuenth: if that were good, though he were bad, I will vse no aduantage.

He that will see the rest of Hildebrands vertues, let him read Beno the cardinall of his life and acts.

The fact and not the life of Hildebrād is the thing which we striue for.

Phil. These were his enimies. Theop. To an euill man how could they be but enimies, if that they said were true? Phil. True? not a word of it. Theop. So say you: but what if we beleeue them before you: haue we not good cause so to do? Phil. These were such as held against him, and therefore hardly would speake well: but others and the best of that age greatly commend him. Theop. Were they not such as tooke his part? Phil. Yes: but yet they would not lie for him. Theop. Might not the pope haue flatterers as well as the prince? Phil. He might, but

The pope had his flatterers as well as the prince

these were none. Theop. How shall we know that? Phil. They were godly monks and bishops, that would not flatter. Theop. They might be godly, and yet be deceiued in iudging of other mens persons. The best men are hardest to beleeue euil reports concerning others, though perhaps true if they were perfectly knowne: and yet there were other causes which wan him the fauor of many monks and bishops in those daies, and of many Romish writers since that time: and those were, the suppressing of maried priests, and aduancing of monks, and the exempting of bishops from their princes: which things the Church of Rome after him greedily embraced, and holdeth vnto this day as the glorious acts of Hildebrand.

Mariage in priests and obedience to princes impugned by the names of fornication and symony.

Phil. Do you dispraise them? Theop. The Church of Christ till that time suffered the mariage of priests, and expected the princes consent in the choice of her bishops: both which Hildebrand impugned at one time. Phil. He impugned concubinaries and symonists. Theop. So your cloisterers called such as were maried, and preferred by the prince, and for that cause they toke stitch with the pope against the prince, & highly commended Hildebrand as the first beginner of ecclesiastical purity and libertie. But in deed it was but a quarrell sought out by the pope vnder a faire pretence to tread downe princes, and exalt himselfe. He could beare no such sway as he would in the Church so long as the bishops did depend on the prince, and not on the pope. For by their helpe the prince oftentimes not onely crossed, but depriued the pope, if he waxed vnruly, or ouerlusty. This was it that Hildebrand could not digest.

Hildebrands griefe against the emperor.

Hildebrands policy to quell the emperor. These aduãtages the pope had against the prince.

Lighting therefore on a prince that was young & somwhat lasciuious, and perceiuing the nobles of his realme to dislike and disdaine one another: and seeing the Romans in Italy able to withstand the emperors force, and the Saxons in Germany willing to cast off the yoke, as they thought of bondage: and getting into such fauour with Mathilda, a great and mighty lady of Italy, that she should not be out of his sight, but as a very friend of Gregories saith: *Pontificis lateri comes indiuidua adhærebat, eumq; miro colebat affectu*, she cleaued to the popes side as his contiLambert. scafnaburg. in anno 1077.

nuall companion, & loued him exceedingly. Hildebrand hauing these opportunities, gaue the aduenture both to put all spirituall liuings out of the princes gift, that the clergy might depend on him & not on their prince, & to shew himselfe the censurer & deposer of kings and emperors if they withstood him. And for that cause he first decreed it to be symony to take any spirituall liuing at a lay mans hands, & in the same synod did excommunicate as well the giuers as the takers, were they dukes, princes, or kings, which he knew the emperor neither could nor would indure. Not long after, he receiued diuers and sundry suggestions against the king from the Saxons, who sought by armes what they could to preuaile against the prince, and when that succeded not, fell to slandering and accusing their king: for answere whereto the pope summoned the king to appeare at Rome, and prefixed him a day to cleare himselfe of those crimes. And when the king neither would lose his right in bestowing his bishoprikes & benefices as he saw cause, and as his progenitors before him had done: and refused to come in person to answere the complaints of rebels against him, but sent his agents to refell their obiections: the pope discouering the malice and pride which til that time he concealed, toke the princes messengers and cast them in prison, and caused them to be caried about the city as gazing stocks, and in his synod depriued the emperor both of the communion of the faithfull, and of his crowne and kingdome also, and to his dying day would not be remoued from his purpose.

Hildebrands first attempt was to pull the clergy from the king

The next was to make him selfe the corrector and maister of princes.

The mystery of iniquity sheweth it selfe.

Phil. These be your vaine collections which we regard not. Theop. I looke not you should regard mine: but if your owne writers which haue labored in this matter, find the report which I make to be true, you may not so lightly neglect them. Auentinus a man addicted to your religion, not to ours, exactly and vprightly weighing the parts and proofes of this cause, obserueth the same that I do, and a great deale more. Philand. Auentinus was too fauourable to the Germanes his countrymen. Theop. Any writer may be touched in that sort with fauor or affection. If you reiect men of the same profession with you, because they differ in iudgement from you: much more is it lawfull for vs in this contention betweene the prince &

Men of their owne religion haue obserued in Hildebrand as much as I report. *Auent. annal. lib. 5. fol 562. 569. & sequēt.*

the pope, to refuse such as were altogether inclined and deuoted to the see of Rome. If you trust not Auentine because he was a Germane, why should we trust those monks and bishops that were ioined in faction with Hildebrand against the king?

The Iesuits trust none but Italians, and such as flatter the pope as fast as themselus.

Phil. Will you trust none but your selues? Theop. You do not so much as trust your selues: we alleage none but your owne men in this case, and you trust them not. Phil. We giue you some cause why we trust them not. Theop. None, but this that you like them not: your other exceptions be very frutolous. If some were Germanes and fauored the prince, others were Italians and flattered the pope. You trust not the one, nor we the other; let therefore the sticklers of both sides alone, and examine the doers themselues. I hope you will beleeue Gregories words, and not distrust him, as you do the rest. Phil. He will not belie himselfe.

Vrspergens. in anno 1076. Hildebrands owne confession for what causes he did excommunicate the emperor.

Theop. Then touching the causes of Henries excommunication, the pope himselfe maketh this report to the princes of Germany. *Pro his illum causis, primum videlicet quod ab eorum communione qui pro sacrilegio & reatu simoniacæ hæresis excommunicati sunt se abstinere noluit: deinde quod pro criminosis actibus pœnitentiam non dico susciperc, sed nec promittere voluit, synodali iudicio eum excommunicauimus.* For these causes, to wit, first for that he would not forbeare their company which were excommunicated for the sacrilegious and hereticall guilt of simony, next for that he was so farre from taking any penance (at our hands) for his criminall acts, that he would promise none, we by a synodall sentence did excommunicate him. Here be the two causes which the pope pretended for his excommunication and deposition of the prince: partaking with symonists, and refusall of iudgement and penance at his hands. Phil. Were not symony and obstinacy two great crimes? Theop. Your holy father did call that symony which was none. Phil. The prince did sell bishopriks and benefices. Theop. So your monks affirme, but they lie the more. The pope himselfe doth not charge him with selling bishopriks or benefices, but with retaining their society that did.

Henry the 4. free from symony, Gregory, confesseth that by many examples the prince shewed

ſhewed, how much he deteſted the corruption and ambition of prelats and abbats ſeeking preferrement by mony and flatterie. When the abbay of Fuld was void, and the king with his nobles conferring about the choice of a new, the abbats and monkes, ſaith Lambertus, as it had beene at a ſolemne game, began to offer ſome golden mountaines, other great booties out of the lands of the abbay; and ſome, more ſeruices to the common-wealth than accuſtomed, and in offering they kept neither meane nor modeſtie, *horum impudentiam rex vehementiſſimè, vt dignum erat, deteſtatus*, the king moſt vehemently deteſting their impudencie as it became him, when he was importuned with their praiers and offers, on the ſuddaine led with a diuine ſpirit as men thought, called one Ruzelin a monke that ſtoode before him, which came to the court about the buſineſſe of his houſe at the commandement of the abbat, and neuer dreampt of anie ſuch thing: and putting the paſtorall ſtaffe in his hands firſt himſelfe named him abbat, and praied the reſt both ſouldiers and monks to conſent to his election.

mony by the report of his verie enemics. *Lamber. Scaf. in anno 1075.*

Did not this prince vehemently deteſt ſymonists?

Likewiſe when the abbat of Loreſſan was dead, and the monks and ſouldiers (*he meaneth the clergie and the people of the place*) had elected the prior with one accord to ſucceede and came to the court (*for the kings conſent,*) neither was it thought that the king would diſſent, for that the prior was in ſome grace and fauour with the king by reaſon of his diligent ſeruice afore that time, the king caught an other of the monks of the ſame houſe by the hand, which came with the reſt of his brethren, thinking on no ſuch thing, and drew him into the middeſt of the companie amazed at the matter, and to the great admiration of all men gaue him the paſtorall ſtaffe. *This report the verie miſliers of Henrie the fourth do giue him touching his hatred and deteſtation of ſymonie and his princely diſpoſition to make free choice of biſhops and abbats. If ſometimes he were led with affection and fanſie, I know neither pope, people, nor prince that may not be often affected, intreated and deceiued in their gifts and elections, be they neuer ſo wiſe, and otherwiſe neuer ſo ſincere. But poure monks, as Marianus, Dodechinus, and others did the prince great wrong to diffame him with all poſſeritie for one that ſold all ſpirituall liuings: eſpecially where the*

Lambert. ſcaf. Ibidem.

No prince freer in his elections thā Henrie the 4. If the pope had committed no worſe ſymony than Henrie the 4. did, the Church had beene in better caſe than it is. The monks of purpoſe diffame the prince to flatter the pope.

The third part. The monks defame the prince for symonie.

pope himselfe charged him with no such thing in his synodall sentence against him.

Phil. All stories crie out on Henrie the fourth for symonie. Theoph. Neither do I thinke that his time was free from it, though his person were. The writer of his life seemeth to complaine of those that were about him and had the gouerning of him in his nonage. After the yoong king was taken from his mothers lappe, and lighted into the hands of his nobles to be brought vp by them: whatsoeuer they prescribed him, as a child he did it: he exalted whome they would, and deposed whome they willed him, in so much that they did not serue him but raigne ouer him. When matters of the kingdome were handled, they regarded not the common-wealth but their priuate respectes, and in all things which they went about, the first and chiefest marke they aimed at, was their owne *gaine. But when he came to that stay of age and witte that hee could discerne what was honest and profitable (for himselfe and his realme) what not; retracting those things which hee had done at the suggestion of the nobles, hee condemned manie of his owne facts, and becomming as it were a iudge of himselfe, he chaunged things where neede so required. I will therefore neither excuse him for licentiousnesse of life, when he was yoong, nor those that were about him from briberie: but the symonie which your holie father shot at was an other matter.

Vita Henrici 4. in fasciculo rerum scienda-rum.

Henrie the 4. abused by his tutors in his minoritie.

This fault of other men is imputed to the prince by the monks.

The true cause why Hildebrand was offended that the prince should giue spiritual liuings.

He saw the clergie did relie too much, as he thought, vpon their prince, by reason all bishoprikes, abbaies, and benefices were in the kings gift: and none placed in them but such as loued and honoured the king, which was not for the popes purpose, the whole clergie by their example and doctrine leading the people to reuerence and obey the magistrate. The first step therefore to weaken the king not by sedition on the suddaine, but by defection in continuance, was to get the clergie to be neither promoted by the king, nor beholding vnto the king: but to exempt first their liuings, and after their persons from the kings power, that thereby they might the more freely take part with the pope against the king without all daunger, and draw the people

This was the way to pull first the clergie and after the people from the prince.

ple after them vnder pretence of religion, when time should serue. Which at first was not espied of princes, till all too late they found by proofe that when the pope began to quarrell with them and excommunicate them for very trifling and earthly causes: the bishops, priests and monks presently syded with the pope against the prince, and taught the people that it was damnable, to aid, maintaine or assist any person or prince excommunicate against the Church, (so they called the pope and his cardinals) and this terrour of conscience made subiects euen by heapes abandon their princes, and aggregate themselues to the popes faction, which otherwise they would not haue done, had they not beene rightly instructed by their pastours to obey their princes, and not to feare friuolous and rash excommunications from Rome, whiles popes will rule all, and be resisted by none.

Princes were neuer weakned till their clergie tooke part with the pope against them.

The first laier of this corner stone in the kingdome of Antichrist was Hildebrand with his skilfull exposition of symonie, who resolued in his councels at Rome, that to accept anie spirituall liuing from a layman, were he king or Cæsar that gaue it, must be taken for symonie: and as well the giuer as the taker be cursed and excommunicated. These be his words: Following the steps of our holie fathers, as we haue done in former councels, so in this by the authoritie of almightie God we decree and pronounce, that he which hereafter accepteth anie bishoprike, abbaie or other ecclesiasticall benefice, at a lay mans hand, shall in no wise be counted a bishop, abbat or clearke, and that he shall not dare approch to Rome vnder paine of the greatest curse, vntill repenting him of his fact, he hath refused the place gotten by such ambition and contumacie, which is all one with idolatrie. To the same censures we will haue kings, dukes, and princes tied and subiected, which shall presume to giue bishopriks or other ecclesiasticall dignities, a thing neither fit nor lawfull. This saith Platina, he decreed, least the Church of Rome should receiue any hurt by briberie and symonie.

Hildebrand made it symony for a lay man to present to a spirituall liuing. *Plat. in Gregor. 7.* *Vide cauſ. 16. quæſt. 7. ¶ Si quis deinceps.*

Lustily said and like a pope. *Ibidem.*

Gregorie decided it to be symonie for a lay man to present to a benefice, or for a bishop to expect the princes consent, whereas in the primitiue Church, the people,

This was neuer counted symony before Hildebrands time.

which were lay men, chose their pastors, and for a long time the bishops of Rome themselues were not chosen without the princes consent, and that which Hildebrand affirmeth here to be symony, the bishops of the same see before him confessed to be godly, and the emperors were possessed of it as of their right euer since the daies of Charles, which was very neere three hundreth yeres.

Platina in Benedict. 2. The bishop of Rome could not be chosen without the princes consent.

That stood good (saith Platina sixe hundreth and eightie yeres after Christ) in the election of the bishop of Rome which the emperour or his deputie in Italie confirmed. This was in force a thousand yeres after Christ euen when Hildebrand came to the popedome, as appeareth by the message which Henrie the fourth sent to the Romans vpon the choise of Hildebrand, and his answer backe againe to the emperour. For when the Romanes after the death of Alexander had elected Hildebrand without expecting the princes pleasure, the king sent Eberhardus an earle to the states of Rome to know the cause, *Quare præter consuetudinem maiorum rege inconsulto Romanæ ecclesiæ pontificem ordinassent, ipsumque, si non idoneè satisfaceret, illicitè acceptæ dignitate abdicare se præciperet:* Why they had created a bishop of Rome without the kings consent against the ancient vse of their fathers, and to command him that was chosen, if he made not due satisfaction, to forbeare the dignitie which he had vnlawfully taken. To this Hildebrand answered, that he was chosen of the Romanes, and violently constrained to take the place, & yet by no meanes could be brought to permit himselfe to be ordered bishop (of Rome) vntill he certainely knew that the king and the nobles of Germanie had consented to his election: and for that cause he had hitherto deferred his consecration, and surely would defer it, vntill he were aduertised of the kings pleasure by some trustie messenger.

Läbert. Schaf. in anno 1073.

Hildebrand whē he came to be pope durst not be ordered without the princes pleasure.

The like custome and priuiledge the prince had to consent to the elections of all other bishoppes within his empire, before they could be ordered as your owne law confesseth, and he that withstoode it was accursed by the popes owne mouth long afore Hildebrand was borne. Adrian the pope, with a whole synode (of an hundreth fiftie three bishoppes) yeelded vnto Charles (the great) right and power to choose the bishoppe of Rome

That which Hildebrand condemned was long before confirmed to the prince by the former bishops of Rome.

Distinct. 63. ¶ Adrianus.

and

and to dispose the see Apostolike. Also Adrian defined that the archbishoppe and bishoppes of euerie prouince should receiue inuestiture of Charles, so that vnlesse a bishop were first liked and inuested by the king, he might not be consecrated by any man. And whosoeuer did against this decree, he accursed. In an other counsell holde at Rome, Leo the eight of that name, after the example of Adrian cõfirmeth this custome to Otho the first, king of the Germanes, and emperor of the Romanes. I Leo with the whole Clergie and people of Rome do settle, confirme and establish, and by our Apostolike authoritie we graunt and giue vnto our Lord Otho the first, and his successors, power for euer to appoint a bishop of (this) chiefe apostolike see: and likewise archbishops and bishops, that they shall receiue inuestiture of him: in so much that no man of what dignitie or profession soeuer he be, shall haue power to chuse a bishop of this chiefe apostolike seate, or to consecrate anie other bishop without consent of the emperour. If therefore a bishop be chosen by the clergie and people, let him not be consecrated, vnlesse he be first allowed and inuested by the foresaid king. And if anie man attempt any thing against this our apostolike sentence, we determine him to stand excommunicate.

Hildebrand accursed by his predecessours. *Distinct. 63. In Synod.*

This was the yoke which Hildebrand could not indure.

These graunts and confirmations, your owne stories do witnesse, though Blondus seeme to doubt of them, as vnlikely. Sigebert saith, From Charles the great, for the space of three hundreth yeeres and aboue, during the liues of threescore and three bishops of Rome, they that were emperours of Rome gaue bishopricks and abbeies by the deliuerie of a ring and a staffe, and that then was counted lawfull. Now in the daies of Hildebrand, against the decrees of their fathers, the popes in their Synodes haue determined, that no bishoprike nor ecclesiasticall inuestiture can or should be giuen by a lay man with a staffe and a ring: and they which so receiued bishopriks or other ecclesiasticall preferments, were excommunicated.

Martin. Polon. in Adriano & Leone 9. Plat. in Pasc. 1. & Leon. 8. Sigebert. in anno 1111.

This was the chiefe quarrel betweene Hildebrand, and Henry the fourth.

Thus Hildebrand pretended to follow the steps of his fathers when he forsoke them; and concluded that to be symonie which was none, and made it a cause of depriuation for the prince to hold that right which two bishops of Rome with their Synodes expresse confirmed

to

Was not this a wise cause to deprive a prince of his crowne?

to Charles and Otho, and little thee bishops had suffered and approued in the Germane emperours, and himselfe had protested to the princes legats at his first entrance to the bishoprike. If this were not a meere quarrell vniustlie sought by the pope vpon the prince against all order and equitie, your nearest friends shall be my iudges.

The prince was not bound to appeare in the popes consistorie. Refusing the popes penaltie is no deprivation in a prince. Anie pastor may remit the princes sinnes as wel as the pope. Marke the stately proceedings of Hildebrand against the emperour.

The second cause of Hildebrands presumption against the prince is like the first. For what law, diuine or humane, forced the prince to go to Rome at the popes call? How proue you, that for sinne committed against God, the pope may inioine what pennance he list? And the prince must obeie? Or that if the prince refuse the popes new found and needlesse penances, he must be deposed? Philand. Would you not that princes should repent their wicked liues? Theoph. Yes, and amend them with all christian care and speed: but what power hath the pope by Gods law to pardon the sinnes of princes more than an other bishop hath? Or why should princes repenting not be forgiuen, without performing such penance as the bishop of Rome list to deuise for them? Had Gregorie delt with Henrie the fourth to correct those things which were amisse, and to returne to God with earnest and hartie repentance, we would not haue misliked that fatherlie monition, both to giue eare to the sinister and slanderous informations of subiects and rebels against their prince; to cite him in person to appeare at Rome that was his soueraigne lord and master; to repell his messengers with reproch and infamie that came to cleare him; to deprive him of his kingdome, for not consenting to such penances as the pope in pride and rage should impose; to make him stand three daies in the cold frost barefooted before he could be admitted to presence: and after his submission and absolution giuen by the pope him selfe, to set vp his seruants and sonnes to take his crowne from him: if this be iustice, the diuell himselfe may suffer for iustice as well as pope Hildebrand.

The diuell himselfe may minister as good iustice as Hildebrand did.

The popes arbitrarie penances are no parts of our conuersion vnto God.

Phil. Are princes too good to do penance for their sinnes? Theoph. Proue first that such penances as you list to inioine, are necessarie parts of our conuersion vnto God, and then we will saie, princes may be blamed for refusing thē: otherwise

otherwise you wickedlie abuse the keies, in that you make them serue your lusts to compasse your purposes, and to be reuenged of your enimies, vnder colour of repenting and reconciling vnto God.

Phil. Must not the church also be satisfied? Theop. If popes vnder the name of the Church plaie the tirants, and content not them-selues with those signes of inward sorrow, which God accepteth, they be now not forgiuers of sinnes, nor watchmē ouer soules, but cunning huntsmen after gaine, and peruerters of truth with their prophane policie, which turne the keies and cannons of Christes church to enrich them-selues, and to get a lordlie dominion ouer al persons & places by restraining the sacraments, and inioining penaunces, such as they see make most for their aduantage. And this hath beene the manner of all your late popes, vpon priuate and earthlie displeasures & quarrels to curse and banne both prince and people, till amends were made them euen in their owne liking, as if Christ had ordeined the sacraments to be, not seales of his grace and helps of our faith, but baites to catch kingdomes, and rods to reuenge such princes as will not, or cannot procure the popes fauour. For so the bishops of Rome haue vsed their excommunications against princes and others, as the examples that follow, will fullie declare.

The pope abuseth the keies to increase his gaine and power.

To make an end first with Hildebrand, if either the successe that God gaue him in his furious attempt, or the iudgements of your best and sincerest stories nere that time, be worthie to be regarded, they condemne this act of Hildebrand as vniust and vngodlie. Rodolf, whom the pope & the Saxons set vp against his master, lost his right hand in the field as he sought to get the crowne from him, and when by reason of that and other wounds he was readie to giue vp the ghost, Vrspergensis reporteth of him, that looking on the stump of his arme, and fetching a deepe sigh, he said to the bishops that were about him, behold, this is the hand wherewith I sware allegeance to my soueraigne lord Henry: and now I leaue, you see, both his kingdome and this present life: you that made me aspire to his throne, take you heed that you leade me right, I followed your aduise.

How Hildebrand sped with his enterprise.

The iust reward of a rebel, shewed in Rodolph. *Vrspergens. in anno* 1080.

The

Sigebert. in anno 1080. Hildebrand propheciеth againſt himſelfe.

The ſame yeere that Rodolf was ſlaine, Hildebrand by reuelation from heauen, as he ſaid, foretold, that that verie yeere the falſe king ſhould die, but his coniecture of the falſe king which he interpreted to be Henrie, deceiued him, ſaith Sigebert. For Henrie fighting a ſet battell with the Saxons; Rodolf the falſe king, and manie of the nobles of Saxonie were ſlaine. If this were a reuelation from God, as Gregorie pretended, then by the foretelling and performing of this accident, God himſelfe pronounced him the falſe king, whom the pope erected and maintained againſt Henry the fourth: if it were no reuelation from aboue, but a conſortion with ſpirits from beneath, then was Gregorie no ſuch ſaint as you make him, that had felowſhip with diuels, and his owne maiſter betraied and beguiled the frantike humour of his infernall diſciple.

Hildebrand himſelfe turned out of his popedome. Sigebert. in anno 1084.

Four yeeres after, Hildebrand himſelfe was forſaken of his owne people, and by their conſent depriued of his popedome, and he faine to flie to the barbarous Normans for refuge, and there in banishment died. *Romani Imperatorem Henricum recipiunt in vrbe, & eorum iudicio Hildebrandus Papatu abdicatur.* The Romanes receiue Henrie the emperour into their citie: and by their iudgement Hildebrand is depriued of the popedome. Vrſpergenſis confirmeth the ſame. *Vnde Romani commoti, manus Regi dederunt, Hildebrandum verò Papam vnanimiter abdicarunt:* whereupon the Romanes being moued, (that the pope would not come in the kings preſence to haue the matter heard) ſubmitted themſelues to the king, and with one conſent abandoned pope Hildebrand. Who lying at the point of death, as Sigebert found written of him, called vnto him one of the twelue Cardinals whom he loued aboue the reſt, and confeſſed to God, S. Peter, and the whole church, that he had greatlie ſinned in the paſtorall charge which was committed vnto him, and that at the inſtinct of the diuell he had ſtirred hatred and hartburning amongſt men. Beno the Cardinall teſtifieth the ſame, though ſome of your Romiſh writers ſtoutly auouch the contrarie.

Vrſpergen. in anno 1083.

Sigeb. in anno 1085.

In vita & geſtis Hildebrād.

This was the ſucceſſe of Hildebrand and his new made king; the one vpon the loſſe of his hand and end of his life remembring his oth, and repenting his treaſon; the other

other ſeking to diſplace the prince, was diſplaced himſelfe, and loſt his popedome, whiles he labored to ſet the prince beſides his throne.

As touching the fact, Friſingenſis ſaith this was the firſt onſet that euer biſhop of Rome gaue to depriue the emperor. I read and ouerread, ſaith he, the geſts of the Romane kings and emperors, and I neuer find any of them before this man excommunicated by the biſhop of Rome, or depriued of his kingdome. Sigebert wiſely and truly giueth his iudgement of this and the like enterpriſe. To ſpeake with the leaue of all good men, this onely nouelty, I will not ſay hereſie, was not crept into the world (before the dates of Hildebrand) that prieſts ſhould teach the people they owe no ſubiection to euill kings, and that although they haue ſworne fidelitie vnto him, yet they muſt yeeld him none, neither may they be counted periures for holding againſt the king; but rather he that obeieth the king is excommunicated, and he that rebelleth againſt the king is abſolued from the blemiſh of diſloialtie and periurie. Gerochus a great champion of Gregories, is faine to ſate of him: The Romanes vſurpe to themſelues a diuine honor, they will yeeld no reaſon of their doings, neither can they abide that any man ſhould ſay vnto them, why do you ſo. They anſwere as the Poete writeth: ſo I will, and commaund. Let my will ſtand for reaſon. Vrſpergenſis ſaith of the Synode at Mentz, where in the preſence of the Romane Legates the biſhops that rebelled (with Hildebrand) againſt the emperour were depoſed; *Ibi communi conſenſu & conſilio conſtituta eſt pax Dei*, There by common conſent and counſell the peace of God was eſtabliſhed: which concludeth Gregorie to be the author of a diueliſh diſſention againſt the emperour.

Otho Friſinge. lib. 6. cap. 35. Depriuation of princes neuer offered by any before Hildebrand. *Sigeb. in anno* 1088. This is right the Ieſuits cauſe.

Apud. Auen. lib. 5. fol. 563.

Vrſpergen. in anno 1085.

Phi. We care for none of theſe that ſpeake euill of Gregories doing, ſo long as we haue a greater number of ſtories to commend him. Theo. And we hauing the true reportes of theſe that liued in the ſame age with him, which neither you nor the reſt of your Romiſh faction can diſproue, litle regard what men that came after, and were more deſirous to pleaſe the pope than to write the truth, haue publiſhed in their ſtories. You nor all the writers you haue, ſhal euer be able to refel the aſſertions of Sigebert and Friſingenſis, that Hildebrand was the firſt biſhop of Rome

The latter writers of the romiſh faction, to pleaſe the pope, commend Hildebrand to the heauens.

which

which attempted to deprive princes of their crownes, and that this nouelty or rather heresie was neuer heard of before. How lawfull then it was, which for a thousand yeeres the Church of Rome neuer durst aduenture, till Gregory the seuenth first presumed to do it, leaning rather to wicked and seditious policie, than to christian and confessed authoritie, the simple may soone discerne, or if they looke to the end, they shall see the reward that is consequent to all rebellions.

Vita Henrici 4. in fasciculo rerum sciendarum.

A good instruction (saith that ancient reporter of Henries life) was giuen to the world that no man should rise against his maister. The right hand of Rodolph cut off, shewed a most iust punishment of periurie, in that he feared not to violate his fidelitie sworne to the king his soueraigne: and as though other wounds had not beene sufficient to bring him to his death, that part also was punished, that by the plague the fault might be perceiued.

That part punished which offended.

Phil. If you stand on succe..e, Henrie himselfe was lifted at last out of his kingdome by his owne sonne. Theop. Was it not wickednesse enough to arme the subiects against their prince, & to set the sonne to impugne the father, but you must also crake of it? The way that Hildebrand began, his successors would not leaue, as being the only meane to make them lords of all. And therfore when Rodolf was slaine, Hermannus was speedily erected against Henrie: & had his reward as speedily at a womans hand, which with a mightie stone, as he was comming in sport to trie the force of his souldiers, beat out his braines from the top of a castle in earnest. Ecbertus was the third that ascended to his maisters seate: and he not long after was caught in a windmil, & paid his life for his ransome.

What Hildebrand began, the pope that came after would neuer leaue off. Three erected against Henrie the fourth, and all slaine. The two sons of Hen. the 4. set vp in arms against their father. For this whole storie, see Cuspinian in Henr. 4. *Auent. in Annalibus:* and the life of Hen. the 4. *in fasciculo rerū sciendarū.*

Subiects hauing so euill successe against their prince, the pope and his confederats thought to trie what the sonne would do against the father: and first they perswade Conradus, the eldest sonne of Henrie, whom his father left in Italie to represse the force of Mathilda, to ioine with her against his owne father, and to with-draw the whole kingdome of Italie from obedience to the emperour. Which vnnaturall dealing of Conradus forced the father to disherit him, & to make choise of his ponger sonne Henry the fift to succeed him in the empire, taking an

oath

oth of him, least he should run his brothers course, that during his owne life, the sonne should not meddle with the fathers kingdom, or countries but by the fathers consent. The elder brother not long after departed this life: which occasioned the pope and his adherents to temper with Henrie the fift, though by nature and oth bound to the contrarie, that he should take the scepter in hand, and rather beare himselfe as king, than suffer a stranger to rise vp, and put both the father and the sonne in hazard to haue the kingdome from them. This feare ioined with a youthly desire to raigne, brought the sonne to take armes against the father, and to meet him in open field, with a periured & wicked purpose to defeate him of his crowne.

The matter had come to dint of sword, but that the chiefe on both sides abhorring those vnnaturall wars, pretended to parle, as if they would compose the strife without blood; in which conference of theirs, the father found the nobles that were with him, incline rather to the sonne rising than setting, and to faint from the possessor of the crowne, for dread of him that should be successor: and for that cause secretly conueied himselfe from the campe, and fled to the Duke of Bohemia and to the Saxons, who before were his mortall enimies, and the first attempters of his deposition, but now, seeing that vngratefull and parricidiall attempt of his bowels against him, honoured and assisted the father to the vttermost of their power. The popes legates and the rest of that faction fearing the friends, and doubting the valour and former successe of Henrie the fourth, turned themselues to their Romish arts, and persuaded the sonne to faine a kinde of submission and reconciliation to his father, vpon this condition, if hee would but retaine peace with the see of Rome. To that the father accorded, referring himselfe and his cause to the indifferent iudgement of his nobles and princes, and receiuing of his sonne for the safetie of his [illegible] and honor; promises, teares, and othes; all which notwithstanding he was with a faire pretence led to a castell by the way as they trauelled, and being receiued in as an emperor, he was kept there as a prisoner, & this offer made him either to lose his head, or to resigne his empire. By these detestable periuries

The nobles shrinking from the father to the sonne.

Henrie the 4. aided by his mortall enemies when he was forsaken of his friends.

A right patern of the Romish institution.

periuries and practises the sonne gate the father to relinquish the crowne: and this if you thinke to be good successe, you may say that Iudas had as good in betraying his master, as Henrie the fift in displacing his father.

The defence, cap. 5. Chron. hist. Pol. lib. 4. Kings of latter times excommunicated.

Phil. *The same Gregorie the seuenth did the like commendable iustice vpon the king of Pole, Boliſlaus the second as well excommunicating as depriuing him for murdering of his bishop S. Staniſlaie at the very altar. Against which sentence though he stood by force and contempt for a time, yet at length he was forsaken and resisted wholy by his subiects, fled, and in fine slue himselfe.*

Cuſpin. in Hen. 4.

Theop. The iustice done vpon Henrie the fourth was not very commendable. One of your owne friends confesseth the prince was condemned *Abſens & inauditus*; both in his absence, and not so much as heard what he could saie for himselfe. The bishops of Italie and Germanie thought it not very commendable when they deposed the pope, *Quod regem nullo exemplo, anathemate præter omnem causam perculiſſet*: for that he had accursed and depriued the king, which was neuer seene before, and that without all iust cause. And surely to restore the prince to the communion as Gregorie did at Canusium, and yet to defeate him of his crowne, and to set vp his seruant to rebel against him; this had no shew of iustice. And if you commend it, you haue your consciences seared with an hot iron, and will speake nothing that may displease the pope, be it neuer so iust or true.

Cuſpin. ibidem.

Bishop Staniſlaie murdered by king Boleslaus.

The murdering of bishop Staniſlaie by Boleslaus the second, king of Polonia, we mislike as well as you: but the depriuing him of his crowne, and allowing his subiects to conspire his death, that was to requite sinne with sinne, and to reuenge murder with a more heinous and impious murder. It was not lawfull for the king to kill a bishop that admonished him of his vicious life; much lesse was it lawfull for subiects to conspire the death of their prince. Neither act was good, but of the twaine the popes was the lewder. For in steed of reducing the king to repentance, which should haue bene his onely purpose, he interdicted the whole realme from the seruice of God, which is rather the subuerting of innocents, than the punishing of offenders, and vsed the kings sin as a pretence to incite the subiects to greater sinne, and to settle his vsurped power ouer the princes of Polonia that should succeed: by charging the bishops

This kings act was euill, but the popes was worse. It is a greater sinne for a subiect to kill his prince, than for a king to kill a bishop.

bishops to annoint or crowne no king after that without his consent. Your owne author confesseth no lesse.

When these things, saith he, which Boleslaus had done, were reported at Rome, Gregorie the seuenth then bishop moued with the hainousnesse of the fact, interdicted the whole realme from diuine seruice, accursed Boleslaus to the deepe pit of hell, and in solemne manner depriued him of his kingdome, and commanded the bishops that they should annoint & crowne no king after that without his licence. Notwithstanding this depriuation, Boleslaus raigned a yeare and more after that, but hated of all (at home) and contemned abroade; in so much that the nobles of Ruscia, which he had conquered refused their subiection, and certaine of his nobles and states at home conspired his death; which conspiracy being detected, he fearing least moe were of their counsell, fled to (Ladislaus king of) Hungarie, who receiued him verie curteouslie and honorablie. *Cromerus de rebus Polon. li. 4. in Boleslao.*

Rebellion and murder are the fruits of the popes deposing princes.

He fled fearing his owne subiects, whom he had tyrannouslie oppressed not long before with shamefull cruelties, as the same writer witnesseth; who also bringeth three reports of his death: one, that he fell mad and slue himselfe; another, that in hunting he was cast off his horse and torne of dogs; the third, that wandering into a strange countrey he became a skullin in a certaine monasterie, and there in repentance ended his life.

We defend not the vices of princes, but examine the popes power to deprue the of their crownes.

Phil. If his end were so strange, his life could not be good. Theop. I commend not his life, if it be true that Cromerus writeth of him; I rather acknowledge the iust iudgement of God in taking vengeance of his sinnes.

Phil. Why do you not acknowledge the like in his deposition? Theop. Because the pope is not God, to whom the punishing of princes sinnes doth rightlie belong.

Phil. Would you that princes should kill bishops at the verie altar for doing their duties, and yet go free? Theop. As if God were not both as sincere and seuere a iudge as the pope? Phil. Who doubteth of that? Theop. Then shall they not go free, that sinne against his law, be they princes or others. Phil. I speake of the meane time, before that day come wherein he shall iudge. Theop. And in the meane time which you speake of, God mightilie punisheth all sorts and states, though not by the pope.

God punisheth princes, though not by the pope.

Phil. He punisheth by diseases and strange kind of deathes, as he seeth cause; but yet good lawes must be made and maintained by men for the repressing of vice amongst men. Theop. Verie true: but those lawes must be made by princes and not by popes. Bishops haue not to do with the sword which God hath giuen vnto princes for the punishment of euill doers.

And what if the pope be a malefactor, who shall punish him?

Phil. And what if princes them-selues be the doers of euill, who shall punish them? Theop. Euerie soule must be subiected to them, & they to God. They beare the sword ouer others: not others ouer them. Besides them or aboue them no man beareth the sword by Gods appointment.

The keies do not touch the crownes of princes.

Phil. The keies are aboue the sword. Theop. The keies open and shut the kingdome of God: they touch not the bodies nor inheritances of priuate men, much lesse of princes. Only the sword is corporallie to compell and punish, which is not the priests but the princes charge, as I haue often shewed.

Tirants were neuer yet repressed by priests.

Phil. To let princes do what they will, without feare of punishment, is the next way to ouerthrow commonwealths. Theop. What kingdome can you shew wherein it hath beene otherwise? Saul willed Doeg in his presence to slea fourescore and fiue of the lords priests, and he smote their citie with the edge of the sword, both men, women, children and sucklings. Did Abiathar the high priests sonne, that fled and escaped, depriue Saul of his kingdome? or did Dauid, for whose cause they were slaine, when shortlie after he had Saul in his power to do with him as he would, seeke the kings life, or suffer his men to take it, that were readie to do it? Dauid when he was king, defloured Bethsabe, and caused her husband to be murdered. Did therefore anie priest or prophet in all his realme offer to depose him? or did Absolon well to conspire against him? Achab ioined with Iesabel in putting * Naboth to death, and * killing the lords prophets. Did Elias depriue him? or incite his subiects to forsake him? Herod * beheaded Iohn Baptist, and likewise * Iames, and apprehended Peter with a purpose to send him after, but that he was deliuered by an angell. Did Peter therefore take vengeance on Herod, which he might haue done with a word as

1. *Sam.* 22.

2. *Sam.* 11.

3. *Reg.* 21. & 18.

Matth. 14.

Act. 12.

as well as on Ananias; or did he leaue him to the iudgement of God, which shortlie after insued with an horrible plague? The tirants of all ages and vices of all princes both before the comming of our sauiour and since, haue they beene punished by priests as you would haue it? or else haue they beene reserued to Gods tribunals as we affirme?

Phil. Some haue beene punished by priests, though not all. Theop. Shew but one prince for fiue thousand yeeres since the first foundation of the earth, that was iudicially cited, examined and corrected by a priest, till Hildebrand began this new president. If anie princes were during all that time repressed, it was done by their owne states and realmes, & that for their extreme tirannie; priests alwaies refrained those attempts, and neuer thought it any part of their vocation to medle with the changing and altering of kingdoms. Phil. It is a better & readier way to reforme princes, to subiect them to the tribunall of one godlie bishop as we do, thã to leaue thẽ in thraldom to popular tumults & mutinies as you do. Theop. We leaue thẽ in thraldom to none but only to God, and to serue him is no thraldom, but an honorable and princely liberty. Yet if princes were to chuse their iudges amõg mẽ, they were far better refer thẽselues to the general consent of their nobles & cõmons at home, than hold their scepters at the pleasures of disdainful & seditious popes, which seek to dishonor their persons, & impouerish their realmes. Phil. You speake this of spite. Theop. Your own examples will proue it a truth.

Many princes haue been deposed by their own realms, but not by priests.

Princes were better to refer thẽselues to their realmes, if they were to chuse their iudges, than to endure the popes pride.

How dealt Adrian the fourth, and Alexander the third with Frederike the first, a wise, valiant, and vertuous prince? Did not Adrian receiue a great summe of money to excommunicate the emperor? & the stomack which the pope tooke against the prince, grew it not vpõ these causes, for that the emperor in his letters put his owne name before the popes, & required homage & fealtie of the bishops for their temporalities, & would not suffer the Cardinals to play vpon the churches of Germany? Did not the Cardinals conspire & bind themselues with an oth, that they would neuer chuse any to be pope, but one that should be an opposite to this emperor? And when Alexander the 3. was shuffled in by that faction against Victor, did he not twise

How Frederike the first was handled.

By these artes the pope hath grown great,

and by these he yet standeth.

refuse to haue the matter discussed by councell, and stirred vp the kings of Sicily and France, and the states of Venice against the emperour, and caused all the cities and countries of Italie to rebell against him, and hauing taken his third sonne prisoner, would he restore him or make peace with the father till in presence of all the people at the doze of S. Marks church in Venice, the prince had cast his body flat on the ground, and the pope setting his foote on the emperours neck, had auanced himselfe with that part of the psalme, which saith, Thou shalt walke vpon the aspe and the basilisk, and shalt tread the lion and dragon vnder thy feet? The parts that were plaied by the bishops of Rome with Frederike the second, Lodouik of Bauaria, king Iohn of this land, and Lewes the 12. of that name, king of France (which are your owne examples) if I should largely pursue them, a whole volume would not suffice them: I will therefore rip vp so much only as shal let the reader see with what cunning these princes were wearied, and with what pride they were despised, when they trauelled for peace. Phil. But say no more than you will proue. Theop. Your owne friends shall beare me record that I do not faine. The griefe that Adrian the fourth conceiued against Frederike the first, and the occasions thereof, though I might report out of Radeuicus that then liued, yet had I rather take them out of Adrians owne words, in his epistle to Frederik, which are these, By the word of truth we are taught, that euery one which exalteth himself shall be brought low. Wherfore we maruel not a little at your discretion that you giue not S. Peter & the holie church of Rome that reuerence which you ought. For in your letters directed vnto vs you set* your name before ours, which is a note of presumption, I will not say, arrogancie. What shal I speake of the fidelitie which you promised and confirmed with an oth to S. Peter & to vs, in what sort you performe it, when as you require homage, and exact fealty of them which be gods, and the sonnes of the most high euery one of them, I meane the bishops closing their hands within yours (when you receiue it) and setting your selfe against vs, you shut not onlie the churches, but the cities of your kingdome against the cardinals that came fro our side? Repent therfore, repent we aduise you, least whiles you couet the things which you

Psalme. 91.

The tirannies and iniuries of popes against princes were infinite.

Radeuicus de gestis Frederici, lib. 10.

Apud Naucl. volu. 3. gener. 39. anno 1156.

The popes letter to the emperour.

* A foule sin for the prince to set his name before the popes.

The pope would not haue the clergie sweare fealtie to their prince.

The popes gaine must not be impaired.

you should not, you loose that which you haue.

Nauclibid. The mildnes of Frederiks answer to the popes letter.

For the better discerning of the popes ambitious and enuious spirit, you shall heare with what mildnes and lenity the prince made his answer. Whatsoeuer regality your popedome hath, you gate it by the gift of princes. Wherupon when we write to the bishop of Rome, by right and by ancient vse we set our name first. Looke your records, and if before you did not marke this which we say, there you shal find it. Of them, whom you call gods, I win by adoption; since they hold part of our regalities, why should we not exact both homage, and an oth of fealty, whereas our maister and yours, holding nothing of any earthly king, but bestowing all good things on all men, paied tribute to Cæsar for himselfe and for Peter, and gaue you an example so to do, saying: learne of me for I am meeke and humble in hart. Let therefore your bishops either restore vs our temporalities, or if they find them so profitable, (that they will not) let them giue to God that which is Gods, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsars due. To your cardinals our Churches are shut and our cities not open, because we see them to be no preachers but spoilers, no makers of peace, but snatchers of money, no reformers of men, but insatiable scrapers of gold. When we shall see them to be such as the church needeth, that is, bringing peace, lightning cōtries, assisting the humble in equity, we our selues will not faile to appoint for them necessary prouision and maintenance. And (to tell you truth) you giue vs cause to suspect your humility and meekenes which is the nource of (all) vertues, when you quarrell with temporall persons about these matters which make nothing to religion. We cannot choose but send you this answer when we see the detestable beast of pride crept vnto Peters seate.

Bishops owe fidelitie to princes not onely in respect of their temporalities, but of their duties to Gods ordinance.

The detestable beast of pride crept long since vnto Peters seate.

This reply, though grounded on nothing but manifest reason and truth, did so sting the pope and his cardinals that they ioined in a generall conspiracy with William king of Sicily, and very neere all the cities of Italy, to crosse the emperor to the vtmost of their powers, and when the pope died to chose none but one of the same faction that should continually pursue the prince both with sedition and excommunication till they gate the vpper hand of him. Iohannes Cremonensis a writer of that time, saith: In this conspiracie the greater part of the car-

Anti christ practising for life to make himselfe strong.

Abbas Vrsper. in anno 1122. & Naucl. gener. 39. anno 1158.

The pope conspireth against the emperor.

The pope contriueth a mighty cõspiracy to resist the prince and to driue him cleane out of Italy. *Vrsperg. in anno* 1152. *Naucler. generat.* 39. *Cuspinian. in Frederico.*

dinals, William king of Sicilie, and almost all the cities of Italy bound themselues with many barons and other greater men: and a mighty masse of money was giuen to pope Adrian that he should excommunicate the emperor. And further he saith, he learned of credible men of Millan and Brixia that were parties in this action, that the conspiracie with pope Adrian was so fastened with others, that none of them might leaue the rest, or seeke the emperors fauour without the consent of all, and if the pope departed this life, they should choose a cardinall of the same confederacie.

Adrian choked with a fly.

The reward which Adrian receiued at Gods hand, as that writer saith, was this, that A fewe daies after he had denounced his excommunication against the emperor at Anagnia, as he walked abroad to refresh himselfe, and came to a spring to tast of the water, a flye by report entered his mouth, and stucke so fast to his throat, that by no helpe of physitions it could bee remooued, till hee gaue vppe the ghost.

Cuspinian. in Frederico 1. *Cuspinian. in Frederico* 2.

Phil. Nauclerus, you know, doubteth of this storie, because the Italian writers make no mention of it. Theop. That is no reason to disproue the writer: you know what Cuspinian a man of your owne side saith of your Italian stories in the liues of both the Frederikes. Merula (an Italian) not knowing the things which emperor Frederike did, but as following Blondus or Platina, doth fowly erre many times. And againe, The Italians, as Blondus and Platina both of one age, complaine of the want of stories. They disdained to read the chronicles of the Germanes, the which, because they sauored not of the Romane eloquence, they reiected, and missing in many points, they affirme very often lies for truth. Some of them offended with the whole nation of Germany, call all the Germane princes (that were emperors) Barbarians. And to flatter their popes, they charge (the Germane princes) with many moe vices (than they had.) want of other writers before them, hatred of the Germanes whose princes often wasted Italy with fire and sword, and a naturall desire to magnifie the pope, made the Italians disdaine to seeke the truth, or to dissemble it when they saw it.

The Italian stories wholy bent to iustifie the popes doings, and to belie the Germane princes.

Phil. Did not the Germanes thinke you beare affection towards their princes, and spite the pope for accusing and

Alexander made pope by the conspirators against Victor. and impugning their emperors: Theop. I alleadge none but priests, monks, and abbats that were in the popes danger, & not in the princes: & such as otherwise did honor the pope, & depend vpon his see, saue when he offered so open wrong and violence that no prince could indure it. *The third part.* In these cases I alleadge no writers but men of their owne religion.

But we wade further than we need. Nauclerus doubteth whether Adrian were choked with a flie: but of the conspiracy, which is the thing that I purposed, neither he nor you can doubt. It was * complained of by the cardinals that refused their society, it was * confessed by the citizens of Millan, it was * proued in the councell of Pauia, it was reported by letters both from * the prince and from the bishop of Babenberge to Eberhard, the archbishop of Saltzburge; it was verified by the sequele, I meane by the willfull resistances which the confederat cities of Italy doubled & tripled to their vtter ouerthrow, and by inciting the kings of France, England, Spaine and Sicily, to ioine against Frederike, which thing Alexander the third a cardinall of the same conspiracy with Adrian, labored for life to compasse. *Radeuicus de gestis Frederic. 1. lib. 2. cap. 52. cap. 69. cap. 67. cap. 69. & 71.*

Phil. Could you blame him? Did not Frederike set vp Victor an Antipape against him, and chase Alexander from his see? Theop. Frederike did not set him vp: but when two were chosen in a tumult, the councel of Papia discussing the cause pronounced for Victor against Alexander, & their iudgement did the emperor follow. Phil. He might well follow it, for himselfe did procure it. Theop. It is not true. The bishops of Italy, Germany, & other countries, were assembled by him, & the matter committed as in the sight of God to their integrities & consciences. The princes words in the councell were, Though I see the power to call councels is ours by the office and dignity of our empire, especially in so great dangers of the Church (for so Constantine, Theodosius, Iustinian, and of later memory Charles the great and Otho are knowne to haue done) yet authority to define this weighty and chiefe matter, I leaue to your wisedoms and iudgements. For God hath made you priests, and giuen you power to iudge of vs. And because in things which pertaine to God, it is not for vs to iudge of you: we exhort you to behaue your selues in this cause, as those that looke for none other iudge ouer you but God. This

This conspiracy was made whiles Adrian liued: before Alexanders election came in question. The councel of Papia pronounced Victor to be lawfully chosen. *Radeuicus de gestis Frederic. 1. lib. 2. ca. 64.*

Bishops had skill in the

The third part. Alexander made pope by the conspirators against Victor.

canons of the Church, which princes had not.

when he had said, he withdrew himselfe from the councell, committing the whole examination of the matter to the Church, and to the persons ecclesiasticall there assembled, which were infinite. There were fifty archbishops, & bishops, and abbats and priors innumerable. There were also the embassadors of diuers nations promising whatsoeuer the synod decreed, should vndoubtedly be receiued of their realmes. See their prowes and procedings of this councell in the chapters that follow, and shew vs how you can infringe them.

Radeuic. lib. 2. cap. 67. 68. 70.

The greater part of the cardinals had conspired against the prince.

Phil. Alexander had the greater part of the cardinals.

Theoph. The greater part of the cardinals had conspired to chose none, but one that was and would be an enimy to the prince, and to that intent had they taken an oth, Adrian yet liuing. After his death when they came to chose a successor, the people and the clergy were as earnest to haue none, but one that should keepe the city at peace with the prince. Wherupon the conspirators not daring to vtter themselues for feare of some vproze, nine of the cardinals, the rest seeing and not contradicting, at the importunate clamor of the people and clergy, put the popes mantle or cope vpon Octauian the cardinall, and placed him in S. Peters chaire, and perfourmed all other solemnities of his inthronization with the great ioy of the whole city, the conspirators which were 14. in number beholding all this, and not gainesaying it, or any part of it, though they were present.

The choise of Victor.

Alexander set vp by the conspirators against Victor.

Twelue daies after Victor was immantled, and possessed of the popedome, and had receiued the obediences of the clergy throughout Rome, the conspirators secretly departing the city, and not so much as calling the rest of the cardinals to their election, by themselues without the presence or allowance of the people or clergy, set vp Rowland the chiefe man of their faction to be pope, and named him Alexander. This garboile being brought to the prince by the complaint of both parts, he by letters and messengers warned both sides to come to the councel that should be kept at Papia, and there to heare the iudgement of the bishops for the determining of this strife, which Alexander and his adherents vtterly refused. These things were iustly proued before the bishops assembled at Papia, and sentence

sentence pronounced with Victor against Alexander.

What did Frederike in this case that a christian prince might not lawfully do in the like? How could he do lesse than call both parts to the synode, & commit the matter to the iudgement of the bishops? Or how could he but fauor & defend that side which was now clered & confirmed by the councell? Phil. Victors election was faulty from the beginning. Theop. If there were any fault in Victors electiõ, it was theirs that should haue presently protested against his ordering: but in Alexanders there was neither right, nor forme of any election. They were ioined in a wicked cõpact, & had therto bound themselues by oth, which by law was sufficient to forfeit their voices. Againe their owne silence drowned their interest, when they would not, or durst not speake their minds at the time & place appointed for the choice. Thirdly to their election they called not those who had right to be present, & to whose as well as themselues, & therfore all that they did was vtterly void. Fourthly they had neither the consent of the clergy, nor laity, which by order and duty they ought to aske. Lastly they disdained the summons both of the emperor, and the councell, which by the canons they should haue obeied: & therefore might be depriued of the right which they had: much more discharged from that which they neuer had. Phil. The councell was not indifferent. Theop. So more is any iudge to him that offendeth. Phil. The prince had no power to call the councell, much lesse to summon the pope. Theo. You speake like your selfe. Who called the ancient coũcels; & summoned the popes to be present at thẽ, but princes? And why might not this councell cite & deprine Alexander for his contempt, as well as the councels of Pisa, Constance, & Basil, did other popes, that came after, for the like contumacie, specially when as Alexander was yet no pope, but in strife with an other for the popedom?

Phil. Platina saith, Alexander had 22. cardinals, & Victor but 3. Theop. So Alexander himselfe craketh whom Platina followeth, but the contrarie part testified that there were nine on the one side & fourteene on the other. Howbeit I stand not on these minuts of elections, I note first the causes that prouoked the pope and his cardinals to conspire against Frederike: next the meanes they vsed to pur-

Frederike did but the duty of a christian prince, and much lesse their ancient emperors did in the like case.

Victors election was faulty, but Alexanders was worse.

Alexanders election was vtterly void.

Conncels before & after did as much as this came to.

Apud Radeuic. lib. 2. cap. 51. cap. 52.

purſue him and wearie him.

The cauſes of this conſpiracie.

The cauſes were, the ſetting of the princes name in his letters before the popes: the requiring of homage of the biſhops: and ſtopping the cardinals from ſpoiling his Churches vnder a colour of viſiting them. Of theſe pretences, and Frederiks anſwers let the world iudge.

The meanes which the pope vſed to tire the emperour. *Naucl. gener. 39. & 40. Cuſpinian. in Frede. 1.*

The meanes were: the pope did excõmunicate ỹ prince & his fautors, gate Crema, Placentia, Verona, Millan, & Brixia to rebell, linked fifteene cities of Italie in a league with the king of Sicilie not long before his mortall enmie, of purpoſe to withſtand Frederike: procured Henrie duke of Saxonie to forſake his maſter in the field: ſtirred the princes of France, England, Spaine, & the Venetiãs what they could, to annoy him. With theſe policies he began: and with theſe he continueth euen at this preſent.

Frederike tamed thoſe cõtries that rebelled againſt him. *Vide Naucl. gener. 40. anno 1177.*

Thus your holy father with warres, rebellions & conſpiracies ſought to ſhake this emperor out of his cloathes: but God ſo aſſiſted him, that he razed & deſtroid the cities that rebelled, & turned the duke that betraied him out of his dukedome & electorſhip, & made the pope glad to leaue his palace, & flie to Venice in cooks attire: & had not indulgence of nature won him to accept the peace, which the pope offered, & his captiue ſonne intreated, he was like enough to haue taught the biſhop of Rome a newleſſon: but the time was thẽ for Antichriſt to be exalted, & therfore it pleaſed the wiſedome of God to ſuffer this worthy prince to be wearied, & content to imbrace peace for the ſafety of his ſonne that was priſoner at Venice. Where, if it be true, that is writtẽ of pope Alexander euen by your own fellowes, he ſhewed himſelfe in his right colours. For willing the emperour before all the people to lie flat on the ground, he ſet his foot on the princes necke & ſaid, it is written, thou ſhalt walke vpon the aſpe & baſiliske, and tread the lion and dragon vnder thy feete. And the prince anſwereth, I do it not to thee, but to Peter whoſe ſucceſſour thou art: the pope replied, (it muſt be done) to me as well as to Peter.

The time for Antichriſt to be exalted.

Naucl. gen. 40. anno 1177.

The pope is where he would be.

The pope is now where he would be, not on meane mens ſhoulders, but on princes necks: and that aduancement hath he gotten, not by religion or vertue, but by breaking othes, bearing armes, ſhedding bloud, and ſuch turkiſh and diueliſh ſtirres.

Phil.

Phil. Would you not he should defend himselfe? Theo. If he be Peters successor, he must feed, not fight, teach obedience, not authorize rebellion, pray for his enimies, not pursue thē with force & fury. Else he succeedeth Romulus in murdering, not Peter in feeding. Phi. What if wordes will not serue, shal the chiefest pastor of our souls see the keies & the church cōtemned, & oppressed, & not draw the sword? Theo. That is in effect, if men will not beleeue your preaching, may you not take beetels & knocke them on their heades? nay the case goeth not so well with you: you wage wars with earthly rats, if they dislike your paid, or auert your gaine, you pretend S. Peter & the Church, whē you meane nothing but your temporall commodities & superfluities: it sufficeth you not to be free from princes lawes & swordes, or to be their equals, you striue with them to be their superiors, & to displace them if they displease you. Can you tell where S. Peter did wage warre vpon any priuat man or prince. *Nauclerus gen. 39. anno 1158.* The pope fighteth with princes for earthly gaines and griefs.

These be the quarels which your holy father & his adherents haue professed, & pursued for the space of 500 yeers with all their might and maine: for these things haue you spilt more christian bloud thā euer Turke, or tyrant did: & at this day you take it in euill grē that you may not still continue that course. With Frederike the first you fell out, for that he durst first place his own name before the popes which all emperors euer did: & as you fought with Henry the 4. to get clergy mēs liuings of his hands, so you tumbled with this Frederik to exempt their persons: least they should either for commodity or duty leane to the prince: & when he began but to looke to your fingers, that you should not decay his realme & inrich your selues, you conceiued such immortal hatred against him, that you toke an oth to reuenge him not only by conspiration, but euen by succession. With Frederike the second you dealt much after the same sort, whome you did excommunicate twise, thrise, foure times for no cause, without al order of law & iustice, as if princes had beene footbals for popes to play with, & not powers for christian bishops, to reuerence. Phil. Was not Frederike the 2. excōmunicated for very good causes? Theo. They were very good I promise you. Vrspergensis an abbat then liuing saith of them, The pope of verie pride the first yeere of his popedome beganne to excommunicate Frederike the emperour for friuolous and false pretences What quarrels the pope hath pursued these 500. yeeres. First clergie mens liuings & then their persons must be exempted from the prince. How Frederike the second was handled. *Vrspergensis in anno 1227. Blond. dec. 2. lib. 7.*

without

without all order of iudgement. Phil. But Blondus & Platina tell you an other tale. Blondus saith, The first yeere of his coronation, making light accoũt of his oth he attempted many enormous things against the pope: who warned him to forbeare these * wicked, & perfidious & rebellious enterprises, but he euery day more & more despised his admonition, which made the pope to terrifie him with an excommunication, if he did not relent and make restitution. And when the emperor set light by the first curse, the second time the pope added a depriuation from his empire and crowne, and third time when the emperor stood still out, the pope very much offended thereat, absolued all his subiects from their othes whereby they were bound to yeeld him allegiance. And so saith Platina, Honorius the third did excommunicate and depriue Frederike the second, for molesting the popes dominion against right and law. Theop. Your Italians perceiuing their popes to haue beene very waspish and eger against the emperors that liked them not, and knowing what a shame it would be in the eies of all posteritie for them to haue proceeded in such rage without vrgent and euident matter, in generall words do charge those emperors with many grieuous crimes. But we trust neither the popes discretion, nor the reporters construction, vnlesse we see the particular facts that were committed. They may thinke those things to be hainous, which indeede are friuolous: and if the quarell were for lands and territories lying in question betweene the empire and the see of Rome, the pope did wickedly in his owne cause to abuse the keies for earthly mammon.

All that wickednesse was the lawfull defence of his owne right.

Platina in Honorio, 3.

The Italians cannot defend the pope but by inforcing hainous crimes against the emperors though they know none.

Phil. Who made you the popes iudge? Theop. I iudge him not, there is one that shall iudge both him and his actes: yet I may aske you the causes for which Frederike was accursed & depriued. Phil. You haue heard them out of Blondus & Platina. Theop. Platina saith, *Contra ius fasq; dictionem pontificiam vexabat*: he molested the popes inheritances against all right: that Blondus calleth wickednesse, rebellion, and periurie: These be high words, but I see no deeds. And if we credit them which wrote that verie present, when these things were done, the pope did the emperour open wrong in receiuing and succouring his rebels against him. Vrspergensis saith, the first yeere after Frederike

The causes of the popes egernesse against Frederike the second.

In Henrico 3. Decad. 2. lib. 7.

derike was crowned emperor, he began to warre vpon two earles of Thuscan, Matthew and Thomas, which had surprised certaine forts, and peeces of his territory within Apulia: and cleane put them from all they had; who flying to Rome sought helpe at the popes hand; whereof the emperor often complained that the see apostolike fostered his publike aduersaries and enimies. This was the falling out betweene the prince and the pope, which your Italian stories do mention. Platina saith, it was the popes right: Vrspergensis two hundreth yeeres before him, and a writer in the midst of these actions, saith, it was the princes right, and that he did but recouer his owne out of their hands: for the which Blondus chargeth him with rebellion and periurie. Cuspinian therefore a man of your religion verie trulie noteth him and other Italian writers in this case for meere flatterers. Hauing repeated the same fact that Vrspergensis before did testifie, Thence, saith he, sprang the first occasion of enimitie betweene (the prince and the pope.) Although the Italian writers doe say that Frederike the emperour after the death of his moother Constantia, which kept him in tune, and would not suffer to grow to these passions, did the worst he could against Honorius the third, Gregorie the ninth, and Innocentius the fourth, and handled Rome, which had nourced him vp, as if she had beene his stepmoother. But those flatterers of the bishop of Rome will haue all things lawfull for the pope, inuesting him with both swords, and making all emperours but his seruants. This was Frederiks wicked rebellion against Honorius, that Blondus expresseth in so great words to winne his owne by force of armes out of their hands that inuaded him, and to requite them with the like; and such quarels can your holy father picke to princes, when he is disposed to spit his venome against princes.

Vrspergensis anno 1221.

The pope did the prince wrong though the Italians say nay.

Cuspinianus in Frederico. 2.

Cuspinians admonition of the Italian stories.

It was no small point of antichristes policie to get some that should make all maner of lies for him and his see.

Gregorie the ninth, vpon lesse cause shewed more furie. He did excommunicate Frederik the second, for that he staied his expedition against the Turke till he had recouered his health, and when the prince sent his Embassadours to make faith thereof, he would not so much as heare them, or see them. And after in the absence of the prince whiles he was fighting against the turke, the pope inuaded his land, & caused the souldiers that should haue aided

Gregories furie against this emperour.

Note the pietie of popes.

aided him againſt the Turke, to be ſpoiled and ſtopped of their iourney, and a fame to be ſpred that the emperor was dead, & the Almanes that returned from Ieruſalem to be ſlaine, leaſt they ſhould notifie the princes life & welfare.

So had you need to ſay; for if you grant them to be true, the pope could be litle leſſe than a diuell incarnate.

Phil. Theſe be horrible lies, deuiſed by ſuch as would haue the pope in hatred with all men. Theop. They be true tales, and truer than thoſe which ſome of your ſide haue coined to claw the pope with. Your owne fellowes confeſſe as much as I ſay. Phil. Germanes perhaps in fauor of their emperors. Theop. If you refuſe the Germanes of your owne religion as ſelwillers to their princes, how ſhall we receiue your Italians that were more than partiall to their popes? Yet this aduantage we haue ouer you: the elder & ſincerer ſtories euen of your Romiſh profeſſion and deuotion, make with vs in theſe matters.

Naucl. gener. 41. anno 1229. The Italians would faine preteꝺ other cauſes to ſaue the popes honeſtie: theſe be ſo ſhamefull, that they bluſh to heare them.

Nauclerus diſcuſſing the cauſes of Frederiks excommunication, and repeating what Antoninus a Florentin writeth in the ſoothing of Gregories fact, addeth: But ſurely by the epiſtle of Gregorie, which he wrote to the king of France with this beginning, Out of the ſea is the beaſt aſcended, it is cõuinced that Gregorie at this time did not excommunicate Frederike for theſe cauſes (which Antoninus pretendeth) but for that Frederike ſtaied longer with his ſouldiers from ſuccouring the holy land than the tearme which he had vowed by oth, and was inioined by the pope vnder the paine of his curſe. To the which the emperour anſwered, that he was vniuſtly excommunicated, for ſo much as he entered the iourney within the tearme, and beſides the death of the Lantgraue (one of the chiefeſt that ſhould aid him) a dangerous ſickneſs conſtrained him to take land againe, and ſo by his euident infirmitie ought to be excuſed.

Naucl. Ibidē. The pope would not admit the princes embaſſadors to proue their maſters ſickneſſe. This was no pride.

Phil. The emperor fained himſelfe ſick, and that the pope vnderſtood by the letters of biſhops that were in his traine. Theop. That was the popes replie to ſalue his doings: but why did he not vouchſafe to heare or ſee the Archbiſhop of Brunduſium and others whom the prince ſent to make faith of his ſickneſs? Why did he not expect the princes purgatiõ by oth or otherwiſe that his excuſe was not fained? What ſeruant was euer ſo diſdained by his maſter if he were honeſt, but his reaſonable defence was heard? And our holie father forſooth will not expect, no not admit

admit the emperour of chrystendome to make faith of his corporal infirmitie. Phi. We tell you he was not sicke. The. We tell you that was hard for you to know, and harder to prooue. You should haue called his messengers to their othes or haue sent some to fele his pulse if you had suspected him, for a moicher. In the meane time the world seeth the frantike pride of that wicked pope, who not only denied audience to the archbishop & other the kings messengers, & would not so much as admit them to his sight, but condemned and accursed the sicke emperor for not passing the seas to fight against the Turke. *Vrspergen. in anno 1227.*

And here se, the right vaine of your Romish iustice. Your holy father did hinder the prince secretly what he could by rebellions and byroes from going against the Turke: & yet did excommunicate him for not going. Phil. Did the pope hinder him? Theo. Loke your owne stories. The yeare before, which was 1226. The Lombards, saith Nauclerus (as it was thought) at the suggestion of Honorius the pope entred a league amongst themselues, and with the cities nere adioining against Frederike the 2. which continued many yeeres, by the name of the Lombards league, a very great annoiance to the Romane empire, and a manifest impediment of the iourney to Ierusalem, because the expedition which Frederike had promised to make into Syria, was kept off a long time by this occasion. The pope did hinder the prince from going, and yet excommunicated him for not going. *Naucl. gener. 41. anno 1226.*

Phi. This was but a thought. Theop. The league was apparent, the instigation was secret. This confederacie if the pope had not fauored, he should haue assisted the emperour with his keies & cursings, which were euer ready against princes, but neuer against those that troubled thē; yet if you thinke the pope was no dealer in this conspiracie, read what Vrspergensis writeth of them the next yeare after his sickenes when the prince was taking his voiage to Ierusalem. In the yeare of our Lord, 1228. The emperor minding to accomplish his vow, and appease the pope, sailed to the land of Iurie, and that yeere before his going he had indicted a generall meeting of his princes at Rauenna, from the which he was hindered by the messengers and legates of the pope. For they of Verona and Millan suffered none to passe through their coasts, but spoiled the very souldiers that were to go against the Turke, and that, as they affirmed, by

The popes keies were euer ready against the prince, but neuer against those that molested the prince. *Vrspergen. in anno 1228.*

by the authoritie of the pope, which alas, is a shameful thing to speake of.

Vrsper. eodem anno The pope inuadeth the emperors dominions whiles he was fighting against the Turke.

After Frederikes departure, as if the former wrongs had not bene spitefull enough, the pope taking occasion of the emperours absence, addressed a maine armie into *Apulia*, and tooke the emperours countries from him who was then in the seruice of Christ (a most horrible thing to speake) and subdued them to his owne vse, and hindered the souldiers that were going against the Turke, the most he could, from passing the seas, as well in *Apulia* as *Lombardie*. Who rightly considering these attempts, will not lament them, and detest them as the foresignes and prognostications of the ruine of the Church? And when the composition was made betweene the emperour and the Suldane, that Hierusalem with certaine places neere bordering should be restored to the christians, and truce remaine for tenne yeeres; and the emperour by letters aduertised the pope and the rest of Christendom of this ioyful newes, The Pope cast away the letters and would not receiue them, and with his fautors, as mē affirmed, made a rumor to be spred in *Apulia* that the emperor was dead. Whereupon the cities, that yet stood for the emperor, inclined to render themselues into the popes hāds, & to kill the Almanes that returned frō the holy land or were commorant in *Apulia*; a most barbarous and wicked purpose.

What was this but to betray the christians to the Turke?

Vrspergen. in anno 1229. The pope is angry that the prince returneth with peace and victory.

And lest there should want any thing to ꝑ vttermost of al wickednes, when Frederike (after his arriuing in the holy land) sent messengers to *Rome* to require absolution & reconciliation, because he had now performed his promise, the pope repelled his petition, & inioyned the souldiers in *Asia* to withdraw their helpe from *Frederike*, as from a publike enemie. It was not enough to fill the princes hands with ciuill warres when he should prepare against the Turke to stop and spoile his souldiers that should accompanie him, to inuade his land, and sollicite his townes in his absence, your holy father must set the Christians, when they should fight against the Turke, togither by the eares, and will them not onely to forsake, but also to impugne their emperour. What could the diuel himselfe haue done more, if he had bin couched in the popes chaire, than Gregorie did?

Nauclgener. 41. *anno* 1228. The pope stirreth the princes souldiers to rebel against him, when he was incamped against the Turke.

Phil. These things Gregorie himselfe denied, and the Italians that since haue written, reiect thē as false. Theo. So had

had they need. For if they should confesse them, they must yeeld the pope in so doing to be rather the forcman of Satan, than the vicar of Christ. And therfore your Italian stories presuming all that the pope said in defence of himselfe to be true, and all that he claimed from the empire to be his, raile on Frederike in great choler, as on a wicked, and faithlesse prince, and acquite the pope as doing his dutie in all these counterplots: but Italian wittes are too well knowne to be trusted when they are offended, and in Blondus a man may soone perceiue an intemperate heate against those princes that withstood the pope. Phil. You dislike our stories, and we dislike yours. Theo. May you dislike your owne, and such as then liued and honored the see of Rome, hauing no iust exception against them but onely that they could not apparell the popes pride with some smooth deuises, as the Italians do?

Though this prince suffered all these wrongs at the popes hands, yet the Italians raile mightily on him and magnifie the pope in al his doings.

Phil. Not long since you praised Blondus: haue you now cast him out of conceite? The. I did commend Blondus for his diligence where affection did not interpeale him: but in this case, drawing all things to his appetite, the more diligent the more dangerous. He not onely taketh euery word that Gregory spake for a Gospell, but addeth of his owne head such things as Gregory neuer obiected to Frederike; and that with no small spites. For where Frederike complained to the princes of Almanie, how iniuriously & deceitefully the pope had dealt with him, amongst other things, whiles he was in the seruice of Christ against the Turke, how the pope had surprised a part of his kingdome with armes: Gregory in his letters replied, that because Raynold Frederiks captaine inuaded the kingdome of Scicily, the speciall patrimonie of the Church, least the see Apostolike should therby be impugned, his legats entred Frederiks kingdome, and found many ready to submit themselues. This is all that Gregory pretended who would not spare to speake any thing, that with any colour he might, in his owne excuse and against Frederike.

Blondus in fauor of the pope dealeth very spitfully with Frederike the second.

Naucl. gene. 41. anno 1229.

Blondus finding this to be but a simple cause for the pope to inuade the emperors dominion in his absence, and in that seruice, first for so much as the right of Scicily was in strife between the empire and the church of Rome, & secondly for that if Scicily were held in fee of the Church

Blondus helpeth pope Gregories tale.

of Rome, yet Frederike was right heire vnto it by the mother side; & in ful possession of that kingdom before he was made emperor: & therfore well Rainold his captaine might put ouer soldiers into Sicilie to man the forts for all occasions, & to contain them in their duties whatsoeuer should happen to his master in that voiage against the Turke: but other inuasion, preiudiciall to the Church of Rome the princes captaine neither needed, nor could make any; Blondus, I say, perceiuing that Gregories pretence would seem but a quarrel sought of purpose to make a rebellion against the emperor whiles he was from home, helpeth the matter with certain additiõs which are both odious & slãderous.

Blondus decad. 2. lib. 7. Blondus false surmise of Frederike.

Frederike, saith he, ready to take ship and saile from Italie, was so far from asking the popes absolution, & benediction, that making one Rainold the gouernor of the kingdome of Sicilie, in plaine words willed him to oppresse the pope and clergie by all meanes. Blondus might haue done well to tel vs who stood by and heard these words; which Gregorie would neuer haue omitted if he had knowen them. And if the pope that sifted his words and deedes with all diligence knew no such thing, how should Blondus so many yeres after come by the knowledge of them?

What will not Italian wits do when they be displeased. Platina in Gregorio. 9.

The other obiection, that he despised the popes absolution, is as foolish. For assoone as he was landed on the other side, & began to march towards the Turke, Platina confesseth that he * was very earnest both by letters & messengers to be absolued by the pope (from his excommunication) and could not obtaine it. To haue delt therfore with the pope before his going to be absolued, had been in vaine, the pope doubting that he would not go, & refusing as your selues confesse, to absolue him when he was there arriued and encamped against the Turke.

Frederike recouered the kingdom of Ierusalem from the Turke.

Phil. The pope would not absolue him, because he went about to make peace with the Turke. Theop. The pope would euer haue some cause to molest him; otherwise I see no reason to mislike the peace. For whether the Turke stood in feare of him, or was to be distracted and employed about other wars, I know not; the emperor had not been there a yeere, but the Turke was glad to yelde him the kingdome of Ierusalem, sauing the temple and a few castels; and to hold peace with him & Christendome for ten yeeres.

Which

Which conclusion as it was honorable in it selfe, so was it acceptable to all Christian states, saue onely to the pope; marry he of meere malice against Frederike when the letters were brought, that should aduertise him of the emperors good successe, threw them away, & shewed himselfe much agreeued with the matter, as one that did abode, the princes speedie returne would disappoint him of his hope. And he missed not his cõiecture. For within short space the emperor recouered his townes that were lost, & staied those that were shrinking from him to the popes no small regreet.

The pope grieued with the princes returne, because his presence would hinder the popes practises.

Phil. He was offended with Frederike for that the temple was left in the Turks hands. Theo. The prince perceiuing the pope to enforce his countries at home, & to irritate his soldiers against him, what else should he stay for, when he was once reuested with the kingdome of Ieruſalem? Phi. Our Lords sepulchre and the temple were the chiefest things that ỹ pope regarded. Theo. And good cause why. They got him more money, & rid him of mo enimies than any places in the world besides. Phil. Which way trow? Theo. The pope no sooner lacked money, but he must haue a collection through Christendome for the succourse of the holy land as you call it, & if he fell out with any prince or emperor, or saw him likely to stãd in his way that he could not rise so high as he would, he would neuer cease, what with excõmunications to feare him, what with indulgences to allure hẽ, till he had gotten his consent either to bestow his owne person on the seruice, or at least to employ his treasures and forces to recouer the land of Iurie from the handes of Saracens; and in their absence he ruled the roast as pleased him, and grew great by their decaies.

The prince had been wel occupied to stand fighting for Christs sepulcher, whiles the pope spoiled him in the meane time of his kingdome at home. The holy land did the pope good seruice.

Phil. Would you not haue the Turk resisted? Theo. Your holy father neuer toke the way to haue that done. He suffered the Turke to deuoure the Greeke empire, and set the princes of the west, not to helpe them, but to fight for the place where Christ was crucified by the Iewes, whiles the Turke in the meane time ouerthrew many thousand christian Churches, and cities, else where and neere home. And the supplies of men & mony were so stragling & interrupted with dissentions and discords at home, that the Turk conquered more in three yeeres, than the Christians wan in three score yeeres before.

The pope rather encreased than resisted the Turkes power.

The pope himselfe spoiled the west empire, and betraied the east to the turke.

Phi. Yet the popes good will is to be commended: the fault was in them that would not agree. Theo. And who was the cause of that, but onely the pope? Phi. You speake of spite. Theo. Who filled the emperors hands with rebellions & dissentions more than the bishop of Rome did? Who brought the empire to a bare title, and the emperor to be scant able to defend his owne, but onely the pope? Who cut Italie into so many seuerall marquesdomes and dukedomes as we now see, but your holy father, seeking to exclude the Germane prince cleane out of Italie, and to hedge vp his way to Rome with many particuler states, and regiments interiected, and all linked in one league to repell him from passing or entring their countries?

Italy shaken into shiuers by the pope. And so likewise germany.

Neither was it enough to straighten him abroade vnlesse he did also weaken him at home, for feare least some valiant prince occasioned by so populous and stout a nation as the Germanes are, should attempt with force of armes to recouer Italie. And therfore you were neuer quiet till Germanie was shaken into as many shiuers as Italie, and the emperor able to command none of them, but by their common consent, and according to their own liking. Which is the state of the empire in our daies. This was not the way to make the emperor strong against the Turk, for the regetting of Ierusalem out of his hands, but to diet the emperor, and to take him so low, that he should not be able to wrastle with the bishop of Rome, without a present foile and instant danger of losing all. And thus weake though he were, yet to make him weaker the holy land was euer vsed by the pope as a perpetuall lottary, to make him, and other Christian princes spende their people and wealth with so small successe and mightie losse, that no one thing did waste and weaken Christendome more than this.

The emperor dieted least he should get strength to wrastle with the pope. The holy land vsed as a continuall issue to weaken christian princes least they should stirre against the pope at home.

Phi. Is this the thanks you giue the pope for staying the Turke from inuading Europe? Were it but for that respect, you should thinke better of him than you do. Theo. To keepe the Turke from subduing Christendome is a good and godly enterprise: but from that the pope was fardest off. He would neuer assist the Christians of Grecia, continually fighting with the Turke fiue hundred and fiftie yeeres after the diuision of the empire vnder Charles

The pope would neuer assist the Grecians against the Turke.

Charles the great, before their empire was ouerthrowen; but rather held the princes of Christendome from succouring them, vnlesse they would submit themselues to the see of Rome, which they would neuer do; though some of their princes doe now and then in hope of aide incline to a kind of concord. And suffering the Turke still to preuaile against them, & at length to swallow them vp, to the great shame of the christian princes that next adioined, but most of himselfe, who was well willing because they were not his obedients, to leaue them and theirs as a pray for the Turke, he would needs go fish for Christs sepulchre, as if that had been the next way to safegard Christendome from the Turke; to keepe the place where Christ was buried; and to let him in the meane while conquer halfe Christendome.

The Grecians were deliuered as a pray to the Turke by the pope and his adherentes.

And that made your holy father storm so much at Frederikes peace concluded with the Turke, wherin the sepulcher was left out, that he would not absolue him after his returne but vpon the payment of fiue score thousand ounces of gold. Which after three pounds an ounce, as it is valued in our daies, is * three hundred and three score thousand pounds. And though the prince for all this money had but one dinner at the popes table, yet Blondus is so far out of charitie with Frederike, that he saith the pope was easier (in receiuing so small a recompence) than he ought or was fit he should.

The price of one dinner at the popes table, and yet Blondus thinketh it was too good cheape.

Blondus decad. 2. lib. 7.

Phil. That money was paied for the damages done to the Church by the princes souldiers in their late wars, not for his dinner as you gibe. The. Blondus & Platina do presuppose that Frederike by his agents in his absence did spoile & sacke S. Peters patrimonie: but Gregory that receiued the money saith the princes deputy inuaded Sicilie and no more, which was Frederikes right and inheritance, though the pope claimed thence a yeerely custome. And therfore since Frederikes captaine did the pope no wrong to inuade Sicilie, being his masters dominion, when the cities perhaps vpon the popes censures began to slide frō Frederike: no reason the prince should performe the losses and damages of the war, which began by the popes egernes: & consequently no cause for the pope to exacte so much money of the prince, but either for his dinner which was

The princes deputie did but defend his masters right and inheritance while he was in his voiage against the Turke.

The pope after the receit of so much money pursued the emperor woorse than before.

too deer; or for his keies which should not be sold, or for his fauor which dured not long. For within short space after they fell at woorse variance than before, & the same pope the second time accursed & deposed Frederike, & the matter grew to such heate, that your holy father crossigned soldiers against the emperor, as if he had been a Turk or a saracene.

They came into the field against him as if he had beene a Turke: why should not he recompence them as rebels?

Phil. Did not Frederike rather play the Turke with such as fought against him, when he cut their heads in fower parts, and laid them crossewise on their shoulders, and with hot irons burnt a crosse in their foreheads whose liues he spared, and caused the clergie mens crownes to be cut square to the very sculs? What Turke or Saracene euer shewed like crueltie? Theop. All executions not in war onely, but in peace also seeme cruell, if you loke to the punishments, and not to the offences.

Phil. What was their offence? Theop. They rebelled against him for the popes pleasure, whom by gods law they should haue honored & obeied as their soueregne lord and lawfull prince: and not therwith content, they take vp the crosse against him in their badges & banners, as if it had been against a Turke or an infidell. If subiects so far forget their duties, as to vse their princes like infidels, because the pope disfauoreth them: why should not princes forget their clemencie, and reward rebels and enimies according to their deserts? It was therfore more enormous for the pope to proclaim the crosse against a christian prince (though his aduersary for som priuate respects) as he doth against the Turke; than for the prince to inflict some such punishment as should make them repent their follies.

The crosse first vsed against infidels for Christs glorie, the pope turneth against christian princes to reuenge his priuat enmitie.

Phil. Frederike impugning the pope with all his might, why should not the pope saue himselfe the best way he could? Theop. And the pope bringing rebels into the field against the prince, as it had been against an infidell, why should not the prince teach them to beware how they vsed the crosse against christian magistrats, which was deuised against Turks and Saracens?

The cause of the second quarrell betweene the pope and this emperour.

Phil. The prince himselfe was in all the fault. Theop. Bicause he would not suffer the pope to ride on his necke, as he had done on his grandfathers, and the rebellious cities of Lombardie to shut him clean out of Italie. For what other cause had Gregorie the ninth againe to excommunicate

cate and depose Frederike after he had shewed himselfe so desirous of peace, that he paid a huge heap of gold to cõtent the popes ambitious spirite? What one iniurie done to the church of Rome can your Italian stories iustly charge him with after his first absolution? If you thinke your holy father may turne and wind princes like dishcloutes, and curse them, and depose them for what causes he list, then Frederike was in some fault, for that he would not graunt peace to the cities of Italie which rebelled against him at the popes motion: but if that be mad diuinitie, as in deed it is; the pope himselfe was not well aduised, first to set the subiects vp in rebellion against their prince; and next to depriue the prince for offering to represse them that resisted him. Shew vs therefore what offence it was against the popes holinesse for the prince to compell his subiects to obedience by force of armes: or else we must conclude your holy father did the prince open and wicked wrong to thunder his censures against him, for seeking his owne by those meanes, which God hath allowed vnto magistrates.

The pope first armed the subiects against their prince, and then deposed him for seeking to subdue them with force of armes that rebelled against him.

Phil. The emperour hired some to rebel in Rome against the pope. Theop. Your Italian writers would faine find holes in Frederikes coate if they could tell how; but their tales hang not together. Platina runneth one way, Blondus an other, and Antoninus a third. Platina saith that Peter Fregepanes taking part with the emperour, kept the pope out of Rome, and made him decline to Viterbium, as he was going with an armie against the emperour, whom he vnderstood to be within Italie, and to oppugne the confederate cities. So that by Platinaes confession the pope was in armes against the emperour afore the fautors of Frederike offered him any violence.

Platina in Gregor. 9.

Blondus a deadly pursuer of Frederike with his penne reporteth this resistance made by Peter Fregepanes, before the emperour entred Italie: addeth, as his maner is of meere spite, that the prince had hired him with mony so to do.

Blondus decad. 2. lib. 7.

Antoninus as Nauclerus alleageth him, writeth that Frederike hearing the cities of Lombardie, Millan, Bononia, and many others of Romandiola* to be fallen from him, and turned to the deuotion of the Church, went against them with a great armie. And the citizens of Millan with all their

Naucl. gener. 42. anno 1238.

The third part. The pope nourisheth rebellion against Frederik.

The originall of this second war between the prince and the pope.

The popes legates were in the field against Frederike, when the prince came to recouer his owne.

strength, and the popes legats and the whole confederacie of Lombardie, which did cleaue to the Church, fought a field with the emperor in a place called New courr, and the Millanoes with their adherents, after a sore conflict were ouerthrowne, many of them being slaine, and many taken prisoners with their Carroch, where the ruler of Millan being the sonne of the duke of Venice, and sundrie other noble men of Lombardie were taken and sent into Apulia; the prince causing the dukes sonne to be hanged on a tower by the seas side, and the rest to be executed some one way, some an other. This Florentine confesseth the popes legats were in the battell that was fought with Frederike, at his first entrance into Italie: and that the very originall of the war, was the defection of the Lombards from the empire to ioine with the pope, or as he speaketh, with the Church: which indeed was the onely strife betweene the pope and the prince, whatsoeuer Blondus and others in hatred of Frederike doe surmise. View now this quarrell, and tell vs whether Frederike did more than a christian prince might doe: or whether the pope rather did not wickedly nourish the conspiracie that the Lombards made with Adrian the fourth against Frederike the first, to driue the emperor cleane out of Italie: which was the point that the pope pushed at all this while.

Gregorie nourished the conspiracie which Adrian made to keepe the emperor out of Italie.

The popes peace was this, that the emperor should lose all his right in Italie.

Phil. The pope required nothing at his hands, but the preseruation of that league, which his grandfather made at Constans, and his father during his life had kept inuiolable. Theop. That peace included none but Frederike the first, and Henrie his sonne: it extended not to their heires and aftercommers, as appeareth by the othe of fidelitie, which the confederate cities toke to Frederike then emperor, and king Henrie his sonne, and no farther; and therefore that peace being expired by the death of his father, the prince was at libertie to doe as he saw cause.

Nauclgener. 40. ann. 1183.

The prince perceiuing the Popes purpose, would make no such peace.

Phil. But the pope sought the continuance of that peace. Theop. And the prince perceiuing the popes fetch in time to exclude the emperor cleane out of Italie by the renewing of that peace, would not assent to it, but came with a mind resolued to bring the Lombards to their former subiection. What wrong was this in Frederike? Phil. It was hard dealing. Theop. None at all. And considering the

popes

popes drift, to be free from the emperors force, that hee might with more safetie quarrel with him when he listed, and depriue him at his pleasure without danger: it was necessarie for the prince to settle his state & keepe his right in Italie: it should otherwise not be possible for him, & the princes that succeded him to represse the popes insolencie, which began to increase apace. This was the true cause why Gregorie the 9. set himselfe against Frederike the 2. after his first absolution, which cost so many thousands: whatsoeuer the Italian writers doe imagine in hatred of Frederike, whom they misliked as well for pursuing the pope, as for spoiling and wasting their natiue countrie.

How needful it was for the prince not to giue ouer his right in Italy.

The Italians hate the germane emperours.

Phil. Did he not well deserue their hatred, that ranged ouer all Italie with incredible crueltie: sacked their cities, filled euery towne, village, and familie with mortall discord and dissention, banished & murthered bishops, imprisoned the cardinals and prelates as they were comming to the councell, and so pursued and inclosed the pope that he died for very greefe of hart, as Platina writeth? Theop. Will you kindle a fire, and then looke it should not burne? What other fruits of war could you expect, but these or worse? You made leagues to bereaue him of his right; you caused his subiects to meet him in the field; you accursed his person, and depriued him of his empire; you came out in armes against him, as you would against a Turke or an infidell: you did what you could to requite him and his with like rage & violence, & when you could not be euen with him, you thought it best to complaine of his crueltie. But you lose your labor: for wars are iudged by their causes, and not by their consequents. If Frederiks cause were good, as the pursuit of his right and demand of obedience, within the territories of his empire could not be cuil, then your rebellions, confederations, excommunications, depriuations, and such like actions to resist him, defraud him, or oppresse him, were all wrongful and wicked: and his reuenge of your conspiracies & treacheries (though sharp and seuere) was lawfull, and as the cause stood, needfull.

Platina in Gregorio.9.

What pranks were plaid with Fredericke before he sought reuenge.

The princes cause being good, his reuenge was both lawfull and needfull.

Phil. No prince euer dealt so badly with the Church of Rome as Frederike did. Theo. No prince was euer prouoked with halfe the iniuries, with the which he was. He was foure seuerall times solemnly deposed by the bishops

This prince of all others most wickedly abused by popes.

shops of Rome, once by Honorius, twise by Gregorie, and lastly by Innocentius the fourth his * good freend, whiles he was a cardinall, but his capitall enimie when he came to be pope. Phil. It skilleth not how often it was done, so long as it was done for causes vrgent & important. Theop. If the pope had any such power as he hath not, the causes must be iust and true, which these were not. Phil. Yes that they were. And though the rest did not so plainly expresse them, which maketh you to carpe at them, yet Innocentius the fourth laieth his downe in writing, which are extant to this day. Theop. You say truth. The censure of Innocentius against Frederike the second is extant in your decretals: and foure causes of his deposition there remembred. Phil. And those no lesse than periurie, sacrilege, heresie, iniurie, and oppression of the Church of Rome. Theop. If it be enough for to obiect what you list, you may soon condemne whom you please.

Naucler. gener. 42. anno 1242.

Sexti Decretal. lib. 2. de sentent. & reiudicat. ¶ ad Apostolicæ § & vt ad.

Frederike charged with periurie.

We heare your holy father in his magnificence charge the emperor with these foure things, but I ween it would trouble him, or you to prooue them. He committed periurie, the pope saith in his iudiciall sentence, by rashly breaking the peace that was made betweene the Church and the empire. If the truth were well tried, this periurie lighteth on the pope, and not on the prince. For how could the popes legats be in the field against the prince to assist his rebels, and not breake the peace that was made betweene the Church and the empire? Is the popes power so infinite, that he can make right in the prince to be periury, and war in himselfe to be peace?

Sext. Decret. li. 2. vt supra. The pope chargeth the prince with periurie for repressing that rebellió which the pope fauoured.

With sacrilege.

The taking and deteining of cardinals and prelats was the sacrilege, which in this place is obiected to the prince: but when you proue that prelats and cardinals be no subiects, and that they may lawfully take armes against princes, and yet no prince must lay hands on them, then you may chance to haue an action of wrongfull detinue against the emperor, but not of sacrilege. It is a point of your popish pride, to make it sacrilege for a lawfull magistrate to restraine your parish priests of Rome from their seditious intents and practises. What are your cardinals by Gods law more than other clergie men? or why may not the prince both represse them, and punish them, if

The pope maketh it sacrilege for a prince to imprison a rebellious priest.

they

they disturbe his state?

Phil. They were not his subiects. Theop. Then were they his enimies, and since they came armed, and presumed with their ships to encounter his, why should he not sease them as his prisoners? Phil. They came to keepe a councell, being therto called by the popes authoritie. Theo. To cal councels was the emperors right, & not the popes: and this conuenticle was called to oppresse the emperor. Why therefore might he not preuent it, and disperse it? especially when strangers offered to passe his dominion by plaine force without his leaue. *Naucler. gen. 42. ann. 1243.*

Heresie was the third crime, for which the pope suspected him. Wherein if a mortall enemie may both accurse and iudge, and proceed vpon no better ground than suspition, you may quickly condemne any man of heresie. Princes haue warme offices, if they shall loose their crownes as soone as the pope listeth to suspect them of heresie. *With heresie. The pope proceedeth against the emperor vpon suspition.*

The fourth cause is more foolish than any of the former. The prince forsooth forced his subiects in Sicilie to agnise him, & obey him as their lawful prince, notwithstãding the bishop of Rome had deposed him, & the persons that would not, he banished and diuersly punished. This indeed was not for your profit, but this was nothing against his duty. *With iniurie. Frederike offered no wrong in defending his owne. Sexti decret. li. 2. vt supra.*

Phil. He forced them to impugne the Church of Rome, whose vassals they were. Theop. The Church of Rome had a yearely pension out of Sicilie, which is heere specified, more the pope could not claime, and that pension was first yelded by those that vsurped the kingdome of Sicilie against the empire. For Roger of Normanie, when Lotharius the emperor had chased him * out of Apulia, and Campania, & taken those countries from him (and * intended the like for Calabria and Sicilie, but that he was called away by sudden occasions, and died before he could returne) grew to a secret cõpact with the bishop of Rome, to hold the kingdome of Sicilie (which the emperor claimed,) as frõ the Church of Rome by a yearly recognisance. After the death of Lotharius, Conradus the next emperor was so troubled first with rebellion at home, and then with an expedition into Syria, that he had no leasure to thinke of Sicilie. Against Frederike the first, who succeeded Conrade in the empire, did William of Sicilie nephew to this Roger, *Naucler. gene. 38. ann. 1137. Naucler. gen. 38. ann. 1138. The king of Sicilie con-*

spireth against the emperor to keepe him from recouering his right in Sicilie.

Roger (for his sonne raigned not long) conspire with the cities of Lombardie and the bishope of Rome, to keepe the Germane emperor alofe from Italie, and so long they striued (hauing the popes aide) with excommunications, and rebellions, that Frederike began to harken to a peace, and William of Sicilie hauing no children, married his sister to the emperors sonne called afterward Henrie the 6xt, and father to this Frederike, that we speake of, as willing the kingdome should returne to the emperors line: who otherwise laid a challenge to it. When William of Sicilie was dead, Henrie the 6xt by maine force of armes subdued Sicilie, and was receiued into Falernum the chiefe town of Sicilie as a conqueror.

Naucler. gener. 40. anno 1186.

Naucler. gener. 40. anno 1193. & 1194.

Frederike the second had a double right to Sicilie.

So that Frederike the second had a double right to the kingdome of Sicilie, either as heire to his vncle, in which case the popes pension was not extinguished; or else as emperor, by reason his father did recouer it by conquest, & reunite it to the empire. Either of these titles is sufficient to defend his doings in Sicilie. As emperor he might claime it afore the pope, & from the pope, for so did Conrade the third, and Otho the fourth. As king of Sicilie, he was to pay but a pension, not to be the popes vassall; & if the pope should offer him any wrong, he might lawfully repel force by force, & punish the people of the land that would not obey him as their king, and assist him to hold his owne.

Vide Naucler. anno 1138. & 1210.

The pope had only a pension out of Sicilie.

The popes allegation therefore against Frederike for compelling the subiects of Sicilie to continue their obedience, notwithstanding the popes interdict, is very friuolous. Frederike herein did no more than any prince might, and would doe in the like state. And grant he had somewhat abused the kingdome of Sicilie, which he did not, is that a cause to remoue him from the empire? Phil. The other three be the principall causes. Theop. Two of them, namely hereſie and periurie, be starke false: the third was arrogancie in the pope to make it sacrilege to touch a cardinall: not wickednes in the prince to take them as enimies, that labored to defeate him of his crowne.

The soundnes of the popes censure against the prince.

Phil. You would take the princes part, we see, were his cause neuer so euill. Theop. You doe take the popes part, we see, though the sentence he gaue be neither agreeable

to

to Gods law, nor mans law, nor his owne canons. Phil. How proue you that? Theop. May it is hie time for you to come forth with your proofes, or else wise men wil discerne in Innocentius the image of antichrist, proudly iudging in his consistorie without regard of God, or man. A professed aduersarie to sit iudge alone in his own quarrell, and for causes apparantly false, or friuolous, to proceed to the deprauation of a prince, yea the greatest prince in christendome, & in right his soueregne lord & maister; neither admitting his proxie, nor hearing what exceptions he could take to his accusers, but appointing him to come in person out of his own realme into another princes dominion, & to pronounce him guiltie of all that was obiected, being neither present, nor heard, for that he refused to put his life into his enimies hands; if this be iustice, the wild Irish, and sauage Indians that know not what belongeth to ciuill societie, or humane reason, may be iudges as well as the pope.

What iustice princes may looke for in the popes consistorie.

Phil. If the crimes were notorious, and the prince refused iudgement, why should not the pope proceed against him in his wilfull absence? Theop. The prince sent to shew the reason of his absence, & his attourneis to deal for him, as far as should be needful, but that the pope would not expect their comming, no not the space of three daies, at the petition of most of the nobles, and prelates that were in his counceil. The crimes pretended to be notorious were conceiued in great words, as periurie, sacrilege, hereſie & tyrannie: but the facts committed by Frederike, as breaking peace with the pope that took part in the field with his rebels against him, deteining the cardinals that went to worke his deposition, and fought with his fleete constraining his subiects in Sicilie to acknowledge him for their king, were temporall and priuate quarrels directly concerning the popes attempts against the prince, and the princes right to defend himselfe, which your holy father of his accustomed presumption, called periurie, sacrilege, and tyrannie, and being the aduerse part, gaue iudgement in his owne cause as liked best his own displeased & greeued stomack. Now how this could stand with the prescription of diuine, or moderation of humane lawes we would gladly learn. Phil. Your refuge will be to impugn the popes power

The pope, a verie patient and discreet iudge.

Naucler. gener. 42. anno 1246.

Would it not do princes good to haue such a ioily iudge.

Which

which was then confessed; though the hastines of his censure were somewhat misliked. Theo. By whom was it confessed? Phil. By all men, euen by Frederike himselfe. Theo. You must make truer reports, before you giue true iudgements.

Naucler. gener. 42. anno 1242. The popes power to depose princes vtterly denied in those daies.

Frederike in his epistle to the king of France, shewing this sentence by al lawes to be void, alleageth that though the bishop of Rome had full power in spirituall things, so as he might bind or loose sinners whatsoeuer, yet it is no where read, that the pope by the warrant of Gods or mans law, may remoue the empire when he list, or iudge temporally of kings and princes to depriue them of their crownes.

What a fire the popes proceedings kindled in Italie. *Naucler. gener. 42. anno 1240.*

The cities & people of Italie by that open and eger faction of Guelfs & Gibelines, which dured euen to our age, shewed how many there were that toke with þ prince against the pope, notwithstanding the popes excommunications & depriuations, which you would so faine vphold at this day. This faction (of Guelfs aiding the pope against the prince, and Gibelines standing with the prince against the pope) grew so generall, saith Nauclerus, that no citie, no towne, no people remained free from that infection. Citie hath waged war with citie, prouince with prouince. One halfe of the people with the other, from that time to this our age for no cause else but for this factiō; some helping their prince against the pope, & some the pope against their prince. For 200. yeers & vpward, saith Blondus, euen to these our times they pursued ech other with such rage vnder these vnluckie names, that the Italians wrought greater mischiefe among themselues, than before they suffered at the hands of barbarous nations. Towne against towne, countrie against countrie, the people of ech place diuided among themselues, fought togither for no cause but for this dissention; and their victories had no end nor meane, but bloodshed and vtter subuersion: neither onely neighbors and cohabitants, but those that dwelt fiue hundreth miles asunder, euen the poorer sort and beggers, as well as rich and mightie men, when they met ech other, committed all crueltie one side on the other. This flame your holy father kindled in his owne countrie with his rash proceeding against the emperor, so wide it scattered, so long it endured, so fiercely it raged, amongst your own deuotionists, and yet you would make the world beleeue the

Blondus decad. 2. lib. 7.

Horrible tumults ensued this deposition of Frederike.

the popes power to depriue princes was neuer doubted of, but in these our daies, and by men of our side.

What Germanie thought of this tragicall intemperance of the bishop of Rome, I speake for the most part of them, their manifest neglect of the popes factors and buls, and plaine speech in their Synods and assemblies will testifie. Which Auentinus, a man of the same religion that you are, thus reporteth. Albertus (the popes agent in Germanie) sent the popes buls to all the Germane bishops, for the publishing of Frederikes excommunication, not one of them obeieth him. He commanded the abbates to accurse the bishops: they regarded him not. He charged the clergie to choose them new bishops, and the monks to elect other abbats if they continued in this contempt. Euerie one began to maruell at the strangenes of this example neuer offered, much lesse vrged before his time. In no one place was this message quietly heard. All men stormed, disdained and raged: detesting the rashnes of the popes *Nuntio*, whose life and maners they were well acquainted with. Germanie was full of tumults, men saying plainly that the bishop of Rome commenced a most shamefull enterprice against right and equitie.

Germany reiecteth the popes proceedings against Frederike. *Auent. annal. boior. lib. 7. fol. 675.*

What Germany thoght of the popes enterprise.

Euen so when Rauerius an other of the popes agents deliuered Sigefride bishop of Rentzburge a bul from Rome against the prince, All men derided the impudencie of the man, and demanded what that light & superstitious Frenchman, or what the bishop of Rome himselfe had to do in Germanie without the consent of the Germaine bishops his collegues. They were offended and displeased to see such tumults raised, and discorde sowed, they proclaimed with open mouth that the libertie of Christians was oppressed, and the flocke redeemed with the blood of Christ, brought into bondage by false pastors. And when Albert would not cease, The bishops of Germanie not onely made light of his mandates, but accursed him in euery Church, and abbay, as an enemie of christian concorde, and a most pestilent arch-heretike: decreeing him to be woorse than any Turke, Iew, Saracene or Tartare: and openly blaming the bishop of Rome for attempting those things among Christians, contrarie to right and reason, contrarie to the law of nations, and doctrine of Christ, which were not vsed among

Auent. lib. 7. fol. 674.

What intertainment the popes nuncioes had in Germany.

Auent. lib. 7. fol. 677.

The popes agent accursed in euery Church as a pestilent arch-heretike.

among the most cruell Tartares.

In the midst of these sturs, the nobles and prelates of Germanie, meeting to consult for the state of their common-wealth, Eberhardus the archbishop of Saltzburge, a graue and worthy father; one that sate primate of that place fortie sixe yeeres, and had experience of ten bishops of Rome, vnder Frederike the first, Henry the sixt, and now this Frederike: hauing long tried, and well marked the drifts and cunning of the Romish prelates, in the eares of the whole assemby displaied your holie fathers armes with these words.

Auent. annal. lib.7.fol.683.

Our Lord and sauior Christ, did earnestly warne (vs) that we should take heed of false Christs, & false prophets, which couered with sheepes clothing, that is with the names of Christians & titles of bishops, would tyrannize ouer vs and illude vs: and they as he taught, must be discerned by their works, to wit, their auarice, luxurie, contention, hatred, emulation, warres, discordes, and ambitious desire to reigne. To whom did our heauenly king by these words more plainly point than to the Scribes & Pharisies of Babylon? Vnder the title of chiefe bishop, if we be not blinde, we see a most cruell wolfe in a sheepeheards cloake. The bishops of Rome haue their waies, and weapons for all sortes of Christian men. By presuming, circumuenting, kindling war vpon war, they are become great, and now they kill and slea the sheepe, they dispell peace & concord from the face of the earth, they raise ciuill wars, and domesticall seditions from the pit of hel: euerie day more and more they consume the strength of al men, that they may ride on the necks of al men. Christ forbiddeth vs to hate our enemies, charged vs to loue thē, & deserue wel at their hands: to keep faith with them and do good for their euill. But the prelates of Rome command vs, and that vnder a iollie countenance of pietie, to violate that which is holie, to abuse the sacred name of God to beguile men with, to be vngratefull to those that haue dealt wel with vs, & to requite good turnes with euill: yea to fight, striue, deceaue, betray and couſen: they will haue vs set nought by the maiestie & prouidence of God, withstand nature, and resist the supreme power that is ordained of God. Hildebrand was the first that eight score and ten yeeres ago, laid the foundation of Antichrists kingdome vnder colour of religion. This wicked

The pope liuelie described in his colours.

The romish warfare.

Ibidem.fol. 684.

war

warre (with princes) he firſt began, which his ſucceſſours haue purſued to this day. Beleeue me that haue looked into their doings, (almoſt theſe fiftie yeeres) they will not ceaſe till bringing the emperour on his knees, and diſſoluing the honour of the Romane empire, and alſo oppreſſing the true paſtours which feede, and dogges that are able to barke, they quench all, or kill all after this manner which you now behold. The higheſt God tooke the ſhape of a ſeruant that he might miniſter to his diſciples, and waſh their feete: but thoſe biſhops of Babylon will raigne all alone, they can abide no equall, they will not giue ouer, till they haue trodden all vnder their feete, and ſit in the temple of God aduancing themſelues aboue all that is worſhipped: their thirſt for richeſſe and honour can not be ſatiſfied. He that is the ſeruant of ſeruants, affecteth to be lord of lords, as if he were a God. The ſacred ſynodes and councels of his brethren, nay of his ſoueraigne lords he deſpiſeth. He feareth leaſt he ſhall be forced to giue account of thoſe things which he daily doth againſt all law and order. He ſpeaketh proud things as if he were ſome God, he laieth new plots to eſtabliſh himſelfe a kingdome, he chaungeth and maketh what lawes he liſt, he ſacketh, ſpoileth, deceiueth, killeth, being that ſonne of perdition, which they call Antichriſt, in whoſe forehead is written, a name of blaſphemie, I AM A GOD I CAN NOT ERRE, in the temple of God he ſitteth and raigneth farre and wide.

Hildebrand the firſt layer of this plot. *Ibidem.*

What the pope ſeeketh for, by warring with princes.

The ſeruant of ſeruants affecteth to be lord of lords.

The right portraiture of the pope.

I thinke you vnderſtand him, he ſpeaketh ſo plaine. Phil. He ſpeaketh ſo odiouſly that I little regard him. Theop. Yet an archbiſhop and in great credit with Frederike the firſt, aboue 380. yeeres agoe.

He was elected 1200.

Phil. We care neither for Frederike, nor his ſchiſmaticall archbiſhop. Theop. Leſſe care we for the wicked and phariſaicall attempts of your Romiſh Antichriſt: whoſe immoderate ambition, and intollerable preſumption the kings and biſhops of your owne religion haue alwaie deteſted and reſiſted; and that with vehement and ſharpe ſpeech, as you ſee by this example. Phil. What ſtraunge things is it to ſee ſome withſtand him? Theop. Leſſe maruaile is it to ſee ſome obey him. The name of the Church, the power of the keies, the dumbneſſe of biſhops, and diſcord of princes made manie men yeeld,

The biſhops of their owne religion haue deteſted the popes pride in depoſing princes.

The third part. Frederike poisoned and stifled in his bed.

that otherwise would not.

Phil. The princes of Germanie chose an other in his place as soone as the pope by his letters willed them. Theop. The one halfe of the electors were bishops, that neither durst nor would abide the popes furie: in the other halfe it was easie to find one that would be seduced, displeased, or some way corrupted to go to the choice of a new, but that the elect of theirs was slaine the same yeere in the siege of Vlme, & Willam of Holland that was chosen next after him had as short a dispatch by those that tooke part with Frederike. And had you not beene more active with poisons, than lucky with your elections: Frederike had sped them faster than you had named them.

Naucl. gener. 42. anno 1247. The new elect against Frederike had small ioy of their promotion.

Phil. His owne bastard stifled him. Theop. But his Antagonists first drenched him; and so Cuspinian saith, The popes hatred against the prince ceased not, whom he night and day deuised how to destroy: and after the conspiracie of Theobaldus, Franciscus, Gulielmus of San Seuerine, & Pandulphus was detected, who confessed they were set on by the pope, as Peter de Vines witnesseth in his 2. booke & tenth, & 30. epistle: yet at last the prince could not be so watchfull, but when he returned to Apulia, he was poisoned. And lying verie sicke of the potion which he tooke, and beginning at length to recouer, he was stifled of Manfrede his base sonne with a pillow as he lay in his bed. Thus you made away that worthy emperour Frederike the second: and these be the weapons of your Romish warrefare against princes, excommunications, rebellions, poisons.

Cuspinian. in Frede. 2.

The popes weapons against princes.

Phil. You raile without all reason. Theop. I speake no more than truth. Your owne examples shall iustifie the same. Omit Henrie the seuenth, called Henrie of Lucenburgh, whom a Dominican frier poisoned in the chalice: Lodouike of Bauaria and king Iohn of this land, were they not thus pursued and thus dispatched?

Naucl. gen. 44. anno 1313. Lodouike deposed without all cause.

Begin with Lodouike the fourth. What cause had Iohn the 22. to curse and ban him, and to condemne him for an heretike? Phil. Platina telleth you, he called himselfe emperour without the authoritie of the see of Rome, and aided the deputies of Italie to get the citie of Millan, and to be lords ouer it. Theop. Two shamefull sinnes I assure you. He had * foure voices, when he was first chosen in con-

Platina in Clemente 5. Be not these weighty causes to depose a prince.

Naucl. gener. 44. anno 1314.

tention

tention with Frederike of Austria. Auentinus saith, he had fiue: after in the field he tooke the other elect prisoner, and so ended the strife: Why then should he not take himselfe to be lawfull emperor? Phil. The fourth voice which did the deed was cunningly stollen. For where the marques of Brandenburge then absent wrate his letters for Frederike, his name was raced out and Lodouiks conueied in. Theop. Sir, by your leaue that is a legend. The marques of Brandenburge sent his substitute with a generall commission to chose as he saw cause, though as some said, his meaning were that Frederike should haue his voice: and that instruction he had giuen priuatly to the partie that was sent: who deceiued his expectation, & named Lodouik

Auent. lib. 7. fol. 743.
Lodouiks election.
Naucler. Ibid.

The second obiection is more absurd. For Lodouike aided those that stood for the safetie of the empire against the popes incourses and practises. And that, since he was chosen emperor, in honor and equity he was bound to do. Phil. He aided them against the church. Theo. The church of Christ hath nought to do with the warlike & wilfull tumults of popes. Phil. He made a new pope against Iohn the 22. and set him vp as an idole in Peters chaire. Theop. The pope before that had done the worst he could against Lodouike; openly excommunicating him and al his fauorers, and appointing him three moneths to renounce the election to the empire that was made of him, and come personally to excuse himselfe of his fact in giuing aid to heretiks, schismatiks, and such as were rebels against * the Church. He also depriued all cleargie men, that yeelded the prince any counsell, helpe or fauour. And when Lodouike appeared not, the pope accursed him, and condemned him of heresie. These be the sober and graue proceedings of your holy father, which he and his flatterers called the defence and exaltation of the Church. But the sounder and sincerer of this owne canonists and schoolemen abhorred, as the confusion and desolation of all godlines.

The pope deposed the prince because he would not looke on, whiles the popes faction did ransacke the empire.
Naucl. gener. 45. anno 1324.
The pope calleth his furious faction the Church.

Hermannus, then liuing, saith, These proceedings (against Lodouike) were curiously obserued by some, but verie many reputed them little worth, because, as men said, they were examined by the doctours of both lawes and pronounced by them to be vtterly void. Yea many famous diuines well commended for their learning and life, concluded the

Naucl. gener. 45. an. 1324.
Pope Iohns doings misliked both of lawyers and diuines.

pope to be an heretike for certaine errours, which he coldly recanted at the houre of his death, and Benedictus his succeſſour, is reported to haue publikely condemned thoſe erronious opinions. Phil. Nothing is ſo well done that all men like it. Theoph. It muſt nedes be euill that ſo many of your owne ſide miſlike; yea which the pope that came next, moſt of all others miſliked. For whē the kings of France and Apulia by their legats defaced the perſon of Lodouike and rehearſed what things he did againſt the Church, the pope replied, nay we did againſt him. He would haue come to the feete of my predeceſſour, if he might haue beene receiued to fauour: and that he did, he did it prouoked.

Naucl. gener. 45. anno 1335. And by his owne ſucceſſour.

The prelats and princes of Germany being aſſembled at Franckeford, with their common conſent reiected all the popes iudiciall proceſſe againſt this emperor as wholy void, and of no validity; the prince declaring ſo much by his imperiall decree. By the counſell & conſent of all the prelats and princes of Almanie aſſembled at our towne of Franckford, we denounce and determine theſe proceſſes (of pope Iohn againſt vs) to be none in law, and of no ſtrength or force. And we ſtraitly charge and command all and euerie within the limits of our empire, of what condition and ſtate ſoeuer, that no ſingular perſon, nor ſocietie preſume to obſerue the ſaid ſentences of excommunication and interdiction.

Naucl. gener. 45. anno 1338. All the prelats and princes of Germany tooke with Lodouike againſt the pope.

Where alſo you may ſee the proteſtations and allegations of that prince againſt the doings of pope Iohn, taken out of the grounds of your owne canons, and the very ſame that are defended of vs at this day, as warrantable by the ſacred ſcriptures & ancient order of Chriſtes Church: namely theſe, The prince hath his (ſword or) dominion not from the pope, but onely from God. The ſacred canons, and the Church of Chriſt prohibit and do not grant to the pope the right of the empire, and power in temporall things. The ſentence is *ipſo iure* none, which is erronious: as when it commandeth the ſubiect not to obey his ſuperiour, or preſcribeth any thing againſt God, or the ſcripture. But it is manifeſt that pope Iohn hath commanded that our ſubiects ſhall not obey vs, to whome all that are in our empire ought to yeelde allegiance and reuerence by the lawes

Naucl. gener. 45. anno 1338. Theſe principles were defended by the emperor & al his adherets.

lawes of God and man.

This he did vpon conference had with the best learned that were in his age. When it was knowen in Germanie what Pope Iohn had decreed, Lodouike, saith Auentine, consulted the best lawyers and skilfullest diuines that were in Italie, Germanie or France: especiallie the doctors of both lawes, and diuines of Bononia and Paris. They all wrote back that the actes and decrees of pope Iohn against the emperour, were repugnant to christian simplicitie, and the heauenlie scriptures. The men of note, and such as wrote against the pope for this inordinate presumption, were Marsilius Patauius, Iohannes Gandauus, Andreas Laudensis, Vlricus Haugenor, Luitpoldus de Babenburg, Dantes Alligerius, Occam, Bergomensis, Michael Cæsenas.

Auent. lib. 7. fol. 761.

Pope Iohns proceedings repugnant to the lawes of God.

Phil. What, reckon you these? The most of them were condemned by the church of Rome for heretiks. Theop. They were condemned by the pope for speaking truth. Marsilius booke is extant intituled,* The defender of peace: What error can you charge him with, but this, that he wrote against the insufferable pride and ambition of the pope? Dants error, for the which he was condemned, your friends affirme to be this, for that in his booke of the monarchie, he said: The Romane empire had no dependāce of the pope (*in temporall things*) but only of God. Occam the minorite pursued that argument so farre, that he brought the popes power and his prelates touching their temporall dominion, to nothing. These were their errors for the which the church of Rome, otherwise called the pope and his cardinals, condemned these learned and innocent men. With as good reason you might haue condemned Christ and his Apostles for the same causes. S. Paul auoucheth the one: There is no power but of God: and Christ himselfe commaunded the other, Kings of nations beare (temporall) rule. You shall not do so.

Defensor pacis Marsil. Patu. The pope maketh it heresie to speake against his pride.

Naucl gener. 45. anno 1338. Naucler. Ibid. Heresie to denie the popes temporall dominion.

Rom. 13. Luke. 22.

Phil. They held other errors. Theop. Euen such an other. For this was against the state and pride of prelats: and that touched their cofers and treasures, which in deed were their Gods. The poore Franciscanes began to dispute that it was a signe of more perfection, and a nearer resemblance to the life which Christ and his Apostles led on earth for clergie men to renounce the world, & possesse

And so was it to speake against his wastfull and excessiue wealth.

The third part. What submission the pope required of Lodouike.

nothing of their owne, rather than to nestle themselues in the sweetest & richest seates of Christendome, & to heape vp mammon and wealth, in such abundance, that they were able not only to beard princes in their palaces, but also shoulder them in the field. The ground of their opinion they take from your canon law, and your holy father himselfe in erecting the rule of frier Francis could confesse as much: marry when the emperour in hatred of the popes hawtines & greedines cast some fauour to the Franciscans: the pope to match the prince, gaue forth an edict, & made it heresie to say that Christ & his Apostles possessed nothing in this world: which because the friers impugned in their schooles and sermons, the pope condemned them & all their aiders and abetters, whereof Lodouike was one, for heretikes. This is that other heresie for the which Michael Cæsenas, Occam and other Franciscanes, and Lodouike the emperour, as a patrone of theirs, were vnpeached: which Platina thinketh was scant aduisedly done by the pope and his counsellers. Pope Iohn, saith he, set foorth a decree, wherein he declared them to be rebels (to the Church of Rome) and heretikes, which affirmed that Christ and his disciples had nothing of their owne. This decree doth scant accord with the sacred scripture, which testifieth in manie places, that Christ and his disciples had nothing of their owne. Thus your holie father to spite the prince, and to reuenge such as opened their mouths at his sumptuousnes & surquedrie, made it heresie to commend humilitie & pouertie. Phil. That Christ and his disciples did possesse nothing, neither in priuate nor in cõmon, this was their error; and not as you report it. Theop. Indeed it is worth the noting, how finely your holie father did circumuent them. For where they meant that Christ & his Apostles left the world to follow their vocation, & would after possesse nothing superfluous neither in priuate, nor cõmon, but held themselues satisfied with apparell, & foode, such as the goodnes of God by the almes of other, or by their own industrie, not slacking their function, did prouide for them: the bishop of Rome hauing alreadie gotten a good part of the empire into his hands, & daily deuising new quarels to get more: and besides oppressing al christian realmes with intollerable taxes and paiments for the maintaining of his warres,

Caus. 12. quæst 1. ¶ dilectissim. Sexti Decret. lib. 5. de verb. significat. ca. 3.

Platina in Ioan. 23.

Platina liketh not pope Iohns decretall against the Franciscans.

What the Franciscans meant by their assertion.

warres, and furnishing of his other expences, which were both needles & excessiue: and knowing by this urging of Christs and his Apostles pouertie, which the friers began euery where to publish, how vnlike he should appeare to S. Peter, whose successor he would seeme to be; peruerted the words and sense of the poore friers, as if they had taught that the diet and raiment which Christ and his Apostles vsed, had not been their own, but wrongfully take, and vnustlie withheld from others that were the right owners, and with this shift made it heresie and blasphemy to saie that Christ had nothing of his owne: where the friers were neuer so mad to defend that Christ and his Apostles had no right nor proprietie to the clothes which they ware, and meates which they vsed, but they rather detested the monstruous wealth and riote of moncks and bishops, which pretending to forsake the world & follow Christ, heaped greater riches, & wallowed in ofter pleasures than any secular persons: which soare when the wretched friers began to touch, they were condemned and burned for heretikes. These were the principall griefes against Lodouike, which the pope and the cardinals could neuer digest, I meane his resisting their pride, & misliking their wealth for these causes, when he offered reconciliation and satisfaction, that the christian world might haue rest from those domesticall warres and miseries, the pope would receiue none, but on these cõditiõs, that the prince should confesse himself guiltie of all those errors and heresies that were laid to his charge: that he should resigne the empire, and not resume it without the popes leaue: that he should put himself, his children, and his goods into the popes hands, to be done withall as should please the pope. Such was the mildnes of this romish saint, that his heart could not be satisfied but with the vtter destruction of the emperour & his children: which when the princes & bishops of Germanie perceiued, they signified their generall determination to Lodouike in these words: Most gratious lord and emperour, the princes electours and other the faithfull of your empire, perusing the articles of your submission, which the pope requireth and resteth on, with one consent haue decreed them to be conceiued to the subuersion and ouerthrow of the empire, so that neither you nor they by

Why the pope could not digest their doctrine.

The pope peruerted the meaning of the wretched friers.

The pope would no peace with Lodouike but on such conditions as no swineheard would accept. *Naucle. gener. 45. an. 1343.*

Where he should be sure to be well vsed.

Naucl. gener. 45. anno 1344.

The Germans would suffer no such submission.

What submission the pope required of Lodouike.

reason of the oth you haue taken to the empire, can yeeld to them: and they intend to send orators to the pope, and to the colledge of Cardinals, to request them to cease from this course. If they refuse, your princes are resolued to meete at Rens vpon Rhene, there to deliberate with you for the farther resisting of these practises.

Phil. If these electors were so earnest for Lodouik, how hapned they chose Charles the fourth against him? Theop. The pope wan the duke of Saxonie with money, as * Conrade of Maidenburge craketh: and so with a new Archbishop of Cullen, whome the pope intruded, the former incumbent yet liuing, Charles sonne to the king of Bohemia, and nephew to the Archbishop of Treuers, was chosen; who were easilie induced to consent to the election of one so neere them in blood: but neither would the princes of Germany receiue him, nor durst he meddle with the empire so long as Lodouike liued. For when Lodouik called the nobles together vpon the choice of Charles, and asked them whether of the twaine they would haue to beare rule ouer them, The whole assemblie without anie staie cried out that Lodouike was their soueraigne, and their emperour appointed by God, and that they would continue in his obedience. And there detesting the perfidiousnes of those few (that made this new choise) and defieng Charles in the worst words they could giue, with great zeale: they renewed their oth to Lodouike, and promised him their help to reuenge that wickednes.

A pact made by the pope to chuse an other emperour. *Auent. lib. 7. fol. 785.*

The germans sweare afresh to Lodouike after the pope had deposed him.

And so Charles hated of all (the Germanes) for the breach of his oth (to Lodouike) and no where receiued as emperour, was conueied into Bohemia. Neither durst he come out of his hoale, or take the gouernment vpon him so long as Lodouike liued. Nauclerus likewise confesseth that, Lodouike gathering the imperial cities together at Spires, found them verie earnest on his side, so that none of the cities of Rhene, Sueuia, or Franconia anie whit esteemed the new election of Charles, or the popes processe.

Auent. lib. 7. fol. 787. Naucle. gener. 45. an. 1346.

In this state they stood, defending their prince, & neglecting the pope till the death of Lodouike, who being well in health, and verie pleasant at a feast where he met the dutchesse of Austria, as soone as he dranke of the cup which the dutchesse reached him, presentlie felt himselfe sicke: and as

Frederike drenched. *Naucl. gener. 45. an. 1347.*

as Cuſpinian ſaith, feeling a griping at his hart, ſuſpected himſelfe to be poiſoned: and getting on his horſe to ride abroad,* was ſtroken with a palſie, and fell from his horſe and gaue vp the ghoſt. *Cuſpinian in Frederic. 2. Naucl. anno 1347.*

After his death, the biſhop of Mentz, the marqueſſe of Brandenburgh, the Palatine of Rhene, with the duke of Saxony that newly ſucceeded, concluding the choice of Charles to be void, ſent a ſolemne meſſage to Edward the third, king of England, inuiting him to take the empire. But he with thanks refuſed it. *Naucl. anno 1348.*

Not long after they choſe Gunter, who the ſame yeere was poiſoned with a potion, his phiſition alſo dying within three daies, whom the king commanded to drinke before him. Phil. This was not the popes doing. Theop. Whoſe doing it was we know not, but thus they were made away that withſtood the pope. *Naucl. anno 1350. Another elect poiſoned*

And ſo was king Iohn of this land, vpon whom your holy father, and his religious adherents ſhewed the fulnes of your Romiſh deuiſes. You forced a diſordered election vpon him, and when he would not like it, you depriued him of his crowne, & offered the ſame to the king of France and to his heires for euer, with full remiſſion of his and all their ſins, that would take weapon in hand to driue king Iohn from his realm. And after you had aſſembled a mighty force againſt him, you counſelled him rather to reſigne his crowne into the popes hands, and to take it againe of him in farme, than with fire and ſword to be chaſed out of his land, and loſe both his kingdome and his life. And by this cunning, when you had gotten the kings grant to ſubiect himſelfe and his crowne to the Church of Rome, you reſtrained him, and curſed the French kings ſon and ſouldiers (whom your ſelues had incited to this pray) for not leauing off, when you willed them: and loſing all their labor and charges, when you were once ſeaſed of that you ſought for. In the end when you ſaw him ſo much in the popes fauor, that he preuailed againſt his barons and biſhops as he would himſelfe, you ſent him packing with poiſon, which a monke tempered for him in the abbey of Swineſtead not farre from Lincolne. *King Iohns cauſe.*

Phil. That he was poiſoned is not true; as alſo that Stephen Langhtons election to the ſee of Canturbury was diſor-

Fructus temporum, lib. 7. Gualterus Hemingfordus, Gisburnens. The monks turne this poison to a surfet.

disordered: and as for the rest, I see no cause why you should mislike. Theop. That he was poisoned is witnessed by Caxton, Hemingfoord, and others: Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, in fauour of the monke that did it, themselues being monks, say he surfetted with eating peaches, and drinking sweet wine, which also the rest affirme: but those they auouch were poisoned. Polydor

Polydor. li. 15. Anglicæ historiæ in Iohanne.

bringeth both reports as finding them both written. There are, saith he, which write that a monke (of Swinestead) prouoked with certaine words (which king Iohn spake) tempered poison with wine, and dranke thereof himselfe before the king, to get him to do the like, & so they both departed this life almost at one instant.

Stephen Langhtons election.

Of Stephen Langhtons election to the see of Canturbury, we need no better witnesse than the monke of S. Albons, that was then aliue, and had no fansie to king Iohn, as may be seene by his writings. Phil. Will you stand to his opinion in this cause? Theop. Historiographers vse to declare what was done, not to decide what was well or euill done. I take the fact as he reporteth it: let the reader be iudge of the cause.

Matth. Paris. anno 1207.

Some of the monks of Canturbury chose their subprior to be archbishop, in the night without any solemne forme, without the kings consent, & without the greater part of the conuent; the rest chose the bishop of Norwich, in the day time, the king being there and consenting to their election, which was celebrated before sufficient witnesses. Both parts presenting their elects to the bishop of Rome, after long discussing, the pope pronounced either election to be void, & disabled both the contendors to be chosen to that see. And

The pope disanulled both, bicause he would place a cardinall of his owne.

Matth. Paris. anno 1207.

knowing what good an archbishop might do him in furthering his collections and exactions in this land, he commanded the monks there present vpon paine of excommunication to make choice of Stephen Langhton, before they departed the place. And when the monks answered they could not celebrate an election that would be canonicall without the kings consent & the rest of their couent, the pope catching the word out of their mouthes, said, know ye that in elections made here with vs, the assent of princes is not wont to be expected. Wherefore in vertue of your obedience, and vnder the danger of our curse, we command you to choose him,

whom we appoint you to be the father & pastor of your souls. So the monks for feare of excommunication, though against their wils, and not without grudging gaue their voices, and chose Stephen Langhton to be primate of England. The monks forced for feare to choose Stephen Langhton at Rome.

Let go the wrong which the bishop of Norwich receiued, in that the pope of his meere pleasure did frustrate his election to gratifie one of his owne. What law permitteth the pope to force men in their elections to choose whom he list to prescribe? How could that election be good which was plainly wrested from a few monks beyond the seas with threats and excommunications, the rest that were at home, being neither called, nor bound to go out of the land for the choice of their archbishop? Why should not the king refuse that violent & shameful packing of the pope to plant his cardinals in this realme? Or what should the king looke to haue of him that was deuoted to the court of Rome, and obtruded on him in this violent maner, but a deadly enimy to his state, as it after fell out, and a continuall practiser against his person? Phil. That is your suspicion. Theop. It proued too true for the kings auaile. For this prelate not onely incensed the pope against the king that he might be receiued to his see: but after the king was reconciled, & himselfe quietly possessed of his church, he * set all the barons of this realme in an open rebellion against the king, that neuer ceased till the king was poisoned. Phil. You charge him vntruly. Theop. His owne acts wil not belie him. The next yeere after his vntoward election, the pope interdicted the whole land, for that the king would not admit Steuen Langhton into his realme, (no point of godly discipline to chastise the king, but a tricke of your Romish pollicy to get the subiects to murmur at the magistrate.) And 4. yeeres after when the pope staied somewhat long, as they thought, in contriuing his matters against king Iohn, your Canturbury cardinall, with the bishops of London & Ely went to Rome, & complained to the pope of the manifold rebellions & enormities which K. Iohn had continued from the time of the interdict to that present day, increasing his cruelty & tyranny (so these ambitious hirelings termed their soueraignes doings) against God & his holy church without intermission. Wherupon they made supplicatiō to the pope, that he wold vouchsafe of

The goodnes of this election must hang on the popes infinit power, other wise it had neither law nor conscience.

This prelate became after a pestilent enimie to king Iohn.

Matth. Paris. in anno 1215. saith, coniurati Steph. archiep. capital. consent. haluerunt.

Matt. Paris. anno 1212. The bishops of England incense the pope against their king.

of his godly compassion to helpe the Church of England in this extremity. So nice your clergy was, that when they were but a little defalked of their abundances and superfluities, they could no longer abide it, but desired to haue the king deposed.

Phil. The king seased on all their goods, caused them to redeeme their immunities and liberties, and raised a grieuous persecution against the whole clergy throughout England. Theoph. We doubt not but your monks in this freight will make great flames of small sparks. The king of England did, as any prince in this like case would. The clergy of this realme, was at that time a richer and wealthier state than the laity, discharged from all burdēs & taxes to the crowne, by the fauor of the princes his progenitors. If therefore when the pope began to quarrell with the king about the chiefest Church in his realme, & offered him so open wrong, the clergy were ready with their wealth and strength to assist the pope against the king, why should not the king both sease their goods into his hands, & make them redeeme their priuiledges which they were well able to do, for the maintenance of his crowne & kingdom against a wicked & iniurious oppressor?

Why should the clergy haue their liuings, if they would not discharge their duties?

And sure for ought that I see, the king did but iustice. For where the clergy refused to do their duties, & would not so much as say him or his people any diuine seruice, why should the prince suffer them to inioy those liuings that were prouided for such as would?

Phil. The fault was not theirs; they were restrained by the popes interdict. Theop. Were the fault in them or the pope, this is euident, the clergy might better lacke their liuings, than the realme diuine seruice.

Phil. Was it not tyranny to famish so many thousand monks and priests as were in this land? Theop. The king allowed them *victum & vestitum parcè ex rebus proprijs*: meate, drinke, and raiment out of their liuings, though sparefully, in respect of their former and vsuall excesse, the rest he kept in his hands, till they discharged that function, for which they were indowed with so liberall recompence. Phil. You can not blame them. Theoph. He that performeth a wicked interdict is to be blamed as well as he that commandeth it. Phil. This was not wicked. Theoph.

Mat. Paris in anno 1208. The king allowed his clergy food and raiment, so that he barred them only of their abundance.

There

To interdict the whole realmes for one mans offence. There could be no wickeder. *The third part.*

The prohibition of publike praier, and restraint of the word and sacraments throughout the realme is rather a dishonor to God, and an iniury to the faith, than a seemely sentence for a christian bishop. You can neither shew vs warrant for it in the scriptures, nor example of it in the Church of God for a thousand yeres. They did excommunicate persons, not places: they thrust not the innocent into the same extremity with the nocent, as you do: much lesse did they prohibite God to be serued in the Church, his sacraments to be ministred, his word to be preached, which the Turks do not offer where they conquer: & satan himselfe can wish no better increase of his kingdome than this horrible desolation of all those meanes that God hath appointed to saue the soules of men. Phil. Then let them be obedient to their bishops. Theop. You can not say the people were disobedient, but only the king: why then should they be restrained from seruing God, & stand in danger of euerlasting destruction which transgressed not? Phil. Let them be earnest with their king to yeeld. Theop. And what if he will not, though they be neuer so earnest? Phil. Let them be readie to compell him, whē they be required so to do by their bishops. Theo. You hit the naile right on the head. Your general debarring of diuine seruice throughout a realme, was nothing else but an Antichristian policie to set the people in a discontent, and to make them the readier to rebell against their princes, for whose sakes they be thus put in the high way to perish. And therefore the clergy men that did execute, and fulfill such an interdict were partakers of the same wickednesse with the pronouncers: and by no reason can it be counted crueltie in the king to take from them their ecclesiasticall promotions; so long as they wickedlie ceased frō their ecclesiasticall functions, by this or any other like interdict. This was all the persecution & rebellion that king Iohn might iustly be charged with; and yet the pope by the counsell of his cardinals and bishops, sententially defined that he should be deposed frō his throne, and an other placed by the popes procurement that should be worthier. And for the execution of this sentence, the pope wrote to Philip the most mightie king of France, that in the remission of all his sinnes,

Interdicting of whole realmes wrappeth innocents as well as nocents.

Interdicting God to be publikely serued, is the high way to increase the kingdome of satan.

The right meaning of their Romish interdicts.

The executors of such interdicts as bad as the pronouncers.

Matth. Pariſ. anno 1212. By this bait the pope drew many ambitious princes to serue his turne.

The third part. The bishops of England eager to haue K. Iohn deposed.

sins, he should vndertake this matter, and after the expulsion of king Iohn, he and his heires for euer should be rightful* owners of the kingdome of England. He wrote likewise to all the nobles, captaines, and souldiers of diuerse nations, that they should crossigne themselues to the deposing of the king of England, and following the king of France their leader in this voyage, reuenge the iniury of the* vniuersall Church. **Thus your holy father set kings together by the eares for the remission of their sinnes; and turned the warfare that was prouided against the Turke, to pursue his priuate quarels with christian princes, and like the prince of darknesse * giueth kingdoms that be none of his, to them and their heires for euer.**

Not so much as the popes pride & fury, but it must be shrowded with the name of the Catholike Church.

Matth. 3.

And your blessed bishops of Canturburie, London, and Ely, that first made suite at Rome to haue this impietie decreed against their prince in their owne persons, to shew their christian and obedient dispositions, plied the king of France & other potentates, to hasten them with all hostilitie towards this land; and would needs be both the messengers & ringleaders in that action. The next yeere Stephen of Canturbury William of London, & Elias of Ely, returned from the court of Rome, & gathering a Councel on the other side of the sea, solemnly published the iudgement that was giuen against the king of England in the presence of the french king, and his bishops, and his clergie, and communaltie. That done, they inioined the king of France and al the rest on the behalfe of the pope, for the remission of their sins, that they all ioining together, should inuade the realme of England in hostile manner, and thrust king Iohn from his throne, and substitute a worthier by the Apostolike authority. **It was enough for them vnnaturally to procure this pestilent inuasion against their prince: but they themselues must assist it with all their might, and be the chiefe doers in it; least ages after them should be ignorant how zealous they were for their* backs and bellies against their lawful and soueraigne magistrate.**

Romish deuotion the very mother of diuelish rebellio.

Matth. Paris. anno 1213.

Were not these good subiects.

Phil. Being deposed, he was no magistrate. Theo. When you * proue the pope may depose princes, then pronounce king Iohn no magistrate: til you so do, giue vs leaue to tell you, that this was a cursed presumption in the pope, and a more cursed rebellion in the bishops.

Phil.

Phil. The realme of Fraunce you see, take the offer, and therby confessed the pope might depose princes. Theop. A kingdome will make men do much. The king of Fraunce was led thereto not with religion, but with ambition to get the crowne of England for Lodouike his sonne. Where you see the desire which princes had to inlarge their dominions, made them regard the popes censures against their neighbors, which otherwise in themselues they did mightily despise, as appeerth by that which fell out not long after betweene Philip the faire and Boniface the eight. Where the king of Fraunce resolutely withstood the pope with all his interdictions and depositions, and vsed his person in the end very coursely, as I before haue touched in place where vpon occasion. Princes to serue their turnes, and to be reuenged of their enimies, haue oftentimes backed & inforced the popes iudicial sentence against others: which corrupt affection, to man the popes proces, when it made for their purpose, God hath punished in them, by making him their maister, whom for lucre they serued as long as they gained. By the enuie & enmitie of princes one against another, not by the lawes of God, or examples of Christs Church, hath the pope gotten the mastery of all princes: & so long as they will inuade ech other, at his teasing, they shall neuer be free from his yoke. By their help he became of a bishop vnder them to be prince with them, & by their dissentions, of a prince with them, he is now lord ouer thē.

The king of Fraunce would faine haue had the crowne of England, & in that respect tooke the popes offer. fol. 95.

By the dissention and ambition of princes the pope grew to be Lord ouer them.

Take king Iohn for a paterne. Had not the french king in hatred of king Iohn, and hope of the crowne, bin willing to heare of this match, & wagered his men and money for that prize, the king of England had easily forced the pope to some reasonable order. But now, seeing the whole realme of Fraunce was in armes against him, and his owne land likely to be diuided within it selfe, what maruell if he accepted rather any conditions at the popes hands, than he would suffer strangers that gaped after his kingdome, to deuour it?

Feare of the French king draue king Iohn to put his necke vnder the popes girdle.

Phil. He did wisely to submit himselfe; he had otherwise lost both rule & life. Theop. The pope did as wickedly not to content himself with the kings submission, & restitutiō of al that was detained, but with a fine deuise to circumuēt both parts, & to get the kingdom for himselfe & his succes-

The pope gate the kingdome of England for himselfe.

successors, which was promised before to the French king and his heires. Such cunning your holy father hath to set others to beate the bush, whiles he doth catch the birdes. The king of France was led in a string to muster his men, to rigge his ships, to bestow * aboue threescore thowsand pounds for the preparation of the warre, and was told he should haue for his labour, pardon of all his sinnes, for soth and the crowne of England to him & to his for euer without faile: and when al was in a readines, and they waited nothing now but the French kings comming to goe with the armie: the popes legate stepped ouer before and shewed king Iohn what a power was leuied against him: and how many of his owne nobles had purposed to forsake him: and wan him rather to hold his kingdom in fee farme of the bishop of Rome for an easie rent, than to leaue it a pray to the French king & his people, who would egerly spoile him of all. Upon which aduise the king consented to receiue the archbishop & the rest of the exiles in peace; to restore that to them which he had seased of their liuings to his vse; to resigne his crowne into the popes hands, and to take it againe as his liege man & Secundarie for a thousand marke sterling by the yeere. This done the legate sailed backe, sent home the bishops, discharged the army, prohibited the French king to proceed any farther, for so much as the king of England was newly become a tenant to the church of Rome. With this sleight the pope caught the crowne of England: neither as I thinke was there euer any kingdome purchased with lesse charge and more speede than this was by the pope.

Matparisin anno 1213. § his ita gestis.

The pope a skilful fisher for kingdoms.

King Iohn farmed his crowne of the pope by a yeerely rent.

Phil. If the king would resigne it, why should not the pope receiue it? And in my conceite, it was safer for the king to fall into the popes hands to be rented, then into the french kings to be spoiled. Theop. That cōceit, which you speake of, made the king of England content to be the popes vassall. Phil. Better so, than worse. Better farmor to the pope, than prisoner to the French: and in that offer to my iudgement the pope shewed fauour to king Iohn. Theoph. Such fauour a thiefe sheweth when he cutteth off both hands, and letteth the head stand. Phil. Compare you the pope to a thiefe? The. I did him no wrong, if I should, except you thinke it lesse sinne to robbe a king of his crowne,

The pope shewed fauour to king Iohn, but most of all to himselfe.

than

than an other man of his goods. Phil. The king was content, and so long it could be no robbery. Theop. So is any man by the high waies side content rather to yeld his purse, than lose his life, and yet that is fellony. Phil. What right hath a theefe to an other mans purse? Theop. As much as the pope had to the crowne of England, when he forced king Iohn to yeld it. Phil. Of that we will not dispute. Theop. You should but shame your selues if you did. Phil. But since that surrender he hath better title to this realme. Theop. No more than he had before king Iohn was borne, and that was none at all.

The pope had as much right to the crowne of England, as a theefe hath by the high waies side to an other mans purse.

Phil. The whole realme of England with that of Ireland, with all their right & appertinents, were giuen to Innocentius & his catholike successors: & the king bound his heires & after-commers for euer to do homage & fealty to the bishop of Rome. Theop. A faire paire of indentures, but somwhat too short to conuey a kingdom. The king by an oth might make himselfe thral during his life, as perhaps he did, but tie his realme and crowne to that perpetuall bondage, by his single deed or chart he could not. It is well knowne the kings of this realme can not do lesse things than the selling or giuing of their crownes away without the consent of their nobles and commons. Phil. He had the consent of his barons. Theoph. That is not true. The deed saith, with common countell (or aduise) of our barons, meaning such as were then by chance about him at Douer; but the most part of his barons detested that act, and the kings that came after him neuer tooke themselues bound in honor, law, nor conscience, to respect that priuate submission of their predecessor.

Mat. Paris in anno 1213. § rebus, vt iam dictum est.

The king might bind himselfe, but not his successors to these conditions.

The barons of this realm detested the kings act.

Phil. May not a king subiect his realme to whome he will? Theop. I thinke lawyers will say no, as well as diuines: sure I am the barons of this realme thought no. For when the popes legate spake to the French king, that his sonne might not disquiet king Iohn, being now fendary to the Church of Rome: the king of France answered, The kingdome of England neither was, is, nor shall be S. Peters patrimony. No king nor prince can make away his realme without the assent of his barons, that are bound to defend the realme, and if the pope go on to vphold this error, he giueth a most pernicious example to all kingdoms.

Mat. Paris. anno 1216. § sub hijs diebus.

domes. Then all the nobles (of England) (for to France were they fled, to accompany their new king whom they had chosen in king Iohns place) with one voice cried they would stand to maintaine this article euen with the losse of their liues, that a king or prince can not at his pleasure giue or subiect his kingdome to any other, to make the nobles of his realme * seruants. So that his barons neither consented he should, nor liked that he did subiect his realme to the bishop of Rome; and so farre were they from consenting, that in words they reuiled, and in deeds resisted both the king and the pope: and vtterly despising the curses and comminations that came from Rome, they brought in Lodouike the French kings sonne to take the crowne of England from the popes leasse.

Much lesse successors.

For when the pope had sent first a generall and after a speciall excommunication to curse them by name that wer about to take the kingdome from his vassall: They said euery one of them, that those buls were of no force, chiefly for that the ordering of temporall affaires did not appertaine to the pope, since the Lord gaue Peter & his successors no power but to dispose Church matters. Why then, said they, doth the insatiable greedines of Romanes encroach vpon vs? What haue the bishops of Rome to do with our wars? Behold (they will be) the successors of Constantine, and not of Peter. And in somewhat homely termes, out vpon such shrieueled ribalds, as are neither valiant nor liberall, and yet will rule the whole world by their excommunications, like ignoble vsurers and simonists as they are. Euen so the barons, Wo be to thee, the outcast of kings, the abomination of English princes, and confusion of English nobilitie. Alas England, England, till this time the queene of prouinces, but now in subiection and vnder the rule of base seruants and strangers: whereas nothing is viler than to be in seruitude to a seruant. We read that other kings and princes haue striued euen vnto death for the liberty of their lands, but thou Iohn (of mournfull memory to all ages) hast deuised and contriued, that thy realme being anciently free should become bound: and thy selfe of a most free king a seruile tributary, farmor and vassall. And of thee, O pope, what shall we say, which shouldest shine to the world as the father of holines, the myrror of godlines, the tutor of righteousnes and keeper of truth, that thou consentest

Matth. Paris. anno 1216. § Cumq; omnes. The complaint of the barons against the pope and the king.

Marcidi ribaldi.

Matth. Paris. anno 1216. § Circa hos dies.

The end of all the popes deuises.

The nobles lament the seruitude of this realme. *The third part.*

senteſt, commendeſt and defendeſt ſuch an one? But for this cauſe doeſt thou maintaine, the waſter of Engliſh wealth, and extinguiſher of Engliſh nobilitie depending on thee, that all may bee plunged into the gulfe of Romiſh auarice.

This was the barons complaint againſt king John for intituling the pope to the crowne of England: & though they added other things as occaſions to the wars, called the barons wars, I meane the lawes and liberties of king Edward, yet this was the ground of their griefe, as you may collect by their words: and this reſpect made them refuſe their king, and elect an other, and neuer leaue purſuing him till they brought him to his end.

No king of England euer acknowledged this ſubiection to the pope.

And as for the kings that came after him (ſet his owne ſon aſide, who to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt Lodouike that poſſeſſed halfe this realme, did homage to the Church of Rome for his kingdome, and tooke an oth for the payment of the thouſand marks granted by his father, thereby to continue the popes cenſures againſt all thoſe that affected his crowne, or moleſted his land) not one of them euer recogniſed his ſubiection, or repreſented this yeerely penſion to the biſhop of Rome; but kept him off at ſtaues end, from infringing the roialties of the crowne, and oppreſſing the liberties of the land more than any realme chriſtian of the weſt parts that we read. Inſomuch that Polydor, no meane aduocate of your ſide, concludeth this ſubiection and penſion touched perſonally king Iohn, and not his ſucceſſors that ſhould raigne after him.

The kings of England moſt of all others kept the pope ſhorteſt from infringing the liberties of their crowne.

The pope had a 1000. marks land giuen him by king Iohn, part whereof the pope ſold after to William Wickam.

By reaſon of king Iohns deliuering his crowne into the legats hands, and receiuing it againe as his gift, It is a fame ſaith Polydor, that king Iohn deſirous to eterniſe the memory of this good turne, made himſelfe beneficiary to the biſhop of Rome, with this prouiſo, that the king of England after that ſhould receiue the right of their crowne onely from the pope. But the kings that followed neuer obſerued this forme, neither do the chronicles of England report any ſuch ſubmiſſion. Wherefore it is certaine that all thoſe burdens were laid on the perſon of king Iohn that offended, and not on his ſucceſſors.

Polydor. Ang. hiſt. lib. 15. in Ioan.

King Iohn burdened himſelfe and not the princes after him

Phil. *For hereſie George king of Boemland was excommunicated, & thereupon by the forces of the king of Hungary, at length actually deprined.*

The defence cap. 5.

Theop. For the mislike of your Romane vanities, your holy father plaied his part with George king of Boemiland 1466. yeeres after Christ, as he had done with other princes before, deiecting him from his kingdome by presumptuous iudgement at Rome, and intising the princes that were neighbors, in hope of his kingdome, to inuade him with armes, and to ioine with the Bohemians that rebelled against him. Which offer Mathias king of Hungary first imbraced, a proud vnthankfull, crafty, fraudulent, and ambitious man, as Frederike the third, then emperor of Rome, complained of him in his embassage to Cazimire king of Pole, and might well appeere by his behauior to king George, who had him in hold, when he was chosen king of Hungary, and might haue depriued him both of kingdome and life, and would not: but yet that inhumane & aspiring head of his did not preuaile. For George persisted and died king of Bohemia, notwithstanding the popes curses & Mathias forces, & after his death was Vladislaus Cazimires son chosen to the kingdome: & not only held it in spite of Mathias, & the popes grant to him & none else, but also succeeded Mathias in ỹ kingdom of Hungary.

George died king of Bohemia, notwithstanding the popes practises and Mathias forces.

Cromer. de gestis Polonor. lib. 27.

Cromer. eodem libro.

Phil. Yet the pope gaue the kingdome of Bohemia to Mathias. Theop. He might haue giuen him the kingdome of Constantinople or Persia, with as much right as he did this: but how that gift was estéemed euen by those that otherwise depended on the Church of Rome, the choice of a new and the next king did declare.

The pope very liberall in giuing kingdoms that be none of his.

Phil. *Also Iohn Albert had halfe his kingdome of Nauarre taken from him by Ferdinandus surnamed* Catholicus, *of Aragon; for that he gaue aid to Lewes the* 12. *being excõmunicated by Iulius the second.*

The defence cap. 5.

Theop. The drifts of princes, intertaining the popes buls, and admitting his keies so farre as they make for their profit, do not proue the popes power to be good, or their persons and states to be subiect to his censures by Gods law. Philip the second king of France, was earnest to execute the popes bull against king Iohn, and spared no cost for the preparation of the warre. The cause was, he hoped to get the crowne of England for his paines: but Lodowike his son, Philip the 4. and this Lewes whom you name, neither reuerenced nor regarded the popes buls which made against them: but shewed a manifest contempt

The king of Nauarre. Princes content to take part with the pope so long as it maketh for their profit.

tempt of his censures, & with open edicts severed themselues & their people from his obedience. So Ferdinand king of Spaine, when by violent and suddaine invasion he had gotten that part of Navarre which bordered upon him, was cõtent for the keping of it, to pretend the popes bul against Lewes the twelft. But Charles the fift, the next king of Spaine could let his souldiers surprise Rome & despoile it in most cruell maner, abusing and illuding the priests, nuns, bishops, and cardinals with all military despits and furies, & keepe the pope fast lockt in prison till he paied 400000. pounds for his ransome, and consented to such other conditions as they listed to prescribe. *Guicc. hist. lib. 18.*

Phil. It was not Charles will, that Rome should be sacked, or the pope thus handled: it was the Germanes rage for want of pay. Theop. Charles could do little, if he could not dissemble. He neither rebuked his army, nor inlarged the pope, nor recompensed any part of the pillage which his souldiers as well Spaniards as Germanes had committed in Rome, leauing nothing behind them that was worthy the taking. And so long though his consent did not appeare, yet he made his aduantage of their act and secretly supported them by his protraction to take the whole spoile of the citie. Charles looked through his fingers & said he saw nothing.

Phil. The variance betweene the pope and Charles was for temporall matters. Theop. So Lewes the 12. contended with Iulius the 2. for temporall dominion: & therefore the king of Navarre aiding the French king in a ciuill quarel, was nothing so much to be blamed as Charles: but the truth is, Ferdinand had cast his eies on that kingdome consining so neere & lying so cõmodious (the ancient desire of the kings of Spaine to be lords of Nauar being wel known, as Guicciardin confesseth) & for that cause when he could deuise no better title he toke hold of the popes bul, colouring his iniurious ambition with a semblance of Romish deuotion. Phil. It is holden at this day by the same right. Theop. This was no right: and other I know none the king of Spaine hath to it besides the sword, by the which it was gotten, not yet 73. yeeres since. Phil. Will you dispute his title? Theop. I am not so curious in an other mans common-wealth: let the princes whome it concerneth trie their owne titles: yet this is certaine, that neither *Guic. lib. 11.* Ferdin and lacking a better title pretended the popes bull for that part of Nauarre which lay so neere him. Right and force do not alwaies meet.

ther the kings of England, France, nor Spaine would suffer the pope to dispose their kingdomes or any part of their dominions against their likings.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *For like causes, & namely for that he was vehemently suspected of the murther of the blessed bishop S. Thomas of Canturburie, was Henry the second driuen by Alexander the third to order and penance.*

Henrie the 2. and Thomas Becket.

Theo. The strife betweene the king & Thomas Becket then archbishop of Canturbury, is reported before; & not now to be iterated. The lawes & liberties of the Church, for the which he resisted the king, were nothing els but the rescuing of malefactors, if they were clearks, from due punishment; & exempting themselues from the kings subiection: which be quarrels of their owne nature wicked & irreligious: and therfore well you may call him BLESSED, because you be consorted in the same quarrell with him against God & your prince: otherwise his pride was intolerable, his contention with the king detestable, his end miserable. Phil. Are you not ashamed to staine the glory of that worthy martyr? Theo. First proue him an innocent, before you make him a martyr. Phi. Who euer charged him with any crime? Theop. The very cause he stood in, was crime enough: besides his resisting the prince, which S. Paule pronounceth to be damnable. Phil. Do you make it damnable to defend the liberties of the Church? Theo. To dreame, that the statelines of popes, and licentiousnes of priests was the perfection & happines of Christs church, and in that lewd conceit to neglect your oths, and resist the powers, which God hath established is a triple dānation. Phil. That we do not. Theop. That he did, whom you call a blessed bishop for his labour: and your selues do worse. For you be not content to resist as he did by wilfull departing the realme, you take weapon in hand to depose the prince, and terme it iust & honorable warre to rebell against a lawfull magistrate, which impietie he did not declare in act, though in hart perhaps he did not abhorre it.

Beckets quarell must be good before he can be blessed.

Appeales to the pope, & immunity of wicked priests were the quarrell that Becket stood in.

Beckets fact damnable for these three respects vnlesse the Iesuits proue those lawes

But omit that he meant and come to that he did, except you shew what one thing in those ancient lawes of the crown (to which the archbishop had expressly sworne) was repugnāt to the word of God, or office of a christiā prince; we conclude your blessed bishop & Canturbury S. to be a shamefull defender of wickednes, an open breaker of his oth,

oth, and a proud impugner of the sword which God hath authorized as the scripture teacheth. And albeit we like not the manor of his death, that priuat men should vse the sword, which is deliuered vnto princes; yet the cause for which he withstood the king, was enormous & impious: & dying in that, though his death were violēt, he could be no martyr. Phil. You be loth to haue him a martyr, he was so farre both from your opinion in this point, & religion otherwise: but yet he died in the defence of the catholike church, & therfore we count him blessed. Theo. He died not in defence of the church: he stood stifly for the popes pride & gaine, & for the impunity of malefactors among the clergy, which things no way touch the true lawes or liberties of Christs church. And therefore you must either proue ỹ clergy mē are not subiect to the princes sword for hainous offences, which is most false; & that appeales frō all places must be made to ỹ bishop of Rome, which you shall neuer do: or else it is cuidēt that Thomas Becket deserued rather the reward of a traitor, than the honor of a martyr: these 2. being the principall causes for which he resisted ỹ king, whiles he liued, & was canonized after he was murdered.

which he withstood, to be repugnant to the word of God.

Such proud prelats are likeliest to be of your Romish religion.

Becket farre from a martyr.

Phi. The church of Rome liked & allowed of his doings, though you do not. Theop. She had good reason so to do. He gaue his life for the maintenance of her wealth & ease: & therfore if she should not estæm him, she were to blame: but this was no quarrel for a christiā bishop to spend his bloud in. The due correction of offenders by the temporall sword, though they were clergy men; & diligent execution of iustice at home without rūning to Rome, when either part was disposed to vex the other; were lawfull & wholesome precepts of the kings of this realme: & so long as the resistāce made by the archbishop against the king was sinful & seditious; & consequētly the state he stood in, dānable though the death he suffred were wrongful, as not proceeding orderly frō a magistrat, but furiously inflicted by some that were offended to see a bishop vrest a king in so vile a cause. Phil. The king himselfe in the end was *driuen to order & penance*. Theop. It was ease for you, when not only his neighbors, but his owne son rose in armes against him to win his cōsent to any thing. By wars & inuasios of reime vpon reime, by defection of subiects frō their soueraignes,

The Church of Rome were to be blamed if she did not honor Becket.

The popes practise to subdue princes.

& by the rebellion of children against their parents, your cunning hath bin to driue princes to order & keepe them in awe; but that doth not iustifie your vnnaturall & vnchristian tumults to force them to your bent. We dispute not whether of late you haue so done, but whether of right you may so do; we see the meanes which Antichrist hath vsed to aduance his kingdom: but those we say be neither agreeable to the sacred scriptures, nor to the course of Christs church in former ages, they be late deuises & practises of popes to exalt themselues aboue the highest: the iustice of God, preparing that plague for the sins of men, & dissention of princes, which should haue ioined together to succor his truth, & safegard his Church, by repressing the popes pride, & driuing him to christian integritie and modestly, and would not. Wherefore God gaue them ouer into his hands, that he should tread on their necks, & play with their crownes, as pleased himselfe: and they thinke it some great honor and preferrement to kisse his feet, and hold his bridle, whiles he gets to horsebacke.

Princes punished for the neglect of truth and discord that raigned amõgst them.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *A number of the like examples mo we might recite, of our coũtry & of the Christiã world, whereby not only the practise of the church in all ages may be seene; but also catholike men warranted that they be no traitors, nor hold assertions treasonable, false, or vndutifull; in answering or beleeuing that for heresie or such like notorious wickednesse, a prince (otherwise lawful & annointed) may be excõmunicated, deposed, forsaken or resisted by the warrãt of holy churches iudgemẽt & censure.*

No king of England deposed by the pope but only king Iohn.

Theo. From the conquest to king Henry the eight there was no prince of this land deposed by the pope but onely king Iohn. Deposition was offered to Philip the fourth & Lewes the twelfth, kings of France: but they were so farre from taking it, that they withdrew their whole realme from the popes obedience, and ouerreached your holy father with his owne practise.

The kings of France were too good for the pope.

Philip king of France. *Nauclerus. 44. anno 1300.*

Philip by the generall consent of his nobles & bishops not onely * despised the popes sentence of depriuation against him, but requited him with the like: and * to tame his pride, tooke him prisoner and made him end his life for very griefe of hart within sixe weeks after. Thus, saith Platina, died Bonifacius, he that went about rather to strike a terrour into emperours, kings, princes and nations, than to plant religion in them: and chalenged to giue and take kingdomes,

kingdomes, and to aduaunce and debase men at his pleasure. And so saith Gaguinus. This end of his life had Bonifacius the contemner of all men, who not remembring the precepts * of Christ, tooke vpon him to dispose crownes, and depriue kings as he saw cause: whereas he supplieth his roome on earth whose kingdome is not of this world, nor in earthlie things but in heauenlie: and gate the popedome by deceit and vngodlie meanes, and kept his predecessour in prison so long as he liued, from whome he wrested that dignitie. **This example you would not alleadge, because you saw the whole realme of Fraunce stood with Philip against Bonifacius, that the pope had no right to depose princes.**

*Gagu. in Phi. pulchro. *Platina in Bonifacio. 8. Platina Iulē. Gaguin. li. 7. in Phil. pulchr.*

How Philip of Fraunce handled Bonifacius, see part. 1. *fol. 95.*

Lewes **the twelfth in a Councel at Tours had the resolution of all the french bishops,** that he might surcease from the popes obedience, and contemne his vniust censures: **and had not** Maximilian **somewhat slacked, and** Iulius **in the meane time died, the pope himselfe had beene deprined of his triple crowne in the Councell of** Pisa, **which was indicted by the prelats of** Germanie **and** Fraunce, **at the instance and pursuite of** Lodouike. The bishops of Nations assembled and decreed Iulius to be cited. Vpon the citation he refused to come, and knowing his owne wickednes, sought to defend himselfe with armes. Alas, **saith this writer being one of your own friends,** whither is that auncient sanctitie of the Romane bishops vanished? whither is that clearenesse of conscience gone, which neglecting the threats of princes, built the church not with armes, but with the beames of their vertues? They refused not Councels, but rather frequenting them, cleared themselues from such things as they were charged with, in full assemblies of their mother the church. Behold, Iulius, who is taken to be the sheepheard, giueth no care to the complaint of his sheepe, but killeth the weake ones, and he that with his owne blood should purchase them peace, doeth what he can with his curses to increase their trouble. And getting the Spanyards and Venetians to vphold him, sheddeth not teares with Ambrose, but displaieth his banners with Iulian, whose name he beareth against the church.

Lewes king of France. *Massæd. in anno 1510.*

The realme of France in this our age despised the popes censure against their king.

Velleij ad Gag. agger. in Lodou. 12.

The pope will be tried by the sword and not by the word.

The pope no pastor but a warrier.

All the Germane emperours, that were deprined by the pope, you haue recited: others perhaps were blasted with his excommunications, as Henrie **the fifth: or not agnised**

All the Germane emperours that

as

were offered depriuation by the pope, are alreadie recited.

by him for some dislike in their elections, as Philip of Sueuia, and at his first entrance Albert of Austria: or busied with continual wars, (in which the pope had an oare,) as Conrade the third: but iudicially deposed they were not.

Phil. Philip of Sueuia and Otho the fourth, that was chosen against him, were both deposed by the pope. Theop.

Otho the 4. the same which you call Otho the fifth, was rashlie aduaunced by the pope against Philip, and as rashly displaced after the death of Philip; the right of the empire being all that while in Frederike the second: whome the princes of Almanie by the procurement of Henrie the sixt had chosen to be their king lying in his cradle, and sworne fealtie vnto him, and testified so much vnder their hands and seales to the emperour, his father. After whose death, when the princes forgetting their act and oth began to treate of a new election, Philip Frederikes vncle fearing least a straunger should be thrust in, to the ruine of himselfe and his nephew, sought to keepe the empire in his hands during his life, or till Frederik came to age. This Innocentius the 3. would not suffer: but vpbraiding him with the cruelties which his brother and father had shewed, and heaping manie absurd and some false things against him, in his epistle to Berthold Duke of Zaringia; stood on friuolous exceptions to hinder him, and obiected that he was excõmunicated by Celestinus his predecessor, whiles he was gouernour in Tuscia: yea so great was his malice, that he protesteth, he would either take the emperiall diademe from Philip: or Philip should take the triple crowne from him.

The pope would not acknowledge this Philip for emperour.

Ibidem in anno 1198.

Naucler. gener. 44. anno 1195. Otho erected against Philip. *Cuspinian. in Phil. Cæsar.*

In this rage the pope caused first Berthold of Zaringia to be chosen king of the Germanes: and when he was too weake to incounter Philip, he gate Otho the fifth to be set vp against him: whome Philip so long as he liued, drawe to the wall: but being * traiterouslie slaine in his chamber by one that would haue married his daughter, he left Otho in full possession of the empire, in which he continued no long time. For two yeres after, the pope fell into seuer hatred of him, than euer he had of Philip: and after excommunication and depriuation, to spite him, dealt with the princes of Germany to remember their choice made of Frederike the second when he was but yong, and their oth past vnder their seales to Henrie the

Frederikes election ratified to spite Otho.

sixt

sixt for the ratifieng of that election: and so by the help of the french king gate the Germans to forsake Otho, & stick to Frederike, their right & natural prince: whom in the end he pursued with greater disdaine, than anie of the former, in so much that in three and twentie yeers after Frederiks death, the empire was not setled in any lawfull successor.

Frederike in greater hatred with the pope than either of the former.

The fruites of these stirres, as your owne friends confesse, were impietie and all kind of iniquitie, in the priests and people; flatterie, periurie, and conspiracie in the nobles; briberie, division and vnconstancie in the electours: only the pope vsed them as meanes to increase his wealth, augment his pride, and procure his ease. Then, saith Vrspergensis, began euils to be multiplied on the earth. For there sprang discords, deceites, treacheries, treasons to the destroying and murdering of each other. The spoiling, sacking, wasting and burning of countries, seditions, warres, and rapines were openlie allowed, in so much that euerie man now breaketh his oth, and giueth himselfe to these sinfull mischiefs: yea the priests are as bad as the people. *The princes and barons of the land learning the diuels art, care for no othes, violate their faith, and confound all right, sometimes forsaking Philip, and cleauing to Otho, sometimes contrarie. Vpon these tumults it came to passe, that *there was skant anie bishoprike, ecclesiasticall dignitie, or parish church which was not litigious and the cause caried to Rome, but not with an emptie hand. Which made the Abbate then liuing, and seeing the whole order of their doings to crie out, Reioice our mother Rome, because the windowes of earthlie treasures are opened, that euen streames and heapes of money in great abundance may flow vnto thee. Be glad for the wickednes of the sonnes of men, thou art well recompensed for their foule enormities. Take delight in discord thy best assistant, which is issued from the bottomlesse pit to increase thy gaine. Thou hast that which thou didst alwaies thirst for: sing this song, that by the malice of men, not any religion of thine, thou hast conquered the world. Neither deuotion nor good conscience draw men to thee, but manifold sinnes and strifes wherein money beareth the sway.

What followed of these garboiles.

Vrspergens. in anno 1198. § audiui eo tempore.

Ibidem § properant electi.

Dispensing with othes is the diuels art.

Ibidem ¶ iam tunc Colon.

The pope gained by all this.

As true a song as any the Himnal hath.

And because the pope would be sure the emperour should not trouble, nor interrupt his excessiue gaine nor pride: he

Blondus decad. 2. lib. 10.

he would not suffer Charles the fourth to be crowned, but on this condition, that he neither stay at Rome, nor in Italie, which Petrarke a man of that time pretilie gibeth at. All power is impacient to beare an equall: whereof if we had not ancient presidents enough, I feare our age hath giuen vs a late example, and that the bishop of Rome hath forbidden the emperour of Rome to abide at Rome: which as they say he hath done, and not only looketh, but commandeth the prince should be content with the (bare) crowne and title of the empire: and whome he permitteth to be called ruler: by no meanes will he suffer him to rule. And writing to the emperour him-selfe: With a promise I know not how, and with an oth as it were with a strong wall or high hill, you are prohibited to haue accesse to the citie of Rome. What pride is this, that the Romane prince, the author of publike libertie, should be depriued of all libertie, and that he should not be his owne, whose by right all things should be.

Blondus Ibidē. & Nauc. generat 46. an 1355 The pope would not suffer the emperour to come neere Italie. *Blondus & Naucler. vt supra.*

Marie the pope and the prince were well met: for the pope was not as earnest to haue him gone, but he was as glad to go, and as willing neuer to returne. And therefore to take his farewell, he sould all the right and title that the emperour had throughout Italie: and as Blondus saith, *omnia vbique concessit ex quibus pecunia abradi potuit*: passed awaie euerie thing in euerie place, by the which he might get anie money. And as he did in Italie so did he in Germanie.

The emperor as glad to be gone as the pope to haue him go. *Blondus decad. 2. lib. 10.*

For laboring to haue his sonne Vencelaus chosen his successor in the empire, when the electors would not agree to it, because the child had nothing in him fit for so great a calling, the emperour offered euerie of the electours a hundred thousand pounds to go through with the choice, and so they did. And not hauing money sufficient to defraie such an infinite summe, he pawned the lands and reuenues of the empire into their hands, till they were paied, and so they remaine to this day. Hence the Romane empire came to naught, neither was it euer after able to stand vpright, the princes electours keeping all in their hands, and swearing the emperour, (when he is first chosen) that he shall not claime such things as they haue of the empire in morgage.

The prince sold all the emperour had both in Italie and Germanie.

The price of a voice in the election of the emperor. *Aeneas Silvius histor. Bohem. ca. 32.*

The romane empire come vtterlie to nothing.

Vencelaus put from

Vencelaus, for whome his father paid 600000. pounds to haue him emperour, proued so vnprofitable for the

place,

These vprores proue no right for popes to depose princes. *The third part.* place, that the electors, when Charles was dead, of their authority * put him from the crowne, and set an other in his steed. the empire as vnfit to rule. *Cuspinian in Vencelao.*

Some princes of other countries you might repeate, which I omit: no man doubteth but your holy fathers pride & arrogancy serued him to venture on meaner princes, as well as on emperors: this is it that we stand on; for a thousand yeers there was no such thing vsed nor offered in the Church of Christ: and since that time, though popes haue been very forward to depose princes, you shall neuer shew any prince that acknowledged or obeied that sentence; yea none of their people vnder them, nor of the borderers about them, imbraced those iudgements, but such as had secret quarrels against them, or sought to gaine some part of their kingdoms from them. The rest of their subiects & neighbours honoured them as princes, notwithstanding your furious lightning & thundering from Rome, as I haue shewed by many specialties from the time of Henrie the 4. to these our daies: and an infinit number of your own side haue by deeds & words boldlie and sharplie reproued that insolent presumption. And therfore if you do any good in this cause, you must go higher, & bring vs elder examples that bishops of Rome haue deposed princes, than these violent & tragicall vproares of later popes blinded with errour, and puffed with pride, who to compasse their vngodly deures, haue ouerwhelmed the earth with fraud & force, with periurie and iniquitie, with battaile & bloodshed, like furies of hell, not like teachers of truth, or pastors of mēs soules. Could you proue ten thousand such attempts, it would releue you little: We may not leaue the manifest commandements of God, and constant obedience of Christes Church for so many hundreths, and allow of those hatefull and heathenish deuises which the sonne of perdition hath lately broched.

For a thousand yeeres no such thing offered: to this present day no such thing acknowledged.

In all these examples infinite numbers of their owne religion haue stood with princes against the pope.

We may not leaue the precepts of the holy Ghost & the ancient obedience of Christs Church to follow these firebrands of hell.

Phil. Will you yeld to an elder example, if it be brought you. Theop. Reason we know the man, before we reuerence his act. Phil. It shall be *Gregorie the great and the first of that name, whom you confesse to haue beene both learned and holy. He being many hundreth yeeres before Gregorie the seuenth and our speciall Apostle, practised the point we now stand on, and therefore likely to be beleeued of all reasonable men.* The defence cap. 5.

Theop.

Gregory the first neuer dreampt of deposing princes.

Theop. Did Gregory the great euer depose princes? Phil. That he did. Theop. Name the prince which he deposed, & win the field. Phil. He deposed them before hand whatsoeuer they were that should at any time after to the worlds end impugne his priuiledge. Theop. Then he deposed princes not onely before they were crowned, but also before they were conceiued of their mothers. Phil. He adiudged they should be deposed that so offended, though actually he deposed none. *In the forme of his priuiledge granted to S. Medardes monastery, thus he decreeth. Si quis regum, antistitum, iudicum, vel quarumcunq; personarum secularium huius Apostolicæ authoritatis & nostræ præceptionis decreta violauerit, cuiuscunq; dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo priuetur.* If any king, prelate, iudge, or what other secular person soeuer shall transgresse this decree of our authority & cõmandemẽt, of what preheminence or highth soeuer he be, let him be depriued of his dignitie.

The defence cap. 5. An excommunication of S. Gregory vpon kings and princes. *In fine libri 12. epist.*

Theop. Why stop you there, and go no farther? Phil. I need not; here is enough for my purpose. Theop. Yet read on the rest, or if you will not, I will. *Cum Iuda traditore Domini in inferno inferiori damnetur*, and let him be damned with Iudas the traitour in the nethermost hell. Phil. There is nothing in this against vs. Theo. You might the better haue rehearsed it. But thinke you that Gregorie did damne men to hell, or reserue you that power onely to Christ? Phil. None can cast body and soule into hell fire but onely God. Theop. Doth Gregorie take Gods office from him? Phi. No, but he meaneth to terrifie them with this kind of curse, & praieth it may fall on their heads, if they infringe his godlie actes.

In fine 12. lib. epist. Ibidem.

Gregory had no more power to depose princes than he had to damne them.

Theop. Then as Gregorie had no power to condemne princes to hell though he threaten it to them, no more had he right to depose princes, though he wish their ouerthrow, if they frustrate his decrees. It is therefore An Imprecation, or curse which in the like case the meanest founder that is may lay on the greatest prince that shall be borne without anie iudiciall authoritie: it is no depriuatiõ neither prosecuted, nor purposed by the bishop of Rome. Phi. He saith, Let him be depriued of his dignitie. Theop. And know you not, that is the optatiue moode, by the which Gregory wisheth & praieth it may come to passe: but neither pronounceth nor perfixeth anie such iudgemẽt?

Gregories words are a curse, & not a iudiciall sentence.

Phil.

Phil. If it may come to passe, then princes may be deposed. Theo. God hath many waies to displace the mightie from their seats, (to whom Gregorie praieth for vengeance,) though the pope be not the doer.

Phil. If this be but a wish euery doner may do as much. Euerie doner hath the like words in his grant. *Ibidem.*

Theo. They be the very words wherewith euery doner doth strengthen his endowment: & euen in this place Gregorie is not alone. Thirtie bishops of diuers cities subscribed to this grant and curse in the selfe same words that Gregorie did; Theodoricus the king, and Brunichildis the Queene vsed the same maner of subscription that the bishop of Rome did, and the generall comprisement that presently followeth, sheweth the words that went before to be but curses. *Omnium maledictionum anathemate*, let him be loden with all those heauie curses wherwith infidels and heretiks from the beginning of the world to this day haue been hampered. So that your eie sight was not vp, when you tooke a praier for a iudgement, a forme of imprecation for a sentence of depriuation, a curse precedent for an execution that should be subsequent. *Ibidem.*

Phil. *This was the right and power of S. Gregorie, and this hath been the faith of christian men euer sith our countrie was conuerted; and neuer subiect called in question, much lesse accused of treason for it, till this time; and lest of all, made or found treason by the old lawes in K. Edward the thirds raigne, as is pretended; howsoeuer by their new lawes they may and do make what they list a crime capitall.* The defence cap. 5.

Theop. Gregorie cursed them, & praied against them that should disorder, or alter his grant made at the princes motion, with the consent of all the prelates in Italie, with the good wil of the Romane senate, and the fauorable iudgement of all the bishops of France. This is not it, that is called in question. You beare armes against your naturall prince, & incourage her subiects that by Gods law should obey her, to take her crowne from her, when the pope willeth them. This Gregorie neuer spake of; neither did England at any time frō the first receiuing of the faith to this day, euer acknowledge any such right or power in the pope to depose princes. Much les thē was this *the faith of christian men euer sith our countrie was conuerted*, as you bragely but falsly boast. *In eodem priuilegio.* Gregories act nothing like the Iesuits.

Phil. In king Iohns time, the prince and realme were of this opinion, which we are now. Theop. They were not.

Some

King Iohn lost the harts of his nobles before these troubles began.

Some bishops and monkes, offended with the king for the losse of their goods, fled the realme: & tooke part with the pope against the king, and the barons for other causes loued not their king as appeared by their *departure from him in Normandie before this trouble began, and by their generall rebellion against him when the pope had not onely released him, but also did vphold him to the vttermost of his power. And though he had lost the hearts of his nobilitie before, and now of his clergie, by turning them out of all their liuings, yet was there no conspiring against him in those fiue yeeres in which he stood excommunicate. And to him for defence of himselfe and his land, came * three-skore thonsand able men of his owne subiects well furnished: besides an infinite number that were sent home againe for want of armour, and a * fleete greater than that which the king of France had against him.

*Math. Paris. anno 1203.
*Math. Paris. in anno 1213.

King Iohn thought it easier to loose a 1000. markes by the yeere than to fight for his crown and state.

*Math. Paris. Ibidem ¶Rex denique Iohã.
*Ibidẽ. ¶Dum autem Rex.
*Math. Paris. anno 1215.
¶Innocentius epist.

Phi. If his armie were so great & his people so sure, why would he not trie the field with the king of France? Theo. He saw the strike was but for the admittance of a bishop: & better to slip his right in so smal an iniurie than to put his own state & welfare to the doubtful successe of battail. Phi. The story saith * he was afraid lest he should be left alone in the field, & be forsaken of his own nation & nobles. Theo. So Pandulfus *told him, to affreight him & make him yeeld the sooner: but the pope himselfe complaineth of the contrary, that the barons of England by a peruerse order did rise in armes against their king after he was conuerted & had satisfied the Church, who assisted him when he did offend the Church. And yet I am of opinion they would easily haue forsaken him: not for respect of your Romish censures, but for their extreme detestation of his odious & tyrannous gouernment, which they shewed after his reconciliation to the see of Rome, more than they did before: & obeied neither king nor pope so long as he liued and enioyed the crowne. This realme therefore in the time of king Iohn assisted their prince against the pope: and when the king had submitted himselfe, & rented his crowne at the popes handes, they resisted both prince and pope, and elected another. Afore that and since that this realme neuer cõfessed or beleeued any right or power in the pope to depose princes.

The nobles pursued king Iohn after his reconciliation to the pope, worse than before.

Phi. They neuer made it treason to be of that beliefe till this

this miserable time, in which we liue. Theop. Richard the second very neere two hundreth yeeres ago, made it death for any man to bring or send within this realme any summons, sentence or excommunication, (from Rome) against any person: for the cause of making motion, assent or execution of the statute of prouisors: which barred the bishop of Rome from giuing, reseruing or disposing bishoprikes and benefices in this land. To impeach the kings lawes, or to defeate him of his smaller inheritances, as aduousons and patronages, by censures from Rome, was death in those daies: what thinke you would they haue said to him that should haue brought a bull to depriue the prince of his crowne, or a warrant to rebell against him, and to take his life from him as you do in our daies?

Anne. 13. *Richardi* 2. King Richard made it death to bring any proces from Rome to impugne the lawes of his realme, for benefices and patronages.

And because you stand so much on the word, Treason, why should not the statute of Edward the third recensing treason extend directly to your doings? It is there numbered among treasons, to compasse or imagine the death of the king, to leuie war against him in his realme, or to be adherent to the kings enimies in his realme, or to giue them aide and comfort within the realme or elsse where. If all wars waged against the prince within the realme (that is, by subiects) are treasonable: how should your wars for religion against your souereigne be iust and honorable? If to aide or comfort the kinges enimies within the realm or elsse where, be traiterous conspiracie; how can you stir vp forraine power to assault the realme, and persuade the people of this land with armes to displace the prince and not incur that crime?

25. *Edwardi* 3.

To war against the King is treason in subiects, though it be for religion.

Phil. Doe we set strangers to inuade, or subiects to rebell? Theop. You be adherents and instruments to him that doth. Phil. You meane we be of the same faith with the Church of Rome: if that be treason, then we are traitors. Theop. We talk not of your faith, but of your workes. Beleeue what you list, so you meddle not with aiding nor comforting inuasion nor rebellion.

Phil. We doe not. Theop. You commend them and allow them that will doe either, your selfe in this place defend their enterprise to be *godlie, iust, and honorable*. Your fellowes before you in their printed bookes openly did celebrate them as martyrs that lost their liues in the north for bearing

Is not this giuing comfort to the Queenes enimies?

armes against the Queene. What greater comfort can you giue to rebels and enimies, than to animate and incourage them with praises, promises, defences, and honors, both in this world and the next. It is more pernicious to fire the hart, than to warme the hand: to minister courage, than to giue drink to them that shal fight against the prince. In all actions the persuaders & inducers are equal with the doers & executors. Why then should you not be within the compas of king Edward the thirds statute, for aiding & comforting the Queenes enimies within the realme or elsewhere?

The persuaders be traitors as well as the doers.

Phil. You must vnderstand that we neuer will any man to take armes, but for the catholike faith, and at the commandement of the supreme magistrate against one that was, but is no prince, as being iustly deposed. Theo. And you must vnderstand that the statute of Edward the third doth neither allow the pope to depose the prince, nor licence the subiect to beare armes for religion against his soueraigne: and therfore your wars for religion be traiterous insurrections against the prince by the lawes of Edward the third, notwithstanding your new found glozes that you first *depose* them, and after *resist* them, and pursue them with armes *by the warrant of holie Churches iudgement & censure.*

And yet your adherents bare armes against king Iohn and the Germane princes for meer priuate and earthly quarrels.

Phil. Edward the third neuer ment, that to obey the pope aboue the prince should be treason. Theo. It is not for you now to appoint his meaning. His words are, that to giue aide or comfort to the kings enimies, and such as leuied wars against him in his realme, (were it the pope, the French king, or whom ye will) should be treason. He had before his eies the example of king Iohn, vpon whom the pope set the king of France with all his power for not obeying his censures from Rome: he knew he could not be defeated of the crowne without war: and so long as his own subiects were trusty to him, he feared not the French nor any other that should inuade him. To make himselfe therfore assured of his owne people against all men, Spanish, Scottish, French, Romish, or any by whom the deed might be done, and yet to decline the enuie of naming the pope: he with his whole realm by their publike law without exception of person, or cause, made it treason to giue aid or cõfort within the realme, or elsewhere to any (whatsoeuer) that should war vpon the king: perceiuing the generall

Edward the third neuer meant to be deposed by the pope, why therefore should not war to depose him, be treason against him?

It was wisedome in king Edward not to name the pope, & yet the quarrell includeth the pope.

would

would include the pope or any other that he should incite against the king, as wel as if they were distinctly named.

Phil. You suppose the prince and the people did secretly conspire against the pope: whereas in those daies they did honor him as the soueregne father and pastor of their soules. Theop. Howsoeuer they imbraced the religion which he professed, it is euident the king and the whole realme in open Parleament made a generall consociation to repell prouisions and impetrations of ecclesiasticall dignities and offices from Rome: and bound themselues each to other with al their might in common to withstand citations, suspencions, excommunications, and censures comming from that consistorie for matters decided in the kings courts, or pertinent to the lawes and roiall liberties of this realme: and the commons did not sticke in Parleament likewise to promise king Richard the second to stand with him in all cases attempted by the bishop of Rome against him, his crowne and his regalitie in all points to liue and die.

The king & the cómons in open parleament ioine to defend the lawes and liberties of the realme against the Pope by name.

The consociation against the procurers, bringers, and executors of prohibited processe from Rome was this: The king, the prelates, dukes, earles, barons, nobles and other commons, clerks and lay people, be bound by this present ordinance to aide, comfort, and counsell the one and the other, as often as shall neede: and by all the best meanes that may be made of word and of deede to impeach such offenders, and to resist their enterprises, and without suffering them to inhabite, abide, or passe by their Seignories, possessions, lands, iurisdictions, or places: and be bound to keepe and defend the one and the other from all damage, villanie, and reproofe, as they should doe their owne persons and for their deed and busines: and by such maner, and as far foorth as such prosecutions or processe were made or attempted against them in especiall, generall, or in common.

28. Edwardi 3. The consociation of king Edward against the pope.

The complaint and offer of the commons to king Richard was this: Of late diuers processes be made by our holie father the bishop of Rome, and censures of excommunication vpon certaine bishops of England bicause they haue made execution of the kings commandements (notwithstanding processe from the Court of Rome for the

16. Richardi 2. The people offer to defend their prince against the pope.

contrarie) to the open disheriſon of the crown and deſtruc-
The crowne of England not ſubiect to the biſhop of Rome.
tion of our ſoueraigne lord the king his law and al his Ream: ſo as the crowne of England, which hath been ſo free at all times that it hath been in ſubiection to no realme, but immediately ſubiect to God and to none other in all things touching the regalitie of the ſame crowne, ſhould be ſubmitted to the biſhop of Rome and the lawes and ſtatutes of the realme by him defeated and deſtroied at his will, in perpetuall deſtruction of the king our ſoueraigne Lord his crowne and regalitie, and of all his realme, which God defend: Wherefore they, and all the liege commons of the ſame realme will be with our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king and his ſaide crowne and his regalitie in the caſes aforeſaid, and in all other caſes attempted againſt him, his crowne, and his regalitie in all points to liue and to die. **This was the ancient loue, and faith of the commons of this land towarde their princes, againſt the biſhop of** Rome **euen by name: and this if you were true engliſh or good chriſtian men, you would rather exhort the people vnto, than as you do, wiſh them to take weapon in hand to pul the prince from her throne, becauſe the biſhop of** Rome **hath ſent out his calues to diſclaime her.**

The commons will be with their king in all caſes attempted againſt him, his crowne, and regality: could they then ſuffer him to be deposed?

Phil. *Euer ſith the ſaid S. Gregories time, or there about, all kings in Chriſtendome, ſpecially thoſe of Spaine, Fraunce, Pole and England take an oth vpon the holie Euangeliſts at their coronation, to keepe & defend the catholike faith: and ours of England expreſly, to maintaine alſo the priuileges and liberties of the Church and clergie, giuen by king Edward the confeſſor and other faithfull kings their anceſtors.*

The defence cap. 5. The oth of the kings of England at their coronation.

Theop. **That kings ſhould take an oth to defende the Catholike faith and aſſiſt the church of Chriſt, we do not repine: onely your collection is foolish, if you thinke, that by Catholike faith is by and by ment your late Romiſh faith: or that the Church can haue no priuileges nor liberties, except the pope may deale and diſtribute kingdoms to his liking. The princes oth in the lawes of king Edward the confeſſor, was** to keepe, nouriſh, maintaine and gouerne the holie Church of his kingdome with all integritie and libertie according to the conſtitutions of his fathers and predeceſſors. **But in our daies you will not ſuffer the prince** to gouerne the Church of her kingdome: **and the Church liberty which you ſeeke for, is a wicked impunity**

Kings ſweare to defend the faith and aſſiſt the Church.

Leges Eduardi Regis. ca. 17. The prince ſworne to gouerne the Chutch of her kingdome.

for

impunity for sinne, and a plaine contempt of all Christian authoritie.

Phil. *S. Thomas of Canterburie putteth his soueraine Henry the second in memorie therof, both often in speech and expressely in an epistle written to him in these words: Memores sitis confessionis quam fecistis & posuistis super altare apud Westmonasterium, de seruanda Ecclesiæ libertate, quando consecrati fuistis & vncti in regem a predecessore nostro Theobaldo.* Keepe in memorie the confession which you made and laid vpon the altar at Westminster, touching the keeping of holy Churches liberties, when you were consecrated & annointed king by my predecessor Theobald. The defence cap. 5. *In vita S. Thomæ.*

Theop. Your Canterburie Saint was very carefull to put the king in minde of Church-mens libertie: but he was neuer so religious as to remember what was Church-mens dutie to God and the magistrate. Hee could call on others to keepe touche, but himselfe procured a dispensation, that his oth should not tie him, though it were neuer so lawfull and honest. And surely this was a seemely sight, for a subiect that had violated his owne faith and truth to importune his soueraigne to obserue couenants: but such is your store, for want of better, you must bring periuries to talke of promises. Thomas of Canterburie put others in mind of their promises and forgot his own oth.

Phil. *The patriarkes of Constantinople tooke an instrument of such as were to be crowned emperors (specially in the time of heresie) wherin they made the like promise and profession, to keepe and defend the faith and decrees of holie councels. So did the patriarke Euphemius, in the coronation of Athanasius; Nicephorus, in the inuesting of Michael: and others in the creation of other emperors of the east. And Zonaras writeth that the patriarches of Constantinople plainly told Isaac Commenus the emperor: that as by his hands he receiued the empire: so if he gouerned not well, by him it should be taken from him againe.* The defence cap. 5. *Zonar. tomo. 3 & Cuspiman. in Anast. & in Zimisce.*

Theop. From popes you come to patriarkes, from Rome to Constantinople, and there in steede of deposing them after their coronation, you shewe what was exacted at their hands before they were crowned: and that not euer, nor by any superiour calling, but by the bishop of that citie offering once or twise rather to loose his life, than to crowne one that he feared would innouate the faith or afflict the Church. The patriarke once or twise required of him that should be crowned a confession of his faith.

Euphemius was the first that gaue this onset, and the Euphemius & Anastasius

The third part. The patriarchs of Constantinople deposed no princes.

first that repented it. When Ariadna the empresse that buried her husband aliue, being fallen into a traunce, would needes exalt Anastasius a man of no great reckoning before, and bestowe both the scepter and her selfe vpon him, Euphemius the patriarch, whether it were that he claimed a consent in that election as well as others, or suspected Anastasius inclination, and so thought it easier to exact a confession of his faith before than after his coronation: required him vnder his hand writing to promise that he would alter no point of religion established in the Church. Which Anastasius then yelded to doe: but as soone as he was crowned, the first thing almost that he did, he banished Euphemius for his bolde aduenture. What you would conclude out of this fact for the deposition of princes, I knowe not: well I wot the prince deprined the patriarch, and not the patriarch the prince, though he fell from the faith which hee professed, and promised at his coronation to continue.

Zonar. in Anast. Dicoro. The prince banished the patriarch.

Anastatius not deposed though he brake the promise made at his crowuenation.

Philand. He did that he did, by violence. Theoph. I commend not his doings, onely I would haue you marke that though he ioined tyrannie with heresie, neither patriarch nor pope did depose him. Philand. The pope did excommunicate him. Theoph. So you said before, but you proued it by no sufficient testimonie: yet grant he were, I thence inferre, the teachers and people of the primitiue Church endured and obeied an hereticall and excommunicate person as their lawfull emperour: which cleane ouerteth all your platforme.

Niceph. and Michaell.

Philand. Nicephorus required the like writing of Michael. Theop. Michael was chosen to the empire, Stauracius yet liuing and not allowing their act: and when he came the next day to the Church to be crowned, the patriarch required his writing, that he would neither spill christian blood, nor change the faith of the Church, which Michael willingly granted. Philand. The patriarch then prescribed conditions to the prince. Theop. When the empire went by election, the people might prescribe needfull and honest conditions, to which their princes should subscribe before they were crowned. Phil.

Zonar. in michael. Rangab.

But

But I talke of the patriarch. Theoph. The patriarch did it not often. There were foztie christian emperours from Constantine to Michael, and this writing neuer required but of two: and those not succeeding, but elected. Whose coronation the people might tie to those christian and godlie conditions. And though the Church were the meetest place, and the patriarch the fittest person in matters of faith, to take the princes subscription, yet was it done in the presence of the whole people, and not without their consents, and then onely, when some feare of alteration dzged them vnto it. The patriarch of himselfe had neither right, noz power to dzaw the prince to such couenants as he would limit; and therfoze it was necessarie the people should ioine their authoritie with his in that action. The patriarchs fact had the peoples consent.

Philander. The patriarch would not crowne him, vnlesse he would subscribe. Theophil. If he would not, another might. The ceremonie of setting the crowne on the princes head, is a seruice due to him that is chosen, not any superioritie in him that doth it; and if it be refused by him, that of order is bound to doe it, any christian bishop may perfect it, and the other be punished foz his recusance. He that crowneth is not superior to him that is crowned.

Phil. The patriarch by your leaue had moze interest to the crowning of the emperoz than you mention. Foz Polyeuctus the patriarch would not suffer Ioannes Zimisces so much as * to enter the Church, till he had banished the murderers of the fozmer emperoz, and thzust the empzesse out of the court, and tozne the booke which the bishops were in trouble foz: and giuen all his goods to the pooze. Theoph. The empire of Constantinople was now 970. yeeres after Christ carried along neither by lawfull succession noz election, but become a very pzay foz him that would murder his maister, and defile his mistresse: without all respect of dutie oz honestie. Zimisces not content secretly to keepe Nicephorus wife, with her helpe most vilanously slew the emperoz in his bed, *cõmanding his men, besides the wounds they gaue him in the head & elswhere, with the hilts of their swords to dash out his teeth, & breake his iaw-bones. Upõ this hozrible & diuelish slaughter, when he came to the Church intending to haue the crowne, the Polieuctus and Zimisces. *Zonar. in Isb. Zimisce.* *Zonar. in Niceph. Phoca.*

Zonar. in Zimisce. The Patriarch would not suffer a murderer that aspired to the crowne to enter the Church before some recompence were made. Zimisces killed the King and defiled the Queene

patriarke would not suffer him being polluted with blood to come within the Chuch. Where he confessing that others did it by instigation of the empresse, the patriarke required, that she might be forthwith banished, and they pursued, and the booke torne that entangled the bishops, and that he would thinke on some punishment for himselfe. Zimises yeelded to all that the patriarke asked: and for himselfe promised to giue the goods which he had gotten whiles he was a priuate man, to the poore.

How this serueth your turne, I see not. The patriarke kept him, not from the crowne, but from the Church; and he that was kept off, was no prince either by discent, or by choice: but one that aspired to the crowne by killing the king, and abusing the Queene in most hainous maner. In which case, if the patriarke had offered his life, rather than suffered such an one to approch to the Lords table, he had done but his dutie. Phi. Would you now haue bishops rebell? Theo. You thinke so much on it, you cannot chose but talke of it, I sayd no such thing: the common-wealth had to do with the crowne, and not the bishop: that if they gaue, he might not denie: but as for diuine seruice and sacraments, the bishop might well denie them to that infamous adulterer and murderer.

Isaac commenus.

Phil. You may perceiue by that which the patriarke of Constantinople said to Isaac Commenus, what sway the bishop of that citie bare in crowning the emperor. He *told* the prince *plainly that as by his hands he receiued the empire, so if he gouerned not well, by him it should be taken from him againe.*

Zonar. in Mich. Stratio.

Theo. We may perceiue by that which you bring, both the pride of the patriarke, & the falshood of your dealing. This bishop was a ringleader in the rebellion wherin Michael Stratiotes the former emperor was displaced, and Isaac Commenus exalted in his steade: and when the newe prince happened to deny the prowde and seditious patriarke a request which he made, he brast out in great rage and tolde him, that as he had holpen him (by his wicked conspiracie) to the crowne, so would he (by like meanes) helpe him from it. An example as fit for your doings as you could possibly light on, that a priest should tell his prince, he would thrust him out of his seate by the head and shoulders.

A fit president for the Iesuites.

Phil.

Phil. *If he gouerned not well,* he would take the crowne from him. Theo. *If he gouerned not well,* is your addition & misconstructiõ of your authors: the storie lieth as I report it. The words of Zonaras are: *Neque vero patriarcha superbia illi cedebat, sed imperare illi volebat, ac si quando non impetrasset quæ petierat, ægrè ferebat, increpabat, minabatur dẽniq;, quemadmodum imperium illi contulisset, ita se idem illi eripturum.* The patriarke yeelded not a iote in pride to the prince, and if at any time he missed of the requests which he made, he disdained, and cast it in the princes teeth, and threatned that as he had promoted him to the kingdome, so he would take it from him. Now in what sort he with others conspired for Isaac Commenus against Michael, Zonaras sheweth in this page before. And in truth he was led with the same spirit that Hildebrande was, liuing at the same time with him and sitting at Constantinople, whiles the other raigned in Rome: and had the very same euent of his pride which Hildebrande had; the Greeke prince being not able to beare the patriarkes insolencie and therfore banishing him, where for spite and anger he shortly after died.

Zonar in Isaac. Commen.

Another Hildebrand.

Phil. *Likewise when kings, that before were infidels, do enter by baptisme into the Church, they submit their scepters to Christ, and consequently make themselues subiect and punishable if they reuolt from their faith and promise.*

The defence, cap. 5.

Theop. When kings by Baptisme put on Christ they submit their scepters and soules to the word and will of Christ, but what this auaileth the pope I see not: except you assume that your holy father is Christ, and so the subiection professed by kings vnto Christ must be yelded to your Romish antichrist; which were very far fet, and scant worth the cariage.

In what cases subiects may breake with their princes. Baptisme maketh not princes deprieable by the pope.

Phil. *If they reuolt from their faith, they be punishable* by reason of their former subiection vnto Christ. Theo. Yea verily: and that not onely in this world if it please him, but in the next also with euerlasting paines if they repent not. Phil. If they be punishable in this world, then may they be depriued. The. Doth Christ vse no punishment but depriuation? or euer read you that in this life Christ sententially deposed any prince, though he might haue punished many? Phil. I meane they may be depriued by men, if they reuolt from their promise made to Christ. Theo. Your owne

Reuolt from the faith is punishable in princes, but not by man.

owne meanings be your best arguments: otherwise I see no strength in this reason. Princes are punishable, if they breake their faith giuen to Christ: *Ergo* by men: and if by any man, *ergo* by the pope. This is leaping logike, of all that euer I heard.

Baptisme bindeth no man to corporall or temporall losses of land or life.

Phil. They submitted themselues in baptisme to be punished by deprauation, if they kept not faith & truth with Christ. Theop. If you should not eate, till you proue that assertion, you should fast a lent not of daies but of yeeres. It is a wicked error to saie, that any priuate man in baptisme must or doth submit himselfe to the violent and corporall correction of his flesh: or to the temporall losses of land or life: which you would fasten on christian princes by vertue of their baptisme.

The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Vpon these conditions and none other, kings be receiued of the bishop that in Gods behalfe annointeth them: which oth and promise being not obserued, they breake with God and their people; and their people may and by order of Christ his supreame minister their chiefe pastor in earth, must needs breake with them: heresie and infidelitie in the prince tending directly to the perdition of their commonwealth and the soules of their subiects, and notoriously to the annoiance of the Church and true religion, for the defence of which kings by God are giuen.*

Theop. Againe you leape from the baptising to the crowning of princes, and because at their admission into the Church they promised to renounce the diuell and his works, but not their swords & scepters which are of God: you range to their coronations, and tell vs in great state, that *the bishops which annointed them in Gods behalfe did not receiue them to be kings, but on these conditions*; as though it were in the hands of bishops to receiue and reiect kings, and to prescribe them conditions of taking and leauing the crowne. Faine you would encroch vpon kings by the bishops act and oile, that in the ende you might possesse the pope with a full interest to dispose their crownes at his pleasure: but such as be wise will looke to your fingers, and keepe you short of that desire.

Bishops haue nothing to do with the crownes of princes.

Inunction maketh not the prince subiect to the priest.

The solemne rites of coronations haue their end and vtilitie, but no direct force nor necessitie. They be good admonishments to put princes in minde of their dutie: but no increasements of their dignitie. For they be Gods annointed:

annointed: not in respect of the materiall oile which the bishop vseth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained: of the sword, which is authorized: of their persons, which are elected by God, and endued with the gifts of his spirit for the better guiding of his people: if oile be added, it is but a ceremonie representing that to their eies, which all the godly beleeue with their harts: if oile be wanting, they be perfect magistrates notwithstanding, and Gods annointed as well as if they were inoiled. And so for the person of the bishop, that doth annoint them. It is fittest, it be done by the highest: but yet if they can not, or will not, any bishop may performe it.

Annointing is seruice, not a superioritie to the prince,

Authoritie to condition with princes at the time of their coronation, the bishop hath none: he is faithfully to declare what God requireth at the hands of princes: not in religion onely, but in rewarding vertue, reuenging sinne, relieuing the poore and innocent, repressing the violent, procuring peace and doing iustice throughout their realmes: and that if they faile in any of these, God will not faile seuerely to visite the breach of his lawe, and contempt of their callings: but yet he hath no commission to denounce them deprined, if they misse in some or al of these duties: much lesse to drawe indentures betweene God and princes conteining the forfeiture of their crownes, with a clause for the pope and no man else to reenter, if they keepe not couenant.

The bishop is to declare gods will and not his owne vnto princes at their coronation.

The Iesuits would haue princes hold ther crownes by indenture.

Phil. You grant they be bound to GOD: *to defende the Church and true religion.* Theoph. Euen so be they bound to do those other things which I before rehearsed. The couenant which God made with the prince of his people, was to feare the Lord his GOD and to keepe (not some but) all the wordes of his lawe. The oth which the kings of Englande take, hath many things besides the defence of the faith and the Church. The king shall feare GOD, and loue him aboue all thinges, and keepe Gods precepts thorough his whole kingdome. He shall aduance good lawes and approoued customes, and banish all euill lawes from his kingdome. He shall doe right iudgement in his realme, and maintaine iustice by the counsell of his nobles: with many other points there specified. All these thinges the king

Deut. 17.

Edwardi leges, cap. 17.

in his owne person shall sweare, beholding and touching the holie Gospell, in the presence of the people, the priests and the clergie, before he be crowned by the archbishops and bishops of his realme. Shall a king be deposed, if he reuolt as you call it, from his promise and oth in any of these points?

The breach of couenants is no depriuation. The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Heresie and infidelitie tend directly to the perdition of the commonwealth and the soules of their subiects, and notoriously to the annoiance of the Church and true religion.*

The people may not breake with their princes though princes breake with God.

Theop. We cõpare not vices, but discusse the viciousnes of your conclusion. Kings you say couenant with God at their annointing. *That oth and promise* if they *breake with God, the people* (you adde) *may, and by order of Christs supreame minister, their chiefe pastor in earth, must needs breake with them.* If by BREAKING you meant not obeying them in those particular cases, which tend to the defacing of Gods truth, your illation were not much amisse: for in all things we must obey God rather than man: but by BREAKING you vnderstand an vtter refusing of obedience, in al other cases, and a violent remouing them from their crowns: which we say is not lawfull for pastor nor people to attempt against princes, though they answere not their duties to God in euery point. They couenant at the same time, and with the same oth, the keeping and obseruing of the whole law of God: and yet was there neuer any man so braine-sicke, as to defend that princes for euery neglect and offence against the law, should be deposed.

If two sweare to doo any thing, & one breake his oth, shall the other be excused before God if he follow that example?

Phil. Heresie is one of the greatest breaches of Gods law.

It is against the law of God and nature for subiects to punish their princes.

Theop. To hold the truth of God in manifest and knowne vnrighteousnes, without repentance, is a greater impietie than ignorantly to be deceiued in some points of religion: but we stand not on the degrees of sins, which God will reuenge from the greatest to the smallest, as much as on the person which may doe it, and the warrant whereby it must be done. We denie that princes haue any superior and ordinarie iudge to heare and determine the right of their crownes. We denie that God hath licenced any man to depose them, and pronounce them no princes. The sonne cannot disherit his father, nor the seruant countermand his master by the lawes of God and nature; be the father and master neuer so wicked. Princes haue farre greater

greater honour and power ouer subiects than any man can haue ouer sonnes and seruants. They haue power ouer goods, lands, bodies and liues: which no priuate man may chalenge. They be fathers of our countries, to the which we be nearer bound by the very confession of Ethnikes, than to the fathers of our flesh. How then by Gods law should subiects depose their princes, to whom in most euident words they must be subiect for cōscience sake, though they be tyrants and infidels? And if the subiects themselues haue no such power, what haue strangers to meddle or make with their crownes?

Rom. 13. And strangers haue lesse to doo with their Crownes.

Phil. Doe you count the pope a stranger to christian princes? Theop. Would God he were not woorse; euen a mortall and cruell enimie to all that be godlie. He was a subiect vnder them eight hundreth yeeres and vpward: he after by sedition and vsurpatiō grew to be a state amongst them: a superior ouer them in causes concerning their crownes and states you shall neuer proue him to be. For a thousand yeeres he durst offer no such thing: these last fiue hundreth he often assaied it, and was as often repelled from it: by factions, conspiracies, excommunications, and rebellions he molested & greeued some of them, as I haue shewed: but from the ascention of our Lord and sauiour to this present day, neuer prince christian did yeeld & acknowledge any such power in the pope: and those that seemed in their neighbors harms somwhat to regard his doings, for an aduantage, when the case concerned themselues, most boldly reiected his iudgements.

Deposition of late yeeres attempted, but not agnised to this present day.

Phil. *By the fall of the king from the faith, the danger is so euident, and ineuitable, that God had not sufficiently prouided for our saluation and the preseruation of his Church and holie lawes, if there were no way to depriue or restraine apostata princes.*

The defence cap. 5.

Theop. You make vs many woorthie reasons for the depriuation of princes, but of all others this is the chiefest. *If there were no way to depriue princes, God hath not, say you, sufficiently prouided for our saluation, and the preseruation of his Church.* Euen so one of your owne fellowes said before you of the very same point: *Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse (vt cum reuerentia eius loquar, &c.)* The Lord (by his leaue) should haue seemed scant discreet, except he had left one such vicar behind him as might doe all things (to wit) depose emperors

Extra. commu. de maioritat. & obedient. ¶ vnam sanctam in addit. Petri Bern. § respondeo & dico.

emperors and al other princes. Vnlesse your rebellious humors may take place, you sticke not to charge the sonne of God with lacke of discretion and negligence: but looke better about you, ye blasphemous mouths, and you shal see that the Church of God is purest when she is tried in the fornace, cleanest when she is vanned, whitest when she is scoured, and safest when she is iudged in the world, that she be not condemned with the world. The Church of Christ hath alwaies prospered in miserie, and decaied in prosperitie: Israel increased whiles they were oppressed by Pharaoh: and when they came to be fed with Manna vnder Moses, they were consumed. The blood of the martyrs is the very nourcerie of the Church, and the first poison of religion was the wealth and pride of bishops. The grace of God is made perfect through weaknes: and when our outward man perisheth, our inward is daily renewed.

2.Cor.22.
2.Cor.4.

If Iesuits may not rebel, their salvation is vnsufficient in their iudgements.

Phil. Why rage you thus? what haue we said? Theop. That which neuer learned or Christian man said before: you say *your saluation is vnsufficient* if you may not rebell against princes, when they oppresse you. Phil. *If there were no way to depriue or restraine apostata princes.* Theop. Then was not the primitiue Church *sufficiently prouided for* by the son of God, for they lacked competent forces as your selfe did confesse to restraine those heretikes, apostataes and tyrants that afflicted them. Then were the apostles vnfurnished for their saluation, for they had nothing besids hope to beare the brunt of those continuall and bloody persecutions which they suffered. Then is God careless of his saints, (for so much your religious words import) since they shall haue none other refuge in all assaults but * faith and patience. Reuel.13.

Wo worth your worldly minds, that cannot so much as say with the apostle, whatsoeuer you thinke, I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproches, in necessities, in persecutions, in anguish for Christ: for when I am weak, then am I strong. 2.Cor.12.

Phil. We haue giuen better experience therof than you: we haue these seauen and twentie yeeres endured all sorts of afflictions and calamities that might befall men in exile; and therfore neuer charge vs to be worldly minded: our long and hard banishment doth clearely quite vs from that slander. Theop. You haue beene long absent, but much against

againſt your wils: had any of your practiſes well ſucceeded, you had many yeeres ſince returned with fire & ſword, but God of his mercie toward this realme, hath wearied their heads and filled their hands that ſhould be your leaders: and now waxing sharpe through impatience, and much diſpleaſed to ſee your ſelues ſo often diſappointed, you not onely by your booke blowe the trump to rebellion; but ſhew the very ground and perſuaſion of your harts to be this: that except you may depriue the prince with dint of ſword, *God hath not ſufficiently prouided for your ſaluation:* as though life to come would do you little good, except in the meane time you might abound and not feele want: liue in honor, and not thus wander: raigne ouer princes, and not obey them, or endure them.

The Ieſuits impatient to ſee themſelues diſappointed.

Phil. *We ſee how the whole world did run from Chriſt after Iulian, to plaine Paganiſme: after Valens to Arianiſme: after Edward the ſixt with vs, into Zwinglianiſme: and would do into Turciſme, if any powerable prince will lead his ſubiects that way.*

The defence cap. 5.

The example of a prince moſt dangerous.

If our faith or perdition ſhould on this ſort paſſe by the pleaſure of euery ſecular prince, and no remedy for it in the ſtate of the new Teſtament, but men muſt hold and obey him to what infidelitie ſo euer he fal: then we were in woorſe caſe than heathens, & all other humane cõmonwealths; which both before Chriſt, and after, haue had meanes to deliuer themſelues from ſuch tyrants as were intolerable, and euidently pernicious to humane ſocietie, and the good of the people: for whoſe peace and preſeruation, they were created by man, or ordained by God.

Theo. You find that multitudes ran from Chriſt, to Paganiſme after Iulian: to Arianiſme after Valens: but do you find that the godly did rebell againſt them, becauſe a number ran after thē? What preſumption is this in you to controle the wiſdom & goodnes of God, ſifting his Church by the rage and fury of wicked princes, & crowning thoſe that be his as patient in triall, & conſtant in truth? Were you throughly perſwaded that the harts of kings are in the hands of God, & that the haires of our heads are numbred, ſo that no perſecution can apprehend his, which he diſpoſeth not toward them for experience of their faith, or recõpence of their ſins: you wold as wel honor ỹ iuſtice of god in erecting tyrants, ỹ our vnrighteouſnes may be iudged & puniſhed in this world: as embrace his mercie in giuing reſt to his church by the fauor of god & vertuous princes.

God hath prouided patience for his ſaints, not violence to conquer tyrants.

And

And therfore I appeale to the consciences of al good men, whether this reason of yours *(if there no way to deprive princes, and to take their crownes from them, we were in worse case than heathens)* be not a prophane despising the counsell of God toward his Church, and an open betraying of your vnquiet stomacks when you be in trouble. Our sauiour
Mat.10. foreteaching his that they should be * brought before kings and rulers, and put to death, and hated of all men for (his) names sake: addeth not as you would haue it, and he that
Mat.10. first rebelleth, but * he that endureth to the end shall be saued; and againe, not with violence restraine them, but
Luke.21. * in patience possesse your owne soules. This is the way for all christian subiects to conquere tyrants, and this is *the remedie* prouided in *the new Testament* against all perse-
Rom.13. cutions, not * to resist powers, which God hath ordained, least we be damned: but with all meeknes to suffer, that we may be crowned.

The defence cap.5. Phil. The heathens *before Christ and after had meanes to deliuer themselues from such tyrants as were intolerable, and euidently pernicious to humane societie and the good of the people, for whose peace & preseruation they were created by man or ordained by God.*

The Iesuits would faine be heathens. Theo. I meane they had to dispatch such as they counted tyrants, and that was to kill them, which Christians may not imitate: and yet did your holy father of late in Cardinall Comos letter promise earthly and heauenly recompence to Parry for offering his seruice to kill hir maiestie. The letter is extant, the purpose confessed, the party executed. Looke there, you shall see the bishop of Rome and his Cardinals to be right *heathens*, and to carry the same minds that they did, if not worse. For they knowing no God besides the ghesse of their owne harts, and hauing no rule to leade them but onely reason, and building a felicitie to themselues in this life: saue no cause why one man should be suffered to afflict and disease a number: and supposing any thing to be lawfull that relieued the common wealth, they decreed him to be no murtherer, but a deliuerer of his countrie that would kill a tyrant: You hauing
Exod.20. the manifest voice of God thou shalt not kill, which you
Rom.3. ought to prefer afore your owne liues: and being prohibited by the holie Ghost * to do euill that good may come therof, with what faces can you, not onely acquite them, and

praise

praise them, that kill magistrates, but also assure them of reward in heauen that wilfullie destroie their princes: and where God threatneth * damnation to all that resist them, make it *meritorious* to murther them, and encourage subiects to the slaughter of their princes, as to an *holy and honourable* exploit? Rom.13.

Least you denie it, or posteritie not beleeue it, thus saith the Cardinall in his letter to William Parry: *Mon signore la Santita de N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & not puo se non laudare la buona dispositione & risolutione, che scriue di tenere verso il seruitio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lesforta di perseuerare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: Et accioche tanto maggiormente V. S. sia aiutata da quel buon spirito che l' ha mosso, le concede sua Beneditione, plenaria Indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'hauero in cielo uno, le anco sua Santita constituir si debitore a riconoscere li meriti di V.S. in ogni miglior modo che potra, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretender mente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desidero ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30. di Gennaro. M. D. Lxxxiiij.*

Cardinall Comos letter for the murthering of her maiestie.

Al piacer di V. S.
N. Cardinale di Como.
Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri.

Sir, the holines of our Lord (the pope) hath seene your letter with the credence inclosed, and cannot but praise your good disposition and * resolution which, you write, holdeth to the seruice and benefite publike. Wherein his holines exhorteth you to continue and to bring to passe that which you promise. And to the end you may be the more aided by that * good spirit which hath induced you to this, his blessednes graunteth you full pardon and forgiuenes of all your sinnes, as you requested; assuring you, that besides the merite which you shall receiue in heauen, his holines will make himselfe a farther debtour, to acknowledge your deseruings in the best maner that he may: and so much the more, because you vse so great modestie in not pretending any thing. Put therefore in act your holie and * honorable thoughts, and looke to your safetie. And so I present my selfe hartilie

That resolution was to kill the Queene, as PARRY himselfe confessed.

A passing good spirit that leadeth subiects to murder their princes.

Holinesse fit for your holy father.

to you, and wish you all good and happie successe. From Rome the 30. of Ianuarie, 1584.

Yours to dispose,
N. Cardinal of Como.

Cicero neuer said so much in the praise of Brutus and Cassius that slew Cæsar in the Senate house, as Como doth to incite this traitour to murther the Queene of England. You did well therefore to take the heathens for your paterne: it is right an heathenish tricke to kil princes vpon ame colour of tirannie or heresie: but if you listen to the spirit of God speaking by the mouths of his prophets and apostles, he will teach you an other lesson. Who can lay his hand on the Lords annointed, and be guiltlesse? saith Dauid of Saul: when yet Saul in all mens sight was a tirant and by your opinion deposed. Whosoeuer resist, purchase to themselues damnation, saith Paul, when none were princes but such as were manifest & mightie blood-suckers: what then shall become of such as pursue them to death, or lay violent hands on them? Submit your selues saith Peter, that is, murther them not: though you suffer as innocents. Phil. As for murthering of princes I will not meddle with it. If Parry did attempt it, reason he should answere it, & not we. Theop. Your holy father did cómend him, & exhort him to continue the mind with promise to reward him. Phil. These be secrets to vs. Theop. In dæd they be the misteries of Antichrist: but some of your fellowes were well acquainted with the case, & consulted in plain speach, if it were leason to kil the Queene, as William Chreicton confesseth he was. Phil. There you se he answered no. Theop. But you resolue yea. Phil. You heare me say no such word. Theop. Parry himself collected no lesse out of your owne writings. DOCTOR ALLENS booke, saith he, was sent me out of France: it redoubled my former conceits, euery word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings may be excommunicated, depriued and violently handled: it proueth that all warre ciuill or forraine vndertaken for religion, is honorable.

The holie Ghost abhorreth the murther of princes. 1. Sam. 26. Rom. 13.

1. Peter. 2.

The Iesuits allow that princes should be murthered. William Chreictons letter to sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM. PARRYES confession vnder his owne hand-writing to the prince. The murthering of princes allowed by their defence of Catholikes.

Phil. By his patience and yours to, no such thing may iustlie be collected out of my words, that princes may lawfully be murdered by their own subiects. Theop. May there not? Go no farther than the deric sentence which

Parrie

The princes life is sought for by their wars for religion.

Parrie citeth: There is no warre in the world so iust or honorable, be it ciuill or forraine, as that which is waged for religion. Be not these your owne words? Phil. They be. Theop. Ciuill warre, is of subiects against their prince. Phil. It is. Theop. And in warre, he that may lawfully fight, may he not lawfully kill? Phil. You fetch about otherwise than I meant. Theop. Murthering and killing of princes, be grosse and vnmannerlie speeches: but obseruing your daintie stile, you could not speake it in exacter termes. The issue of warre is death, as euerie babie knoweth. If then subiects may leuie warre against their princes for religion, which is the maine scope of your fift chapter: *Ergo* your doctrine is, they may kill their princes: vnlesse you can command their swords that they shall not cut, and their bullets that they shall not enter when they fight. Phil. They may saue the princes life, though they win the field. Theop. They may, if they list; but I pray you sir, when you fight for religion, whom do you directly impugne? the people or the prince? Phil. That's another matter. Theop. And when you must place an other in the stead of the prince deposed, whose life do you chieflie seeke for? Not the princes? Phil. If the prince will not otherwise yeeld. Theop. And if the prince do yeeld, are not your lawes such, that you may put him to death for an heretike? Phil. Except he reuolt from his heresie. Theop. Then neuer dissemble, the principal person that you shoote at in your ciuill warre for religion is the prince: whose crowne you reach at as being depriued by your censures, and whose life by your lawes you can not spare: except her highnes will forsake Christ, and stand at the popes mercy: which God defend. Phil. That is no murthering but censuring of princes, by the iudgemēt of holy Church. Theop. So the Pharisees did not murder Christ, they did but censure him as worthy to die: & then deliuered him to the secular power: but yet S. Stephen said vnto them: you betraied & murdered that iust one. Phil. We haue the iudgement of holie Church for our doings. Theoph. Neuer talke of your censures, as if they were the iudgements of holie Church, so long as they end in murthers: they be the wicked, iniurious, and mischieuous attempts of Antichrist, incensing subiects to rebell against the

The defence cap. 5.

He that may fight, may kil

War against the prince and murthering of the prince are ineuitable consequents.

The prince directlie impugned by the Iesuits armes.

The Pharises did but censure Christ when they put him to death. Acts. 7.

As though the Church could be holie that contradicteth the holie Ghost.

powers which God hath ordained, to their owne damnation: and you be the blazers and abettours of that his impietie: and for lack of better proofes, you bring the pagans & heathēs which knew not God, to fortifie your doings.

Phil. They had meanes *to deliuer themselues from tirants:* shal we haue none? Theop. They had murdering of tirants, which God hath prohibited to all christians toward priuate men, much more toward princes. Deliuerance if you would haue, obtaine it by praier, and expect it in peace: those be weapons for Christians: Somerfields * dag, and Parries * dagger, be diuelish meanes to dispatch princes, vsed by heathens to reuenge their pursuers, but to their sharpe & heauie punishment before God, who hath taught his another way to deliuer themselues from tirants: that is, to repay no man (therefore not magistrates) euill for euill, to be pacient in tribulation, to reioice in hope, not to auenge themselues but to blesse their persecutors, to blesse them I say and not to curse them: much lesse to kill them. These be the manifest precepts of Christ: if you be of God, you will heare them: if not, in truth you be heathen: and then may you well follow your forefathers the heathens, in murdering, or as you call it, *in depriuing and restraining of princes.*

Vnfit weapons for christian men, but fit for Iesuits & heathens.

Rom. 12.

The defence cap. 5. Our bond to Christ more than to our prince.

Phil. *The bond and obligation we haue entered into for the seruice of Christ and the Church, farre exceedeth all other dutie, which we owe to anie humane creature: and therefore where the obedience to the inferiour hindereth the seruice of the other which is superiour, we must by law and order discharge our-selues of the inferiour.*

Theop. You say you haue heapes of learning: sure you shew little. There is no doubt, but the dutie which we owe to Christ and his Church, farre exceedeth the seruice that we can owe, or must yeeld to any humane creature: and also against the superiour we must yeeld no obedience to the inferiour: and thence you may rightly conclude, that we must not obeie man aboue, or against God: but when you inferre that if princes commaund some things against God, you must therefore obeie them in nothing: this is wicked and most absurd sophistrie. We must not obeie them in those points which they commaund against God: in all other things we must; because God hath so prescribed vs to do.

We may yeeld God his due without rebelling against the prince: mary that is by suffering the princes pleasure which the Iesuits cannot brook.

Take

Take an example of the tyrants that were in the Apostles time. Did they not directly command against God, not in one or two, but in all matters of religion? It is euident they did. Did the Apostles thence cõclude that the Christians should take them for no princes; but *by law and order be discharged* of all other seruice due vnto them as you do. It is euident they did not. Yea rather they earnestly adiured all Christians to be subiect to them in all other things, and euen in those things which were commanded against God, to *submit themselues with meekenesse and reuerence to indure the magistrates pleasure, though not to obey his will. Why then in matters of so great moment bring you so light and vaine delusions? Why repeate you so often the same antecedent, and neuer attend the fault of your consequent?

The Iesuits in no wise can away with this submission to the swords of princes, and therefore they imagine princes may be deposed, and by that colour also resisted.

Phil. *The wife if she can not liue with her owne husband (being an infidell or an heretike) without iniury and dishonor to God; she may depart from him, or contrariwise he from her, for the like cause: neither oweth the innocent partie, nor the other can lawfully claime any coniugall duty or debt in this case.*

The defence cap. 5. How man & wife may depart for Christ.

The very bond slaue, which is in an other kind no lesse bound to his lord and maister, than the subiect to his soueraigne: may also by ancient imperiall lawes depart & refuse to obey or serue him, if he become an heretike, yea ipso facto he is made free.

Theod. L. Man. de hæres.

Finally the parents that become heretiks, loose the superiority and dominion they haue by law or nature ouer their owne children.

Cap. fin. Extr. de hæres.

Therefore let no man maruell that in case of heresie the soueraigne loseth his superioritie and right ouer his people and kingdome.

Theoph. If we should grant you these three precedents, euen as your selfe set them downe, they would nothing further your conclusion. That hereticall husbands, maisters, and parents loose their right and interest which they otherwise haue in their wiues, seruants, and children, is no position of Gods law, but a terror deuised and established by the princes power to fray men from heresie. Now princes appoint punishments for their subiects, not for themselues: therefore no good consequent can be framed from these paterns to the depriuation of princes. It is ouermuch boldnesse in you, maisters, without authority to require to punish your superiors in such sort, as they with authority punish their subiects. They be princes,

Husbands, parents, and maisters lose not their right by gods law, though they be heretikes. The Iesuits would punish princes in the same sort that princes punish their subiects.

The third part. Princes appoint paines for others, not for themselues.

ces, you be not: they beare the sword to reuenge wickednesse, you do not: they may dispose of their people be they maisters or parents, you may not dispose of them being magistrats: much lesse may you turne the lawes, which they made to punish subiects, against themselues. That were to make them not princes ouer others, but subiects vnder you; which I trust they be not.

You see the disparison of your examples: and so the disiuncture of your argument: and yet your suppositements be not simply true. Neither infidelitie nor heresie by Gods law doth dissolue matrimonie. The Apostle willeth the beleeuing wife to stay with the vnbeleeuing husband, if he be so content: and our sauiour will haue no man put away his wife for heresie, but onely for incontinencie. Where danger of life is feared, or bodily wrong offered; the magistrate may permit the wife to dwell asunder from her husband till he be reclaimed: but in no case to be diuorced.

Heresie dissolueth not matrimony. 1.Cor.7. Mat.19.

The seruant is not so surely bound to his maister as the subiect is to the prince: power of life and death the maister hath none; the prince hath; refuge against the maister the seruant hath to the common gouernour of them both, which is the magistrate: the subiect hath no refuge against his soueraigne, but onely to God by prayer and patience: and therefore the prince may demise the seruant, if the maister be like to corrupt him: but no man can discharge the subiect, though the prince go about to oppresse him, and that your owne example will conclude. For who set free the seruant from his maister, the Apostles or princes? You knowe the Apostles neither did nor might attempt any such thing. Peter in Gods behalfe requireth all seruants with feare to obey their maisters (excepting neither infidels nor heretikes:) not onely if they were good and curteous, but though they were froward. For that is thankf-woorthy if a man for conscience towards God (that is chiefly for religion) indure griefe and suffer wrong vndeserued. If then Peter, whom you make the piller of your popedome, neither would, nor could depriue a poore crafts-man (though an infidell or an heretike) of his seruant or prentize: what right can your holy father now haue to depriue princes of their crownes

The subiects more bound to the prince than the seruant is to his maister.

The prince may discharge the seruant; but no man can discharge the subiect. 1.Pet.2.

The Apostles neither did nor could set seruants free from their maisters for any cause.

for

for those or any other causes, and to absolue their subiects from all obedience, though they would yeld it, and haue swoone it?

That parents should lose the regiment and authoritie which by nature and law they haue ouer their children; is a late popes decree, which we little regard, and not found in the extrauagants, as you quote it, *cap. fin.* but in the decretals of Sixtus, *lib. 5. de hæreticis, cap. 2.* and were it to bee found in ancient imperiall lawes, that heretikes should not bring vp their children, for feare of infecting them, which we greatly mislike not: yet no law, Gods, nor mans, doth licence the sonne to dishonor, reinquish, forsweare and murder his father, though a Turke or a Saracene, as you teach subiects to vse their princes.

No law giueth the sonne leaue to dishonor or disherit his father. The defence cap. 5.

Phil. *Thus much may (as we trust) suffice with all reasonable indifferent persons, for defence of our brethren.*

Theop. Thus much sufficeth to conuince you of that wherewith you were charged: that is with liking, laboring, perswading, and expecting the depriuation and destruction of your naturall and lawfull soueraigne: and since the foundation of your doings hath neither warrant in the word of God, nor example in the Church of Christ for a thousand yeeres, as we trust the reader by this time perceiueth, but onely dependeth on the late violent and wicked treacheries of popes, swelling with earthly pride, and sauoring of filthy gaine, who for the readier atchieuing of their enterprise, began with curling, and alwaies ended in sowing seditions, menaging rebellions, kindlings warrs, allowing periuries, vpholding treasons, and shaking the frame of the earth with horrible tumults: I hope no christian subiect will be so vnwise as to beleeue you, or so wicked as to follow you, seeing you pretend religion, and defend rebellion, and come now to the publike patrocination of that which all this while you secretly cloked with cunning and subtill euasions: knowing that God is the ordainer of princes, and will be the reuenger of all that presume to displace them or resist them: he hauing expressly commanded them to be serued, obeied, and honored.

If princes may not be deposed, *ergo* ciuill warre to displace them is a wicked and wilfull rebellion against God and his ordinance.

Phil. *It shall not be amisse perhaps to set downe the iudgement and practise of protestants in (this very) case: which though it weigh* The defence cap. 5.

The protestants opinion and practise for deposition of princes in case of false religion.

little or nothing with vs, as being altogether both done and spoken of seditious and partiall affection to their heresie, and against the lawfull magistrate of God: yet you seeing (your) owne maisters against (you) shall well perceiue that the resisting of princes and magistrats in cause of religion, as also the subiects taking armes for their defence in such a case, is no way to be accounted treason, but most lawfull according to (your) new gospell.

Tertul. de Virgil. velandis.

Theop. As for the newnesse of our gospell, we say with Tertullian: If Christ were euer and afore all, the truth (of his gospell) is as ancient and euerlasting. Let them therefore looke to themselues, to whom that is new, which in it selfe is old. Maisters we haue none but Christ, neither bind we our selues to the will of any but only of God. And though by your owne confession in the next section before, we need not *busie our selues to defend euery priuate mans writing or action concerning (this) matter:* yet least by depraying the sense, and abusing the words of some that neuer spake of the case in question betweene vs, you should commend rebellion to the common people as allowed of either side, yours and ours, in cause of religion: I will not be grieued to cite their sayings, and to consider how farre they make with you or against you.

The Iesuits abuse the names of protestants for the colouring of their conspiracies.

The defence cap. 5. *In Dan. cap. 6. verse 22. 25.*

Phil. *First (your) grand-maister Iohn Caluine putteth downe his oracle as a conclusion approoued of (your) whole sect and confraternity in these words: Abdicant se potestate, terreni principes, dum insurgunt contra Deum: immò indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potiùs ergo conspuere oportet in illorum capita, quàm illis parere, vbi sic proteruiunt vt vel nt spoliare Deum suo iure, &c.* Which in English is thus. *Earthly princes do bereaue themselues of all authority when they do erect themselues against God, yea they are vnworthy to be accounted in the number of men: and therefore we must rather spit vpon their heads, than obey them; when they become so proud, or peruerse, that they will spoile God of his right; and to the same place I further refer the reader for his instruction.*

The doctrine of father CALVINE.

Theop. Caluine is so well knowne to those that be learned or wise for his great paines and good labors in the Church of God: that a few snarling friers can not impeach his name, though you neuer so wretchedly peruert his words. Phil. We peruert them not, we alleadge them as they lie. Theop. Caluine in that place speaketh not one word of depriuing of princes of their crownes, or resisting them

Caluine wrested by the Iesuits.

them with armes: but only sheweth that Daniel did rightly defend himselfe for not obeying the kings wicked edict, because it was ioined with the manifest dishonor of God and restraint of his seruice, which no king can prohibit.

By *Abdicant se potestate*, he meaneth not, they forfeit their crownes, but they loose their power to command in those things, which in other cases, that be lawfull, they notwithstanding retaine. And though the phrase, to spit vpon their heads seeme somewhat hard: yet the comparison so standing as he maketh it: that is, whether we were better vtterly to contemne their impious edicts, & to defie such sinnefull acts to their faces, which is meant by spitting at them, or else obey them spoiling God of his right, and as it were pulling him out of heauen; I say, we must no way consent to yeld any regard or reuerence to their idolatrous rage and pride against God. This is al that Caluine in behement words, as his maner is, vrgeth; and this is farre from rebelling and pursuing princes with armes, as you would haue his words to sound.

Caluine saith princes haue no power to command against God, but he doth not say that subiects may displace them with armes.

Phi. Let the reader view the place and see whether your construction be true or no. Theo. With a good will. If you find one word thereof taking or vsing weapon or violence against the king, I yeld the whole. For how could any such thing be grounded vpon Daniels example? He submitted himselfe to be cast to the lions for the breach of the kings commandement. And when he was mightily deliuered from their iawes by the hand of God, all that he said to the king, was, against thee O king I did no euill, meaning in that he serued God, though the king by his law had prohibited him so to do for thirty daies. Vpon that Caluine saith: Daniel could not obey the kings edict, but he should deny God. He sinned not against the king, when he constantly went forward in the exercise of praier to God. Daniell therefore, doth rightly * defend himselfe that he did no wickednesse against the king, in that, being bound to obey the precepts of God, he neglected the kings commandement to the contrarie. Then follow your words: that princes loose their right to be obeied, when they presume to command against God: & that we were better to defie their edicts to their faces, than obey them when they waxe so froward, that they will put God from his right, and sit in his

Not a word of vsing weapon or violence in all that place of Caluine.

Dan. 6. *Caluin in 6. Dan. ver. 22.* He defended his innocency with reuerent words, as euery subiect may, not with violent weapons.

his throne.

The defence cap. 4. The doctrine of brother Beza.

Phi. *For declaration of (this) text and for cutting off all cauillation about the interpretation of his words, (your) brother Beza shall speake next, who alloweth and highly commendeth in writing, the fighting in France for religion, against the lawes and lawfull king of that countrie, saying in his epistle dedicatorie of his new Testament to the queene of England her selfe: That the nobility of France, (vnder the noble prince of Condie) laid the foundation of restoring true Christian religion in France, by consecrating most happily their bloud to God in the battell of Dreux. Wherof also the ministers of the reformed French churches (as their phrase is) do giue their common verdict in the confession of their faith, thus: We affirme that subiects must obey the lawes, pay tribute, beare all burdens imposed, and sustaine the yoke euen of infidell magistrats: so for all that, that the supreame dominion and due of God be not violated.*

In editione anno 1564. The opinion of the congregation art. 39.

Theop. You haue already belied Caluine, and now you take the like course with Beza and the French churches. Their speech can be no declaration of Caluines words; if they did leane that way which you make them, as they do not: and therefore this is but a friers tricke to abuse both writers and readers.

Phil. *Beza highly commendeth the fighting in France for religion, against the lawes, and lawfull king of that countrie.* Theo. The battel which Beza speaketh of, was neither against the lawes, nor the king of that countrie. That old fox the duke of Guise, hating the nobles of France as being himselfe a stranger, & seeking to tread them downe, whom he knew inclined to religion, that he might strengthen himselfe and his house to take the crowne, if ought should befall the kings line: as his sonne the yoong duke at this present in armes for that cause doth not sticke to professe watching his opportunity, whiles the king of France was yet vnder yeeres, armed himselfe to the field, as his sonne now doth, and against all law with open force murdered many hundreth subiects, as they were making their praiers to God in their assemblies: vpon pretence that their seruice was not permitted by the lawes of that reime. The nobles and princes of France perceiuing his malice and seeing his iniustice, that being a subiect as they were, he would with priuate and armed violence murder innocents, neither conuented nor condemned, which the king himselfe,

The battell of Dreux.

The nobles of France repressed the fury of the Guise the king being vnder age.

if

if he had bene of age, by the lawes of their country could not do, gathered together to keepe their owne liues from the fury of that violent bloud sucker: and in that case if they did repell force, what haue you to say against it, or why should not Beza praise the prince of Condie & others, for defending the lawes of God and that realme against the Guises open iniurie with the consecrating of their bloud most happily to God?

Phil. The duke did nothing without the king and the queene mother: & therefore impugning the one they impugne the other. Theo. The king was yong & in the Guises hands: & therefore his consent with the peeres & states of his realme, that a subiect should do execution vpon his people by the sword without all order of iustice, could be nothing worth. The king had neither age to discerne it, nor freedome to deny it, nor law to decree it. Phil. The queene mother had her sonne in custodie & not the duke: & with her consent were these things done. Theop. Of the queene mother of France, I will say no more, but that the ancient law of that realme did barre her from the crowne: and therfore her consenting with the Guise might sharpen the doer, but not authorize the deed. Phil. Defend you then their bearing armes against the king? Theo. To depriue the king or annoy the realme, they bare none; but to saue themselues from the violent & wrongfull oppression, of one that abused the kings youth to the destruction of his lawes, nobles and commons. Phi. As you say. Theop. And you shall neuer prooue the contrary.

The king had neither age nor law to licence the Guise to murder his people.

But these things are without our limits. We be scholers not souldiers, diuines not lawyers, English not French. The circumstances of their wars no man exactly knoweth besides themselues: as also we know not the lawes of that land. We will therefore not enter these acts which haue so many parts, precedents, causes, concurrents, & those to vs vnknowne, & yet all to be discussed & prooued before Beza may be charged with this opinion by his commending the battell of Dreux: but will rather giue you his vndoubted iudgemēt out of his owne workes quite against that which you slāder him with. Purposely treating of the obedience which is due to magistrates, thus he resolueth: *Quod autem attinet ad priuatos homines, tenere illos oportet*

Lex Salica.

Beza's iudgement of bearing armes against the prince out of his owne works.

The third part. Priuat men may not beare armes againſt a tyrant.

Beza in confeſſione fidei chriſtianæ & cius-dem cum Papiſticis erroribus Collatione, cap. 5. ſect. 45.

oportet plurimum inter ſe differre, iniuriam inferre & iniuriam pati: iniuriam enim pati noſtrum eſt, ſic præcipiente Domino, & ſuo exemplo nobis præeunte, quum nobis illam vi arcere non licet ex noſtræ vocationis præſcripto; extra quam nefas eſt nobis vel pedem ponere: neque aliud vllum remedium hic proponitur priuatis hominibus tyranno ſubiectis, præter vitæ emendationem, & preces & lachrymas. As touching priuate men, they muſt hold great difference betweene doing and ſuffering wrong. It is our part to ſuffer iniurie: the Lord ſo commanding and teaching vs by his owne example, for ſo much as it is not lawfull for vs to repell it with force, by the preſcript of our calling, from the which we may not ſtep one foot: neither is there here propoſed any other remedy for priuat men that are vnder a tyrant, but the amending of their liues, and therewithall praiers and teares.

Ibidem, cap. 5. ſectio. 45.

And making a plaine diſtinction betweene not obeying and taking armes, when the magiſtrate commandeth againſt God, he ſaith: This rule is firme and ſure, that we muſt obey God rather than man, ſo often as we can not obey the precepts of men, but we muſt violate the authoritie of that ſupreme king of kings and lord of lords: yet ſo that we remember it is one thing not to obey them, and an other thing to reſiſt, or take armes, which God hath not permitted thee. So the midwiues are praiſed that obeied not Pharaoh: and the apoſtles & all the prophets and martyrs could by no tyrants be brought to betray the truth with their ſilence. What then we thinke of the ſubiects duty to the magiſtate, you ſhall farre more certainly and truly learne by this our doctrine, than by their ſlanders which are not aſhamed to ioine vs with the frantike Anabaptiſts ſubuerting the magiſtrats authority.

Priuat men may diſobey a wicked prince but not beare armes againſt him. To you Sir ſlanderer.

The warres of the French miniſters lewdly peruerted by the Ieſuits.

How the confeſſion of the reformed churches in France ſhould allow rebellion, I ſee no coniecture in their words, vnleſſe a rebell may haue them to miſtake and depraue at his pleaſure. Subiects muſt obey the lawes, pay tribute, beare all burdens impoſed, and ſuſtaine the yoke euen of infidell magiſtrats: ſo for all that, that the ſupreame dominion and due of God be not violated. What miſlike you in theſe words? Would you that infidels ſhould be ſerued afore, or aboue God? Phil. Their meaning is that if Gods due be once violated, we muſt no longer pay tribute, nor obey the lawes of any prince. Theop. How gather you that

that out of this place? Their wordes sound otherwise. Subiects must obey the lawes, and sustaine the yoke euen of infidels, so that the supreme dominion of God be not violated. Phil. If that be violated, they must obey no longer, but elect an other prince. Theop. That is your rebellious inclination, not their position: they say subiects must obey princes (so) farforth (*as the supreme dominion of God be not violated.*) In any matter if the choise come betweene God and the prince, which of the twaine shall be serued and obeied, God must euer be preferred.

If the supreme dominion of God be violated by the commandement of any prince that precepe may well be disobeied, but not the prince displaced.

Phil. Surely they meane, that if once the magistrate violate the supreme dominion of God, we most account him no longer a magistrate. Theop. The diuell himselfe can shew no greater malice than to peruert that which is wel spoken: and to force a leud sence of his owne on an other mans wordes. It is euident they neuer meant that if the magistrate once violate Gods due, the people might reiect him, for then were it not needful at al to sustaine the yoke of an infidell, as their owne wordes import; because he can not be an infidell, except he first violate the supreme dominion of God by commanding against his truth in matters of religion; & therefore they meant as their wordes ly; that euen infidels if they be princes must be obeied, but so that Gods due be euer reserued. If they presume to violate the dominion which God hath reserued to himselfe, we may not rebell (that is your Iesuiticall doctrine) but disobey them, in that or any point that is prescribed by man against the will of God, and submit our selues to indure persecution * for righte ousnesse sake: which, as our sauiour assureth vs, is not without great and happie recompence. Phil. Zuinglius *likewise a cater-cosen to the Caluinists in religion, writeth thus: If the empire of Rome, or what other soueraigne soeuer, should oppresse the sincere religion, and we negligentlie suffer the same, we shall be charged with contempt, no lesse than the oppressors thereof themselues: whereof we haue an example in the fifteenth of Ieremie, where the destruction of the people is prophecied, for that they suffered their king Manasses, being impious and vngodlie, to be vnpunished. And more plaine in an other place. When kings (saith he) rule vnfaithfullie, and otherwise than the rule of the Gospell prescribeth, they may, with God, be deposed: as, when they punish not wicked persons, but specially when they aduance the vngodlie, as idle priests,*

Infidels must be obeied so farre forth as their precepts tend not to the dishonour of Gods holie name. Matth. 5.

Rom. 5.

The defence cap. 4.

The defence of *Zuing. li. 4. epist. Zuing. & Occol. fol. 186.*

4. Reg. 21.

Art. 42. expla. fol. 84.

priests, &c. Such may be depriued of their dignity, as Saul was.

The manifest formes of commonwealths make diuerse men speake diuersly of the magistrats sword.

Theop. I vndertake not to discusse or defend eth seueral mans opinion or speech. The Romans we know could neuer abide in their city ꝑ name of a king. The commonwealths of Venice, Millan, Florence, & Genua are of the same mind. Many states haue gouernors for life or for yeres, as they best liked that first erected their policies: & yet a soueraignty stil remaining somewhere in the people, somewhere in ꝑ senat, somewhere in ꝑ prelats & nobles that elect or assist ꝑ magistrat, who hath his iurisdiction allotted & prefixed vnto him, thus far & no further, & may be resisted & recalled from any tyrannous excesse, by ꝑ generall & publike consent of the whole state where he gouerneth). In Germany the emperor himselfe hath his bounds appointed him which he may not passe by the lawes of the empire: & the princes, dukes & cities that are vnder him, haue power to gouerne & vse the sword, as Gods ministers in their own charges. And though for the maintenance of the empire, they be subiect to such orders as shal be decreed in the conuent of al their states, & according to that direction are to furnish the emperor with men & mony for his necessary wars and defences: yet if he touch their policies, infringe their liberties, or violate the specialties which he by oth & order of the empire is bound to keepe: they may lawfully resist him, & by force reduce him to the ancient & receiued forme of gouernement, or else repel him as a tyrant, & set an other in his place by the right and freedome of their country. Therfore the Germans doings or writings can help you little in this question. They speake according to the lawes and rights of the empire: themselues being a verie free state, and bearing the sword as lawfull magistrates to defend their liberties and prohibit vnurie, against all oppressors, the emperour himselfe not excepted.

Germany a free state, & the emperors authority limited by the lawes of the empire.

The Germãs proportion their speeches according to the state of their country.

Zuinglius meant this of princes elected and limited.

In this sense, Zuinglius may say that if the empire of Rome, or anie other soueraigne should oppresse the truth, and they (that haue rightfull power by the lawes of their countrey to withstand) should negligentlie suffer the same, they shall be charged with contempt no lesse than the oppressors themselues: but that subiects and such as are only bound to obey, and not by the lawes of the land authorised to vse the sword, should take weapon in hand to displace the

the prince and change the state, that Zuinglius neuer said nor meant, much lesse that the pope might warrant such priuate violence.

Phil. For his example he bringeth the men of Iuda and Ierusalem, whom God by Ieremie threatened to *destroy, for that they suffered their king Manasses, being impious and vngodly, to be vnpunished*, and yet the people of Israel had no such soueraignitie ouer their king. Theop. What soueraignitie the whole people of Israel had ouer their kings is a question amongst the learned, and Zuinglius might be of opinion they had. When Saul would haue put Ionathan his sonne to death: the people would not suffer him so to doe, but deliuered Ionathan that he died not. 1.Sam.14. When Dauid purposed the reducing of the ark, his speech to the people was: If it please you we will send to the rest of our brethren, that they may assemble themselues vnto vs. 1.Chron.13. After Salomons death, all the congregation of Israel came & said to Roboam, make thy fathers yoke, which he put vpon vs, lighter, & we will serue thee: as if it had lien in their choice to be subiect or free frō the kings power. 1.Kings.12. The people likewise tooke Ieremie, when he had prophesied against them, and said, thou shalt die the death. Ierem.26.

These places haue persuaded some, and might lead Zuinglius to thinke, that the people of Israel, notwithstanding they called for a king, yet reserued to themselues sufficient authoritie to ouerrule their king in those things, which seemed expedient & needfull for the publike welfare: else God would not punish the people for the kings impietie, which they must suffer & might not redresse. But yet in the 15. of Ieremie there is no such cause pretended: their consent rather & zeal to please Manasses in his wickednes, and their general shrinking backe from truth so lately professed vnder Ezechias, for feare of his crueltie that did next succeed: were the causes why God would punish both the king and the realme. For God neuer required of the people to displace their prince that we can read, but onely that they should rather peeld their liues, than forsake his truth, when any tyrant offered to deface his glorie.

God neuer required the people to displace their king, but not to consent to his wickednes.

Phil. By Zuinglius decision, the people may depose the prince. Theo. Zuinglius doth shew the causes for which magistrates may be iustly displaced by those that haue authoritie to do it: but he giueth no priuat man leaue to take the

sword

swoord or offer violence to any prince, though he be a tyrant: againe, he speaketh of rulers elected and limited, not succeeding and absolute: in which case by the lawes of sundry realms, much is permitted, which otherwise may not be presumed. Phil. May he speaketh of al sorts of princes, whether they be made by succession, election or vsurpation. Theop. In that article he mentioneth them, but he neither resolueth any certaintie of them, or alloweth any force to be vsed against them. Of hereditary succession these be his words: *Mihi ergo compertum non est vnde hoc sit, vt regna per successiones, & quasi per manus posteris tradantur.* I confesse I haue no skill in this, how kingdoms should be deriued to posteritie by succession, and as it were by hand. If then a tyrant chosen by no man get a kingdome by inheritance: which hath his foundation I know not how: *ferre hunc oportet: sed quomodo imperitabit?* He must be indured, but how shall he gouerne? His answere is: *Regnum aliquo sapiente administrandum erit:* the kingdome must be gouerned by some wise man: that shall assist him. If a tyrant succeeding may not be repelled from his inheritance, but suffered and assisted, then by his confession may he not be deposed.

Explanat. articulo 42.

Ibidem. A tyrant inheriting may not be displaced by Zuinglius opinion.

And that no violence may be vsed to any prince promoted by succession or election, his words are plaine. Disputing *quo pacto mouendus sit officio*, by what means a magistrate may be displaced, he saith: *Non est vt eum trucides, nec vt bellum & tumultum quis excites, quia in pace vocauit nos Deus.* Thou maist not kill him, nor leauie war or any tumult against him: because God hath called vs in peace.

Ibidem. Princes may neither be murdered nor assaulted with any tumult by Zuinglius iudgmente.

Phil. How then shall he be displaced since no prince will yeld his crowne without force? Theop. He answereth, *hic iam labor est:* this is the difficultie: but his conceit is, that they which chose him, should denounce him vnfit to wear the crown: and if he yeld, it is well, if not, they must offer their liues in so good a cause as to die for iustice and truth.

Ibidem.

Phil. In faith that were folly, first to prouoke a tyrant with deprauation, and after to lay down their necks to his furie. Theop. Yet that is his resolution: for he addeth, *Qui hoc ferre non possint, ferant insolentem tyrannum.* They that cannot abide (to die for the defence of iustice) let them tolerate the pride of the tyrant.

Ibidem.

Phil. Are you of that mind? Theop. You are not to seeke after

after al our reasoning what I thinke, I haue mætly wel repeated it. And as for Zuinglius though he measure all nations by the Germanes, and proportion other kingdomes to the empire: and in that respect speake somewhat strangely; yet he iustifieth no tumult against a tyrant, much lesse rebellion against lawfull and absolute princes: which is the case at this instant in question betwixt vs.

That touching rebellion: now for succession, as I muse at his wordes, so I like not his iudgement, when he saith, he can not tell whence it is that kingdomes should go by succession. The Romane empire it selfe from Constantine the great and before till the time of Otho the third, that is 700. yeares & vpward, went by succession, saue where the right lines failed, or sedition disturbed the heire. The greatest kingdomes of the west parts, as France, England, Spaine, Scotland and others, haue alwaies gone by succession since they were diuided frō the empire, & neuer by election. The like I might say almost of all prophane kingdoms & monarchies: where not electiō but succession hath preuailed. But omit them: God himselfe gaue this to Dauid as a great blessing, of the fruit of thy body will I set vpon thy throne: & this was it which was denied to Saul for reuenge of his disobediēce: Thou hast done foolishly, for the Lord had now established thy kingdome vpon Israell for euer. All the recōpence which Iehu had for his zealous seruice was this, Because thou hast diligently executed that which was right in mine eies, (therfore) shal thy sons vnto the fourth generation sit on the throne of Israel. So that succession in kingdomes hath not onely the consent of all ages and nations: but the manifest subscription of God himselfe, that it is his speciall fauour and blessing to continue the successions of godly princes.

Succession most vsuall in christian kingdomes and allowed by God himselfe.

Psal. 132.

1. Sam. 13.

2. Kings. 10.

Phil. *And what our English protestants write or thinke of this matter, you shall well perceiue, by their opinion and high approbation of Wiats rebellion in queene Maries daies: wherof one of your chief ministers called Goodman thus speaketh in his treatise insituled; how superior magistrats ought to be obeied. Wiat did but his duty, & it was the dutie of all others that professe the gospell, to haue risen with him, in maintenance of the same. His cause was iust, and they all were traitors that tooke not part with him. O noble Wiat, thou art now with God, and those worthie men that died for that happie enterprise.*

The defence cap. 4.

Goodmans opinion. *Cap. 14. à pag.* 204. *ad pag.* 212.

Goodmans priuat opinió long since corrected by himselfe, can not preiudice the whole realme.

Theop. It is much that you measure the whole realme by one mans mouth: and more that you draw the words which he spake, frō the meaning which he had, to warrāt your rebellions. The party which you name at the time when he wrote, toke queene Marie for no lawfull prince: which particular & false suppositall beguiled him and made him thinke the better of Wiats warre; but our question is of lawfull princes not of violent intruders. And therfore Goodmans opinion which himselfe hath long since disliked is no way seruiceable for your seditions.

Goodmā did not hold that lawfull princes might be thrust from their crowns, but that queene Marie was no lawfull magistrate.

Phil. Hold you queene Marie for an intruder? Theo. Not I, but he then did whē he spake these words: & so the case doth not concord. Phil. We take princes deposed if they stand out, to be intruders: & so by your owne rule may debell them with armes. Theop. Proue first you may depose them; & then if they yeld not, vse your right. Phi. We take them for deposed. Theop. So did the Iewes take Christ for a blasphemer of God, & deceiuer of the people, and yet that nothing impeached his sanctitie or sinceritie. The princes right may not go by your thoughts. You may quickely persuade your selues, what you list, as you teach the boyes & girles with vs to pretend conscience, when in deed they should blush at their shamefull ignorance.

The defence cap. 5. The iudgement of the Scottish ministerie. Iohn Knokes *Ibidem pag.* 77.

Phil. *What the Scotish ministerie defineth in this question, is plaine by the verdict of Iohn Knokes their mightiest prophet: the argument of a treatise of this matter being set downe by himselfe thus: If the people haue either rashly promoted any manifest wicked person, or else ignorantly chosen such an one, as after declareth himselfe vnworthy of regiment aboue the people of God (and such be all idolaters and cruell persecutors) most iustly may the same men depose and punish him.*

Theop. Were it in a point of doctrine, or part of faith, it had yet some shew to charge the rest with one mans verdict: but in a singular and superfluous assertion it hath no more ground, than if we should pronounce al popes, to be coniurers & atheists, because Iohn the 12. & Sylueſter the 2. were such: or suspect all Spaniards to be as louing to their brethrē as Alfonsus was to * Ioannes Diazius, whose head he claue a sunder with an hatchet, & the Romanists to be as vertuously disposed as euer were * Petrus Aloisius the son, a famous citizen of Sodom, or * Paulus the 3. his father a fit bishop for Gomorra, which iwis would offend you,

Sleid. lib. 17.

Sleid. lib. 19. lib. 21.

pou. Knokes booke I haue not seen, & therfore the circumstances I do not know: yet the very words which you bring, proue that he spake not of princes entering by inheritance, but of magistrats promoted by election: & that not a part of the people but the very same states that elected, by their common consent may forsake their gouernor; if he shew himselfe vnworthy of the regimēt: but whether he meane they may do this by the law of God in all kingdoms or by the laws of the lād in som places, these words do not expresse, only he saith, they that promoted any, may iustly for these causes depose them: which we grant to be true, if the laws of the realme warrāt þ promoters in that action as in som places they do. If his meaning be otherwise, as we see not his reasons, so we receiue not his speeches, though by his owne words he be cleane out of our questiō: for he saith not that men may beare armes against inheritors, but that they which chose one gouernor, haue the sam right to chose an other if he be vnfit: which is nothing to princes that inherit, nor to subiects that are absolutely bound to obey: as in this relme & som others they be.

Phil. *So Luther also the Protestants Elias, being asked his opinion of the Almanes confederacie, made at Smalcalde against Charles the fift their lawfull and noble emperor, answered: that in deed he was in doubt for a time, whether they might take armes against their supreame magistrate, or no: but afterward seeing the extreamitie of things, & that religion could not otherwise be defended, nor themselues: he made no conscience of the matter, but either Cæsar, or any, waging warres in his name, might be resisted.* The defence cap. 4. The opinion & definition of Luther. *Sleid. hist. lib. 8.*

Sleidan also recordeth that the duke of Saxonie & the Lantzgraue, gaue this reason of their taking armes against their supreame magistrate: For as much (say they) as Cæsar intendeth to destroy the true religion & our ancient libertie, he giueth vs cause enough, why we may with good conscience resist him, as both by prophane and sacred histories may be proued. *Lib. 21.*

The same writer reporteth the like of the ministers of Magdeburge, declaring how the inferiour may defend himselfe against the superiour, compelling him to do against the truth and rule of Christs lawes. *Lib. 22.*

Theoph. It was skill not to report these places as you found them; least you should open their meaning which maketh nothing for you: & bewray your malice in omitting the limitation of their words to serue the licentiousnes of

What Luther taught of obedience to magistrats.

pour weapons. Luther as a diuine taught constantly and truly that no magistrate should be resisted, exception to that doctrine he saw none in the word of God, as at this day we do not, but that subiection was due to the magistrate were he tyrant, heretike, or infidell: subiection he meant to obey the princes will if it were agreeable with Gods, or else to indure the sword if the prince opposed himselfe against God: yet whē Charles the 5. determined to war with the princes and cities that had renounced the pope, & the Germane lawyers made euident demonstration, that the free states by the lawes of the empire might defend their liberty against Cæsar himself if he would impugne it, to whome they were not subiect but with that condition: and no liberty more vrgent or necessary than liberty of conscience, Luther not reuersing his former opinion, but expounding himselfe with an other position which he alwaies held, that the gospell doth not barre nor abolish any politike lawes, resolued that in such extreamity, hauing the laws of the empire for their warrant, which he knew not before, they might enter a league, not to displace Cæsar as you do, but to defend themselues & their ancient freedom against Cæsar or any that would disturbe them in Cæsars name. This is the right intent of Luthers words: & this, I weene, you wil hardly refute or conuert to your purpose. Luther, saith Sleidan, had alwaies taught that the magistrate should not be resisted: and his booke of that matter was extant. Yet when the lawiers in that consultation had prooued that the lawes (of the empire) permitted resistance in some cases, and that this was one of those cases which the lawes did mention; Luther plainly confessed he was ignorant thereof before, that any such thing was permitted (by the lawes of the empire:) & because the gospell doth not repeale nor abolish the lawes of any common-wealth, and the time was now so doubtfull and dangerous that not only the lawes themselues, but the very force of conscience & necessity, did lead them to armes; he said they might make a league to defend themselues, though Cæsar or any in his name, would wage warre against them.

Sleid. lib. 8. The gospell doth not barre the politike lawes of any country.

Sleid. lib. 8. The lawes of the empire permit resistance.

The duke of Saxony and the Lantzgraue made the same reply to the emperor when they were proscribed by him, If the emperor, say they, had kept his bonds and couenants, we would

The Germans no rebels in defending their libertie. would haue done our duties: but because he began first to make the breach, the fault is his. For since he attempteth to roote out religion and subuert our libertie; he giueth vs cause enough to resist him with good conscience. The matter standing as it doth, we may resist, as may be shewed both by sacred and profane stories. Vniust violence is not Gods ordinance, neither are we bound to him by anie other reason, than if he keepe the conditions, on which he was created emperour.

Sleid. lib. 18. not the 21. as you quote.

The states of Germany not subiect to the emperour but with condition.

The same defence was alleaged not by the ministers, but by the magistrates of Magdeburg. So our religion and libertie left vs by our forefathers may be permitted, we refuse no kind of duty that ought to be yeelded to Cæsar or the empire. Now by the lawes themselues it is prouided that the inferior magistrate shal not infringe the right of the superior: and so likewise, if the magistrate exceed the limits of his power & command that which is wicked, not only we need not obeie him, but if he offer force* we may resist him. I aske not what fault you can find with their answere: but what propinquitie or nearnes hath your fact to theirs? They were magistrates, & bare the sword in their own dominions: you are priuate men, & want lawfull authoritie to vse the sword. Their states be free & may resist any wrong by the lawes of the empire: you be subiects & simply bound by the lawes of your countrey to obey the prince, or abide the paine, which the publike state of this realme hath prefixed. The Germane emperor is elected, & his power abated by the liberties & prerogatiues of his princes, that owe not many seruices, and those conditionall. The Queene of England inheriteth and hath one and the same right ouer all her subiects, be they nobles or others. And that which is most to be detested in you: they hauing so good warrant for their enterprise, did but ioine together to saue themselues, and their countries from seruitude and subuersion: you hauing not one of those reasons to iustifie your doings, take armes to pull the prince from her throne, and to shorten her daies with violence.

Sleid. 22.

This is true in free states, but not in absolute subiects.

The difference betweene the Iesuits and the Germans resistance.

Phil. We haue better reason for our doings, than the Germanes had for theirs. We haue the lawes of holie Church, and the iudgement of Christs vicar to beare vs out. Theop. The Church of Christ hath not to do with

No law permitteth the pope to depose princes, but that which is of his owne making.

deliuering or drawing the temporall sword. She can not make lawes for princes crowns: neither cã she licence priuat men to stand in armes against a magistrate: much lesse cã the pope, whose presumptuous & proud medling with the swords & scepters of earthly princes, no law, gods nor mãs, but of his own making, did euer allow. If this be al ỹ warrãt you haue for bearing armes against your prince, the Germans for ought that I see, may be commended for retaining their libertie: & you not excused for impugning authority. Phil. *The Protestants of all sects do both hold and practise it, England it selfe speciallie allowing of the same. And therefore there is no treason in this case, if we follow the present diuinitie of England, nor new example if we respect the furious attempts and rebellions of Scotland, Flanders, France, and Germanie, against their superiors, for maintenance of their heresie, and all well allowed by the ministerie of euery prouince. And vpon these examples you should looke (my maisters of England) whẽ you make so much ado for one poore commotion, made in defence of the Catholiks, in 26. yeeres space of the greatest persecution & tribulation that euer was since Gothes and Vandals times. Where if the Queene had holden her ancestors faith, & had ruled ouer so many Protestants but a quarter of the time, afflicting them, as she hath done Catholiks (though perhaps not her selfe so much as her vnmercifull ministers) her Maiestie should haue seene other maner of attempts against her state & quietnes, than haue fallen by Catholiks either in England or Ireland in this her raigne.* Theop. A bould face, & a bitter tong be your best obiections throughout your booke. *The Protestants, you say, of all sects do both hold and practise it, England it self specially allowing of the same.* How loud a lie the first is, we haue already seen: now to the rest. The tumults of any subiects against their soueraignes as we do not allow: so may we not condemne the poore afflicted christians our neighbors, before we heare thẽ what they can say for their defence. Admit thẽ to their answere, & then if their attempts be like yours, or thẽselus of the same mind that you are, we reiect their doings, as hateful before God and man, no lesse than yours. Your Spanish inquisitions and french massacres, where you murthered men, women and children by 1000. & 10000. against the verie grounds of all equity, piety, charity & humanity, without conuicting, accusing, or so much as calling thẽ before any iudge to heare what was misliked in them, are able to set graue men and good

The defence cap. 4.

The rage of popish persecutors is able to set good men beside their byas.

good men at their wits end: & to make them iustly doubt, since you refuse the course of all diuine & humane lawes with them, whether by the law of nature they may not defend themselues against such barbarous bloodsuckers: yet we stand not on that: if the lawes of the land, where they conuerse, do not permit them to gard their liues, when they are assaulted with vniust force against law: or if they take armes as you do to depose princes, we will neuer excuse them from rebellion.

Phil. Then they may resist, but we may not. Theo. Your liues are not hunted after for religion as theirs be: nothing is attempted against you without due course and triall of law: towards them no law is obserued; no punishment is laid on you, but by the full consent of the nobles and commons of this realme: and that openlie decreed in Parliament. The friers presume to put them to death vpon his sole authoritie that hath naught to do with other mens subiects: you meane to depriue princes, they seeke no farther but to defend themselues: not denying to their princes any tribute, subiectiō or honor which the lawes of their countrie require: only they will not haue the pope ouerrule princes as his maner is, and teare them on to all kind of tirannies. These be differences enough betweene your warres and theirs: and yet for my part I must confesse, that except the lawes of those realmes do permit the people to stand on their right if the prince would offer that wrong, I dare not allow their armes. Phi. What their lawes permit, I know not; I am sure in ỹ meane time they resist. Theo. And we, because we do not exactly know what their lawes permit, see no reason to cōdemne their doings without hearing their answere. Phil. Think you their lawes permit them to rebel? Theo. I buse not my self in other mens common-wealths as you do, neither wil I rashly pronounce all that resist to be rebels: cases may fall out euen in christian kingdoms where the people may plead their right against the prince, and not be charged with rebellion. Phil. As when for example.

There is great diuersitie in bearing armes, though we allow none if the lawes of the land do not warrant the same.

In some cases the nobles and commons may stand for the publike regimēt and lawes of theyr countrey.

Theop. If a prince should go about to subiect his kingdome to a forraine realme, or change the forme of the common-wealth, from imperie to tirannie: or neglect the lawes established by common consent of prince

and people, to execute his owne pleasure: in these and other cases, which might be named, if the nobles and commons ioine together to defend their auncient and accustomed liberty, regiment & lawes, they may not well be counted rebels. Phil. You denied that euen now, when I did vrge it. Theop. I denied that bishops had authoritie to prescribe conditions to kings when they crowned thē: but I neuer denied that the people might preserue the fundation, freedom & forme of their common wealth, which they forepriſed when they first cōsented to haue a king. Phil. I remember you were resolute that subiects might not resist their princes for any respects, and now I see you slake. Theop. As I said then, so I say now, the law of God giueth no man leaue to resist his prince: but I neuer said that kingdoms & common wealths might not proportion their states as they thought best by their publike lawes, which afterward the princes themselues may not violate. By superior powers ordained of God we vnderstand not only princes, but al politike states & regiments, somwhere the people, somwhere the nobles, hauing the same interest to the sword, that princes haue in their kingdoms: and in kingdoms where princes beare rule, by the sword we do not meane the princes priuate will against his lawes: but his precept deriued frō his lawes, and agreeing with his lawes: which, though it be wicked, yet may it not be resisted of any subiect with armed violēce. Mary whē princes offer their subiects not iustice, but force: & despise all laws to practise their lusts: not euery, nor any priuate man may take the sword to redresse the prince: but if the lawes of the land appoint the nobles as next to the king to assist him in doing right, and withhold him from doing wrong, then be they licensed by mans law, and so not prohibited by Gods, to interpose themselues for the safegard of equitie and innocencie: and by all lawfull and needfull meanes to procure the prince to be reformed, but in no case deprined where the scepter is inherited. Phil. If I should assent to this, how doth it acquite your fellowes in Germanie, Flaunders, France, and Scotland, that resist their Catholike princes for maintenance of their heresies? Theop. Not vnlesse they proue their states to be such as I speake of. Phil. That they shall neuer. Theop. You be

Christian kingdomes may settle their states with commō consent of prince and people, which the prince alone cannot alter.

The princes sword is his law and not his lust.

Princes may be staied from tyranny by their own realmes though not deposed.

deeper

deeper in policy than in diuinity: that belike fitteth your affection better: and yet therein you shew but what a malicious conceit and a slippery tong may soone suspect and vtter. It is easie for a running and railing head to sit at home in his chamber and call all men rebels, himselfe being the rankest, otherwise I see neither truth in reporting, nor sense in debating the matters that are so often in your mouth.

Why should the Germanes, submitting themselues to the emperor at his election but on condition, not inioy the same liberties and securities of their publike state which their fathers did before them? Why should they be counted rebels for preseruing their ciuill policy, more than Italians which cut themselues vtterly from the empire, by no consent nor allowance, but onely by force and disturbance? Germany.

The like we say for the Flemmings. What reason the king of Spaine should alter their state, and ouert their ancient lawes, his stile declaring him not to be king but earle of Flanders? And being admitted for a protector if he will needs become an oppressor, why should they not defend the freedome of their country? Flanders.

The Scots what haue they done besides the placing the right heire and her owne sonne, when the mother fled and forsoke the realme? Be these those *furious attempts and rebellions*) you talke of? Scotland.

In France the king of Nauarre & the prince of Condey might lawfully defend themselues from iniustice and violence, & be aided by other princes their neighbors, if the king as too mighty for them sought to oppresse them, to whom they owe not simple subiection, but respective homage as Scotland did to England, and Normandy vnto France, whē the kings notwithstanding had bitter warres eth with other. The rest of the nobles that did assist them, if it were the kings act that did oppresse them, and not the Guises; except the laws of the land do permit them means to saue the state from open tyranny, I will not excuse: and yet the circumstances must be fully knowne, before the fact can be rightly discerned, with which I confesse I am not so exactly acquainted. France.

But grant you could find vs where PROTESTANTS haue

haue taken armes in some one place or other for religion: their armes were defensiue; not inuasiue, as yours are; they resisted the popes inquisitions, not the lawes of their countries, as you do: they rescued their wiues and children from horrible butchery; they deprined not princes as you would. And yet all these imparities considered, if I do not shew by your owne stories an hundreth outrages of your side for one of ours, I am content to lose the cause. Looke backe therefore, Sir Auditour, to your accounts, and view with shame enough how many rebellions your fellowes haue made within these last fiue hundreth yeeres, how many princes they haue displaced, poisoned, & murdered, and make no such tragicall exclamations at others for sauing themselues, and their innocent families from your cruell and incredible furies.

The Iesuits forget how often the Italians haue rebelled both against the emperor and against the pope him selfe, and in euery nation what dissentions and rebellions haue bene before our time.

Phil. We put you in mind of the protestants in other countries, because *you make so much ado, for one poore commotion in England made in defence of the Catholikes, in twenty fiue yeers of the greatest persecution and tribulation that euer was since the Gothes and Vandals times.*

Theop. That we had but one commotion in this realm, we may thanke God and not you: you did your best by procuring inuasion abroad, & ripening rebellion at home, to multiply that one to twenty six, twise told; but that the mighty hand of God did alwaies vnioint your deuises.

The practises of the Iesuits wherewith this land is grieued and displeased.

Neither make we not so much ado that you did once rebell, but that you still seeke to continue the same by comforting forrain powers to enter the land, by disposing the harts of all Catholikes, as you call them, within the realme to waite for that day, by maintaining and auouching the popes wicked claime to depose princes for a point of christian faith, by canonising the Northerne rebels in your open writings for martyrs; by proclaiming as you do in this booke, such warres against the prince to be godly, iust, and honorable: and last of all by resoluing, directing, and incouraging Parry, Somerfield, and other, that with violent hands sought to attempt your soueraignes life. These be the things for which we make so much ado, and which if there be but one iote of true religion or obedience in you, my maisters of Rheames, you would not so freshly approue and practise.

These be no points of religion, but flat treason.

The

The correction that is heere laid on you, you euery where amplifie, with words of the highest and hoattest degree: as if it were tyranny to touch the hems of your garments, notwithstanding you seeke to pull the crowne from the princes head, and teach others to tread the same path by your example; but such is your daintinesse, that you offering others fire and sword, neuer thinke it sharpe enough: and tasting no quicker discipline with vs for twentie yeeres than the losse of two shillings by the weeke, or some restraint of libertie, crie out of *the greatest persecution and tribulation that euer was since the Gothes and Vandals times*. We speake of things that are in the eies and eares of all men, what punishment did the lawes of this realme the first twenty yeeres of her maiesties raigne, inflict to any recusant for religion, but either imprisonment or amercement? Which was as easie as you could wish, till within these sixe or seuen yeeres, by the facilitie of the lawe which you despised, your attempts grew so dangerous, that the prince was forced for the repressing of your audacious aduenture, to temper her lawes with more seueritie. You must thanke your selues therefore if this latter affliction seeme somewhat heauier: till you gaue the onset to put the bull in execution, which deprined her highnesse of the crowne, you were vsed with as much mercie and clemencie as was possible for a christian prince to afford vnruly subiects: whatsoeuer hath since fallen out, must be imputed not to her maiesties inclination, whereof you had so good proofe for twenty yeeres, but to your wicked and vndutifull affection, that were perplexed to see her liue and gouerne in so long happinesse, and therefore assaied to shorten her reigne.

This easie punishment for twenty yeeres, sheweth the goodnesse of her disposition & the mildnesse of her regiment.

This latter seuerity the Iesuits haue prouoked by their wilfulnesse.

Philand. You neuer found that affection in any Catholike. Theoph. We need not search your affections for it: you haue made it an open point of your faith, which no Catholike as you teach must deny, though the affirming of it should cost him his life. Philand. What do wee teach? Theoph. That if the pope say the word, none of your Catholikes within this realme must obey or account her Maestie for queene of England. And because you would bee sure to rote this persuasion in the harts

The Iesuits make rebellion a point of their Catholike faith,

because they would the sooner infect the people with it.

harts of your adherents, you deliuer it them as a part of their faith, which they must auouch & much more execute, notwithstanding any danger of death that may be offered.

Phil. Where do we teach so? Theop. In the cases of conscience, wherewith you furnished the Iesuits that came into England. There to the 55. article, when you be asked whether, notwithstanding the bull (of Pius the fift) that was giuen out, or any bull that the bishop of Rome can hereafter giue foorth, all Catholikes be bound to yeeld obedience, faith, and loialty to queene Elizabeth as to their lawfull prince & soueraigne: you make this resolution, *Qui hoc modo interrogat, illud quærit, an id potuerit S. pontifex facere? Cui quæstioni quid debeat Catholicus respondere, clarius est quàm vt à me hîc explicetur. Si rogatur ergo Catholicus, credis Romanum pontificem Elizabetham potuisse exauthorare: respondebit non obstante quouis metu mortis, credo. Quæstio enim hæc ad fidem spectat & exigit confessionem fidei.* He that demandeth this question, asketh (in effect) whether the pope might do it or no. To the which demand what a Catholike ought to answer, it is plainer than that I need here to explicate. If therefore a Catholike be asked, do you beleeue the bishop of Rome may depriue queene Elizabeth of her crowne? He must answere, not regarding any danger of death, I beleeue he may. For this question is a point of faith, & requireth the confession of (our) faith. And your selfe in your defence of English Catholikes say: *This was the right and power of S. Gregory* (to depriue princes) *and this hath beene the faith of Christian men euer sith our country was conuerted.* Why then are you so angry that Iesuits should be counted traitors, since you make treason to be a point of your faith and religion? And how iust cause hath the prince to banish you her land vnder paine of death, when you do with this cunning inueighle her subiects to rebell against her?

Casus conscientiæ qui hodie in Anglia occurrunt sacerdotibus eò missis: artic. 55.

And if you be asked, do you beleeue that the bishop of Rome may licence you to beare armes against the queene of England, and to kill her if you can, what must you answer by this resolution of yours, but, I beleeue he may. Till this position be recanted by the Iesuits, a traitor and a Iesuit can not be sundered.

Phil. It is no treason to say the pope may depose princes. Theop. Much lesse is it a point of christian faith that the pope may depriue the quene of her crowne, as you falsly, absurdly, and traiterously teach. Phil. The pope receiued that power from Christ. Theop. If you did proue it, you had some colour to beleeue it: but now you require all Catholiks boldly to put that into their Creed, which the pope himself for a thousand yeers was ashamed

to

to professe. Phil. Hath he not the keies of the kingdome of heauen? Theop. But you must prooue he hath the keies of all earthly kingdoms. Phil. He may bind and loose. Theop. Sinnes he may where he hath charge: but no where scepters. Phil. If princes persist in sinne, he may take their scepters from them. Theop. That is it, which all this while you were to prooue; you teach that for religion, which the word of God reiecteth for rebellion: you imbrace it as piety, which the Church of Christ abhorred as iniquity.

Giue to Cæsar, saith the sonne of God, the things which are Cæsars. The sword and scepter are Cæsars: this therefore is a plaine precept to Peter himselfe, and all other Christians to suffer Cæsar to enioy his owne. How shew you an other, that you may take from Cæsar that which is Cæsars. When one said, Master, bid my brother diuide the inheritance with me: the Lord answered, man, who made me iudge or diuider ouer you? If Christ would not meddle with priuate mens inheritances, as being without the compasse of his vocation, I pray you who could make the pope iudge and disposer of princes crownes? Our Sauiour being asked of Pilate what kingdome he claimed, openly auouched, my kingdome is not of this world; and you by one turne of the keies which he gaue to Peter and the rest of his Apostles, would bring all the kingdomes of the world to be at the popes appointing. S. Augustine assureth princes by force of these words, that they shal not need to feare depriuatiō of their earthly kingdomes at Christs hands. Why enuy you, saith he, ye kings? Marke and enuy not. (Christ) is a king, but farre otherwise (than you are,) which said my kingdome is not of this world. Feare not therefore least the kingdom of this world be taken from you; (rather) an other kingdom shal be giuen you & that of heauen where he is king. And expressly resolueth: Kings ought not to feare least they loose their kingdome, or that their kingdom be taken from them, as wretched Herode feared. Which is vtterly against you, that make it a point of your faith, for the pope to take not onely their kingdomes from them but also their liues.

Mat. 22. Princes not depriueable by any mortall man. *Luke 12.* *Iohn. 18.* *August. in Psalme. 47.* *Ibidem.*

Phil. That we meane when they will not otherwise obey. Theop. By your construction & meaning the world is well

well amended with you. For where the holy ghost commandeth prelats, popes, and all others to be subiect to princes, you with the cunning of your keies giue the spirit of God the plaine slip, and chalenge not onely right to rule them, but power to depriue them at your pleasures. And this hainous impiety, least the simple should distrust it, you ouer-spred with a couer of the catholike faith, as if the popes ambition, and your sedition, were lately become parts of Christs doctrine.

The Iesuits make the popes pride a point of christian faith.

Phil. In obedience to the keies we put no difference betweene princes and priuate persons. Theop. Proue that of priuate persons, which you presume touching princes, and we wil agnise the rest, though we need not. Phil. What shall we proue? The. That the popes keies by Gods law reach vnto the goods or lands of the meanest subiect in this realme. Phi. I proued that before, by the dealing of Peter with Ananias, and of Paule with Elymas.

The popes keies extend not to the goods or lands of the poorest subiect in this realme.

Theop. And I answered you before, that from Gods miraculous working by their mouths, to your ordinary calling & attempting the like with your hands, is no good argument. And therfore they might pronounce the word and not be murderers, because the fact was Gods and not theirs: you can not execute the popes censures, without actuall conspiring & rebelling against your prince, which God hath prohibited. If then you may not offer the worst crafts-man that is, that wrong, by the word of God; What ground of christian religion can this be, that the pope may take the sword & scepter from the prince, & command you to be his helpers and coadiutors in that wicked enterprize, whom the Apostle chargeth to giue tribute, custome, feare and honour to superiour powers that haue the sword in Gods stead to reward good, and reuenge euill?

Phil. May not the shepheard reclaime the sheepe, if they will not be ruled? Theop. But no good shepheard lameth or killeth his sheepe though they will not be folded; and yet similitudes be no syllogismes. I trust you wil not claime that same dominion ouer princes, which owners haue ouer their sheepe and oxen. Phil. No, but I shew you by this example that correction is permitted, where direction is refused. Theo. Pastors haue their kind of correction euen ouer princes, but such as by Gods law

Pastours haue their kind of correction ouer princes,

may

may stand with the pastors vocation, and tend to the princes saluation; and that exceedeth not the word and sacraments: other correction ouer any priuate man, pastors haue none, much lesse ouer princes. but that is far from depriuation.

Phi. Yes they may force them to repentance if they can not perswade them. Theop. Princes may force their subiects, by the temporal sword which they beare: bishops may not force their flocke with any corporal or external violēce. Chrysostome largely debateth and fully concludeth this matter with vs. If any sheepe, saith he, go out of the right way, and leauing the plentifull pastours, graze on barren and steepe places, the shepeheard somewhat exalteth his voice to reduce the dispersed and stragling sheepe, and to compell them to the flocke. But if any man wander from the right path of the christian faith, the pastour must vse great paines, care, and patience. *Neque enim vis illi inferenda, neque terrore ille cogendus, verùm suadendus tantum, vt de integro ad veritatem redeat.* For he may not be forced, nor constrained with terrour, but onely perswaded to returne againe to the truth. And againe, A (bishop) cannot cure men with such authoritie, as a shepeheard doth his sheepe. For a shepeheard hath his choice, to binde his sheepe, to diet them, to seare them, and cut them: but in the other case the facilitie of the cure consisteth not in him that giueth but onely in him that taketh the medicine. This that admirable teacher perceiuing, said to the Corinthians: not that we haue any dominion ouer you vnder the name of faith, but that we are helpers of your ioy. For of all men christian (bishops) may least correct the faults of men by force. Iudges that are without (the Church) when they take any transgressing the lawes, they shew themselues to be endued with great authoritie and power, and compell them in spite of their hartes to change their maners. But here (in the Church) we may not offer any violence, but onely perswade. We haue not so great authoritie giuen vs by the lawes, as to represse offenders: and if it were lawfull for vs so to doe, we haue no vse of any such violent power, for that Christ crowneth them which abstaine from sinne, not of a forced, but of a willing minde and purpose.

The pastor cannot force his flock.

Chrysost. de sacerdot. lib. 2.

Pastors may not constraine but onely perswade. *Ibidem.*

Bishops least of all men may correct with force.

Compulsion neither lawful nor expedient in bishops.

Hilarie teacheth the same lesson. If this violence were vsed for the true fayth, the doctrine of bishops would

Hil. ad Const. lib. 2. imperf.

Bishops may not meddle but with those that be willing.

would be against it. God needeth no forced seruice, he requireth no constrained confession. I can not receiue any man, but him that is willing: I can not giue eare, but to him that intreateth: I can not signe any, but him that (gladly) professeth. Origen agreeth with them both: See the wisedome of the holie Ghost. Bicause that other faults are iudged by the lawes of princes, and it seemed superfluous now to prohibite those things by Gods law, which are sufficiently reuenged by mans, hee repeateth those and none else as fit for religion, of which mans law said nothing. Whereby it appeereth that the iudges of this world, do meddle with the greatest part of Gods law. For all the crimes which God would haue reuenged, he would haue them reuenged not by the bishops and rulers of the Church, but by the iudges of the world: and that Paul knowing rightly calleth (the prince) Gods minister, and iudge of him that doth euill.

Orig. in cap. 13 epist. ad Rom.

God will not haue crimes reuenged by the rulers of the Church, but by the iudges of the world.

Phil. Bishops may not offer force with their owne hands, but they may command others to do it for them. Theop. A grosse shift. As though temporall princes or iudges did execute malefactors with their owne hands. Bishops by vertue of their vocation can not claime the sword: and consequently they can not command or authorize any man to take the goods, or touch the bodies of Christians or infidels. which being a cleere conclusion, it is most euident they can much lesse licence you to take the crownes, and touch the liues of princes, to whom God hath deliuered the sword to iudge the earth, & made them seruants onely to himselfe, since * all other soules must be subiect to them by the tenor of his owne prescription and their first erection, as the scripture witnesseth.

Bishops by vertue of their calling cannot authorize violence or armes.

Rom. 13.

Phil. Say what you will, it is religion, it is no treason to defend that the pope may lawfully depose princes for tyrannie and heresie. Theop. It is easie for you to multiplie words: you haue store of them as appeereth by your Apologie and defence of English Catholikes, which consist of nothing else: but the popes power to depriue princes, is a matter of more dependence than may be ouer-ruled with a few piked and well couched tearms. You must therefore exactly and directly proue the popes authoritie to depose princes (which you shall neuer be able to doe)

Defendors of the popes power to depose princes are no martyrs but hainous traitors.

or

or else he for attempting it is the man of sin exalting himselfe in the Church of God, and you for defending and executing the same, lacke not many degrees of high and haynous treason.

The carying of this in your owne harts, and reconciling of others within the realme, that they might be readie to receiue this impression at your mouths, when time should serue, were the very causes why some of your fellowes tasted of her maiesties iust and prouoked indignation: and if it be tyrannie for the prince to put them to death, that lay plots to haue her crowne, and her life, and write bookes to auouch it lawfull for themselues, and all others so to doe, when the pope saith the word: then her highnes hath done you some wrong: but if by diuine and humane records it be damnable in the subiect to attempt or abet any such thing; and most laudable in the prince to reuenge the consenter and incourager as well as the doer: then, for religion hath none of your side beene martyred in England, as your shamelesse eloquence would inforce, onely some were executed for affirming, publishing, & furthering the popes antichristian power to rule realms & depriue princes: which you call religion, because you would plant it in the peoples harts with lesse labor, and more liking, though indeed it be pestilent pride in him, and a plain contempt of God and the prince in you that should obey. The maintainers and abettors of this power put to death, and none els.

Phil. *M. Iohn Slade and M. Iohn Bodie, two famous confessors, were they not condemned to death in publike iudgement for confessing their faith of the popes spirituall soueraignty, and for denying the Queene to be head of the Church of England, or to haue any spirituall regiment: and that twise at two diuers sessions (a rare case in our countrie) the latter sentence being to reforme the former (as we may gesse in such strange proceedings) which they perceiued to be erronious and vnsufficient in their owne lawes?* The defence cap. 1. *Ann.* 1583. M. Slade. M. Bodie.

Theop. Promotions are rife at Rome: you would not else so soon aduance two froward and rude companions for masters and martyrs. Their iudgement was twise giuen, not (as you peruersly, yet after your maner, interpret) *the latter to reforme the former as erronious and vnsufficient*, but for that they complained they were drawne afore they were ware and against their wils, to vtter speeches against the princes sword, for which they were condemned: the

grace and mercie of the prince was such, that her highnes was content they should be tried the second time, (to see whether those words were vnaduisedly and vnwillingly spoken as they pretended, or of set mischefe and malice) and warned by the iudge to take good heed, and looke well about them before they rashly offered themselues to the danger of the lawes. Where, if they fell againe openly and lustily to auouch that the pope was supreame head of the Church of England, and consequently the Queene had no right to make lawes as she had done, but was subiect to the popes decrees and censures, which is the main ground of all your rebellion, and his presumption: who besides you that are yoked in the same cause with them, will say they died for religion, and not rather for their wilful charging the prince with vsurpation, and yelding the pope that dominion which he claimeth ouer kingdoms, & you would faine establish with your vntrue surmises?

The question of peters keyes as the Iesuits expound them is no religion.

Phil. The question of Peters keies is it not a matter of meere religion? Theop. If you draw princes crownes and swords within the limits of Peters keies, you leaue religion, and hatch rebellion. Phi. Yet is it a question, whereof diuines do doubt. Theop. You may doubt what you list, to flatter the pope, but your doubting may not stop princes frō defending that which is their owne, against the popes vniust claime and vnlawfull force. The prince striueth not with the pope neither for the dignitie, which he taketh aboue all bishops, nor for the power which he seeketh to bind and loose sinnes in heauen (though therin he doth the Church of Christ great wrong, and oppresseth his brethren:) but onely for her right to command and punish within her owne realme, in ecclesiastical causes and crimes (as well as in temporall, which I haue largely proued euery prince may within his owne dominion) and for the wrong that her maiestie receiued, when she was depriued of her crowne by him that had no warrant from Christ to disquiet her state or dispose her crowne. These be the points comprised in her highnes lawes. Against these if your rash and ill aduised brethren would run headlong to their owne perdition, when they were admonished by the magistrate, to haue better regard to their words; they haue the iust reward of their vnfaithfull and disloiall harts, and

To subiect the princes sword or crowne to the popes courtes and buls is treason by our lawes: the rest of his vsurped power is heresie, not treason.

my

my assertion is true that these two ignorant, yet obstinate persons, with some others, which came not to any particular mention of the popes bull against the prince, but generally stood in defence of that power to be good and lawful, from whence the bul proceeded, died in the same quarrel with the rest that purposely promoted, defended, and assisted the bull; and so can be no witnesses of Christs truth and glorie, which would needs cast away their liues for the popes pride and tyrannie.

Phil. It is hard dealing to make such trifles treasons. Theop. Call you those trifles, when princes shall lose their kingdoms, and their people freely rebel, and you defend the wars of their owne subiects against them to be iust and honorable, by vertue of that power which you attribute to the pope, when you make him head of the Church? Had you liued in Saint Augustines daies, you would haue said it had been harder dealing, that one word against the christian emperors although they were dead, should be counted treason. Thou dost promise, saith Augustine to Petilian, that thou wilt reckon many of our emperors and iudges, WHICH BY PERSECVTING YOV, PERISHED: and concealing the emperors thou meanest two iudges or deputies. Why didst thou not name the emperors of our communion? were thou afraid to be accused as guiltie of TREASON? where is your courage, which feare not to kill your selues? To say that emperors PERISHED FOR PERSECVTING, was treason in his time: in our age you thinke it much, that reproching of princes as tyrants and heretiks, and aiding the pope with your persuasions, absolutions, and rebellions to take their crownes from them, should be punished, or adiudged treason.

These treasons be no trifles.

August. contra literas Petil. libr. 2. cap. 29.

Phil. There is no law so rigorous, but your diuinitie will serue you to defend it. Theop. What is against your dutie to God & your prince, in that I am a diuine, I may iustly debate: what punishment the prince will appoint for such offences as be committed against her, neither you, nor I haue to do with it. We may do better to learne obedience, than saucily to check the magistrat for allotting such penalties as we do not like, yet this I will say, there is no conspiracie so pernicious & dangerous to the state, as that which is secretly crept into the hart vpon a sense of deuotion,

No conspiracie so dangerous as that which possesseth the hart vnder a shew of religion.

and outwardly couered with a shew of religion. If therefore the prince seuerely reuenge both your pretences in opinion, and practises in execution, absurdly grounded on Peters keyes, and wickedly deriued thence for the remouing of her crowne, defacing of her person, and diminishing of her right, that rigor may well be defended as cõming from iust & lawfull authoritie not without sufficient & euident necessitie: neither can you bring ought against it, but onely that you professe it, as a point of your catholike religion: not of any sinister or direct intention to hurt her maiestie or any other Christian prince, which is most friuolous and false, For the popes authority, iurisdiction & power, lately claymed by him, and vsurped within this realme, and since maintained, extolled & defended by you & such your adherents as haue suffered death, to prescribe lawes as he list, to commaund princes, and interdict their realmes, yea, to depriue them of their crownes, absolue their subiects, licence rebellions, and dispence with the murdering of heretikes as you call them, euen of princes, themselues. This authoritie, iurisdiction & power, wee deny to be any doctrine or doubt of christian religion, or to be so much as once spokẽ or thought of, I say, not by ỹ scripture (which put no difference betweene the pope & an other bishop,) but by any father or councel for a thousand yeres in the Church of God. It was the mere deuise & drift of Antichrist to make him selfe mightie, when it was first attempted by Hildebrand, and it is nowe coloured by you with the name of religion, because you woulde poyson the people the sooner with that persuasion, & haue somewhat to say for your selues, when you be charged with rebellion and disobedience to the temporall magistrate.

A leud deceit of the Iesuites to call that religion which is none.

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 21. Magdebur. in præfat. Cent. 7. Calin 7. cap. Amos.

Phi. Your owne masters and leaders, whom I trust you will not condemne for traytours, haue detested the title of Supreme head of the Church, in princes, as well as we, the Lutherans *flatly controling it in general, and Caluin himself with all the puritants much misliking and reprehending the first graunt therof to king Henrie.* Why thẽ put you poore men to death for that which your owne side abhorreth? Theo. Your brethren were not put to death, *for denying her maiestie to be supreme head of Christs Church in England in causes ecclesiasticall,* though * one of them for want of truth or wit, did so report at his ende:

Body sayd so at Andeuer, but he lied the more.

and

The statute vpon the which they were condemned. *The third part.*

and you for lacke of better proofe haue brought his owne wordes spoken in fauor and excuse of himselfe, as som worthy witnesse. No man is compelled by the lawes of this realme to confesse any such title in the prince, much lesse punishable by death for denying it; & therefore your martyr was a lier at ꝑ houre of his death, & either of malice inuerted, or of ignorance misdeemed the cause for which he died.

Phi. *It is al one to be head of the Church and to be chiefe gouernor in causes ecclesiasticall.* Theo. They suffered neither for the one, nor the other: but for * maintaining and defending the iurisdiction and power of the Bishop of Rome heretofore claimed and vsurped in this realme: Which generall includeth all your erronious and traiterous assertions of the popes power tending no way to religion, but onely fauouring of the popes pride to be ruler and displacer of princes. And therefore either proue that claime to pertayne to faith, or leaue your vaine presuming, and fonde discoursing that a number of your brethren *haue bene condemned and executed for meere matter of religion.* Though you list to take, that for spirituall which is temporal, and call it religion, which in deede is sedition, yet your idle multiplying of wordes, and changing of names, doeth not conuince your quarrell to be righteous, or the lawes of this land to be tyrannous. Shewe that power, iurisdiction and authoritie, which your holy father hath heretofore claymed and vsed in this realme, to be consonant to the lawes of God, or Church of Christ for a thousande yeeres, and we will yeelde your friendes and familiars haue dyed for religion: otherwise you do but face out the matter with fierie wordes, to keepe deceiued and simple soules from suspecting the secrets of your profession.

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 21.

1. *Elizabethæ.* The statute vpon the which they were condemned.

As for supreme head of the Church: it is certiane that title was first transferred to the pope to king Henrie the eight by the bishops of your side, not of ours: and though the pastors in king Edwards time, might not well dislike, much lesse dissuade the stile of the crowne, by reason the king was vnder yeers and so remained vntil he died, yet as soone as it pleased God to place her maiestie in her fathers throne, the nobles and preachers perceiuing the wordes, head of the Church, (which is Christes proper and peculiar honor,) to be offensiue to many that had vehemently

Popish Bishops were the first that consented to haue the king called supreme head.

refelled the same in the pope, besought her highnes the meaning of that word which her father had vsed might be expressed in some apter & plainer termes, & so was the prince called Supreme gouernor of her realme, that is ruler & bearer of the sword with lawfull authoritie to command & punish answerably to the word of God in all spirituall, or ecclesiastical things, & causes, as wel as in temporal. And no forraine prince or prelate to haue any iurisdiction, superioritie, preeminēce, or authoritie, to establish, prohibite, correct, & chastice with publike lawes or tēporal pains, any crimes or causes ecclesiastical or spiritual within her realm. This Caluin & they of Magdeburge neuer mislikēd: howsoeuer you would seeme to take aduantage of their words.

A plainer stile receiued to auoid offence.

Phil. Caluin saith it is sacrilege and blasphemie. Looke you therefore with what consciences you take that othe, which your owne master so mightily detesteth. Theo. Nay looke you with what faces you alleage Caluin, who maketh that stile to be sacrilegious and blasphemous as wel in the pope, as in the prince: reason therefore, you receiue or refuse his iudgement in both. If it derogate from Christ in the prince, so doth it in the pope; if it doe not in the pope, as you defend, no more doth it in the prince. Yet we grant the sense of the word supreme, as Caluin conceiued it by Steuen Gardiners answere, and behauior, is very blasphemous and iniurious to Christ, & his word, whether it be prince or pope that so shall vse it. For by supreme Caluin vnderstood a power to do what the prince would in all matters of religion without respect to the wil, or precepts of God: which is a thing most impious.

Supreme head no more blasphemous in the prince than in the pope to whom the Iesuits giue that stile. Caluin mistoke suprem by Gardeners wily suggestion.

Caluin in 7. Amos. Cal. Ibidem.

Phi. His words are, They were blasphemers in calling him supreme head of the Church vnder Christ. Theo. They are so: but that which goeth before and followeth after, sheweth in what sense he tooke the word supreme. At this day, saith he, where poperie continueth, how many are there which lode the king with all the right and power they can, that there should be no disputing of religion, but this authoritie should rest in the king alone, to appoint at his pleasure what he list, and that to stand good without contradiction. They that first so highly aduaunced king Henry of England, were inconsiderate, they gaue him supreme power of all things, and that was it which alway wounded me. Then succeede

succede your words; and withall a particular exemplification howe Steuen Gardiner alleaged and construed the kings stile in Germanie. That iuggler, which after was Chauncelour, I meane the bishop of Wincheſter, when he was at Rentzburge, neither would ſtand to reaſon the matter nor greatly cared for any teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, but ſaid it was at the kings diſcretion to abrogate that which was in vſe, and appoint new. (He ſaid) the king might forbid prieſts mariage, the king might bar the people from the cup in the Lords ſupper, the king might determine this or that in his kingdome. And why? Forſooth the king had ſupreme power. This ſacrilege hath taken hold on vs (in Germanie) whiles princes thinke they cannot reigne, except they abolish al the authoritie of the Church, and be themſelues ſupreme iudges as well in doctrine, as in all ſpirituall regiment.

Steuen Gardener expounded ſupreme, as if the prince might do what he would in matters of religion without regard of God or his word.

This was the ſenſe, which Caluin affirmed to be ſacrilegious & blaſphemous, for princes to profeſſe themſelues ſupreme iudges of doctrine and diſcipline, and indeede it is the blaſphemie which all godly harts reiect and abomine in the biſhop of Rome. Neither did king Henry take any ſuch thing on him for ought that we can learne: but this was Gardiners Stratageme to conuey the reproch and ſhame of the .vi. articles from himſelfe, and his fellowes that were the authors of them, and to caſt it on the kings ſupreme power. Had Caluin been told that ſupreme was firſt receiued to declare the prince to be ſuperior to the prelats (which exempted themſelues from the kings authoritie by their Church liberties and immunities) as well as to the lay men of this realme, and not to be ſubiect to the pope; who claimed a iuriſdiction ouer all princes and countries; the word would neuer haue offended him: but as this wily fox framed his anſwere, when the Germanes cõmuned with him about the matter, we blame not Caluin for miſtaking, but the biſhop of Wincheſter for peruerting the kings ſtile, and wreſting it to that ſenſe which all good men abhor.

How Caluin vnderſtood ſupreme head.

Supreme muſt be referred to perſons and not to things.

Phil. Do not you at this day make the Quæne ſupreme gouernor of all eccleſiaſticall doctrine and diſcipline? And what diſcrepance I pray you betweene iudge and gouernor? Theo. You may be Steuen Gardeners ſcholer, you

be so well trained in his methode, and maximes. We told you long since and often enough, if that will serue, the prince by her stile doth not chalenge, neither doe we by our oth giue her highnes power to debate, decide, or determine any point of faith or matter of religion, much lesse to be supreme iudge or gouernor of all doctrine and discipline: but if in her realm, you will haue the assistance of the magistrates sword to settle the truth, and prohibite error, and by wholesome punishments to preuent the disorders of all degrees, that authority lieth neither in prelate nor pope, but onely in the prince: & therfore in her dominions you can neither establish doctrine nor discipline by publike lawes without her consent. This neither Caluin, nor the compilers of the Centuries, nor any other of sound religion euer did, or iustly can mislike: onely, Iesuites and their adherents would faine reserue this power to the pope in al christian realms, because they be sure he will allow & suffer no religion but his owne: and so long their profession shall not miscary.

We giue the prince no right to be iudge of religion, but power to receiue and settle in her realme that which is good both in doctrine and discipline.

Phil. The Centuristes say: Princes may not be heads of the Church, that primacie is not fit for them. Theo. That word if they mislike, we stand not for it. The holy Ghost hath inuested the son of God with it, and therfore reason princes euen for reuerence to him, should forbeare the stile which he first vsed, and most esteemeth. And though some defence might be brought for the word, as that which Samuel said to Saul, [a] When thou wast litle in thine own sight, wast thou not made HEAD of the tribes of Israell? For the Lord annointed thee king ouer Israel: and that which Dauid saith of himselfe, [b] Thou hast made me HEAD of the heathen: and that which Esaie saith of the king of Syria, [c] The HEAD of Aram is Damascus, & the HEAD of Damascus, is Rezni: & againe [d] the honorable man he is the HEAD: as also S. Paul: [e] the man is the womans HEAD: and Chrysostom not sticking to call certaine women that labored in the Gospell, [f] HEAD OF THE CHVRCH at Philippi: and saying of Theodosius the emperor, [g] *Summitas & caput omnium super terram hominũ*, SVPREAM AND HEAD of all mortall men: Though these and many like places might be brought to auouch the word, HEAD; yet because that title HEAD OF THE CHVRCH, rightly and properly belonggeth

[a] 1. Sam. 15.
[b] 2. Sam. 22.
[c] Esai. 7.
[d] Esai 9.
[e] 1. Cor. 11.
[f] *Chrysost. in cap. 4. ad Phil. homil. 13.*
[g] *Idem hom. 1. ad Papil. Antioch.*

geth onely to Christ, and not to princes without many mitigations and cautions: and head as it is applied to princes is al one with Supreme, for it importeth but the chiefest or highest person of the Church on earth: & with the regiment of the church wherof Christ is head, I mean his misticall bodie, princes haue nothing to do, yea many times they be scant members of it: and the Church in ech countrie may stand without princes as in persecution it doth, and yet they not headles; we thinke not good to contend with our brethren for words, & to grieue their eares with titles first abused by the pope, & first reproued in him so long as in matter and meaning there is no discorde betwixt vs.

Head of the Church belongeth properly to Christ.

Phil. Will you make vs beleeue, they mislike nothing but the words, head of the Church? The. Yes they mislike, that princes should mingle truth with falsehood, & temper religion with corruption as their priuate fancies lead them, which we mislike no lesse than they. This is the scope (of our speech) say they, that it is not lawful for ciuil magistrates to deuise formes of religion in destruction of the truth: and so to reconcile truth and error that they may both be lulled a sleepe. They may not prescribe religions alone, they must not ingender new articles of the faith; they must not strangle the truth with errors, and shackle it when it is reueiled, that they may let loose the bridle of corruption. These be points which they dislike, and we be as far from approuing any such thing in princes, as you or they.

Præfat. 7. Centuriæ. Princes may not be deuisers of new religions.

Phil. If the prince establish any religion, what soeuer it be, you must by your oth obey it. Theop. We must not rebell and take armes against the prince, as you affirme, you may: but with reuerence and humilitie serue God before the prince, & that is nothing against our oth. Phil. Then is not the prince supreme. The. Why so? Phil. Your selues are superior, when you will serue whom you list. Theop. As though to serue God according to his will were to serue whom we list, and not whom princes and all others ought to serue. Phil. But you will be iudges, when God is well serued and when not. Theo. If you can excuse vs before God, when you mislead vs, we will serue him, as you shall appoint vs: otherwise if euery man shall answere for himselfe, good reason he be master of his owne conscience

We may by our oth serue God and not men, if their lawes dissent from his.

We be subiect to princes in that we must suffer, not in that we must obey whatsoeuer they command.

ence in that which toucheth him so neere, and no man shall excuse him for. Phil. This is to make euery priuate man supreme iudge of religion. Theo. The worst wretch that is may be supreme gouernor of his owne hart: princes rule the publike and externall actions of their countries, but not the consciences of men: and therfore his thwartling is to no purpose.

Apol.c.4. sect.6.

Phil. *By what authoritie then in the first parleament of the Queenes highnes raign, was the determination, decision & definition of truths or of heresies & errors; of the true worship of God & the false, attributed to that court of the states no lesse or rather more than to the foure first or any other generall councell: to which the deciding of such things is there granted with this limitation, so far as they can warrant their doings by the expresse words of canonicall scriptures, and no farther: but to the parliament absolutely, decreeing at the same time, that nothing there determined should be counted heresie, error or schisme, what order, decree, sentence, constitution, or law soeuer were to the contrary, the holy scriptures themselues not excepted.*

The Iesuits as bold with the parleament as they be with the prince.

Apol.cap.4. sect.10.

The. It is no wonder to see you quarrel with the court of the states, that are so busie with the princes crown. And therin, as in the former, your behauior doth not change. For entring with a manifest vntruth, and keeping on a course of empty and hautie words, which is your glorie, you tell vs at length with pride enough, that our lawes be *strange and vnnaturall dealings, proceedings dishonorable to his maiestie & the realme, against Gods expresse commandement limiting his constant and permanent truth, to mortall mens wils & fancies, violent disorders, which to all our posteritie must needs breed shame & rebuke, vniust, and therfore bind not in conscience; repugnant to the dignitie and priuiledges of the Church, against the oth of the makers, and indeed no lawes at all, the makers lacking competent power, authoritie & iurisdiction to proceed iudicially & authentically to be are, determine & define or giue sentence in any such things as be meere ecclesiastical*, with a number of those bold & stately brags, hauing neither proofe of your part, nor reproofe of ours, but only pretending certain legalities, quiddities and solemnities of humane iudgements, which in Gods cause be very ridiculous, & in matters of faith more than superfluous. For God will not haue his truth depend either on the numbers or qualities of persons; & when his word is offered, we may not stand staggering till the pope and his cardinals

God will not be tied to the forme of humane iudgements.

please

please to assemble, & there *iudicially and authentically heare and determine* what they thinke good, which I woen they will neuer against thēselues. Christ sent not iudges with iudicial proces, but a few disciples with the sound of their voices to conuert the world: ỳ prophets that taught the people of God, & reproued both priests & princes, vsed no legall nor authenticall proceedings, but a bare proposing the wil of God to such as would beleue. The kings & princes before Christ ỳ subuerted idols & reformed religiō in their realms, relied on their princely power & zeale, for the doing of that seruice, & not on the ceremoniall & sententiall acts & decrees of priests or prophets. The christian princes, take which you wil, that first receiued & after restored the faith in their empires & kingdomes, tied not themselues to the voices & suffrages of the clergie that were in present possession of their Churches: but oftentimes remoued them without councel or cōmon consultation. You may do wel to correct S. Paul, where he saith, faith cōmeth by hearing & hearing by the word of God: & to adde, faith commeth by [a] *iudiciall cognition*, and [b] *competent iurisdiction* of such as haue [c] *legall meanes to deliberate* & pronounce of God & his truth.

The Church planted without any iudicial processe.

Apol. cap. 4
[a] *sect. 19.*
[b] *sect. 12.*
[c] *sect. 19.*

Phi. Would you haue such disorder & confusion suffred in the Church, that euery man should followe what he list? Theo. I would not haue such presumption or wickednes brought into ỳ Church, that Christ, or his word should be subiected to ỳ wils or voices of mortal men: for though the whole world pronounce against him, or it, God wil be tru & al men shal be liers. Phi. So more would we. The. Why restraine you truth to the assemblies & sentences of popes & prelats, as though they must be gently entreated & fairely offred by Christ, before he might attempt or should expect to recouer his own. Phi. We would haue things done orderly. Theo. Call you that order where Christ shall stand without dores till your clergie consent to bring him in?

Christ wil not be subiect to the voices of men.

Phil. God is not (the author) of confusion but of peace. Theo. It is no confusion for one familie, yea for one man to serue God though all the families and men of the same realme besides will not. Ioshua said to the whole people: [a] If it seeme euill vnto you to serue the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serue, but I and mine house will serue the Lord. Elias was [b] left alone for any that he sawe willing to

He hath authority enough that hath God on his side.

[a] Ios. 24.
[b] 3. Kings. 19.

Truth is authoritie sufficient against all the world.

to serue God in Israel, and yet that abated not his zeale.
a 3.Kin.22. Micheas alone a opposed himselfe against foure hundreth prophets, with what iudiciall authoritie can you tell? Ieremie assured the priests and prophets of Ierusalem that
d Ierem.23. God would d forsake them; and that he did without any
e Amos 7. legall meanes that we can read. Amos spared neither e Ieroboam the king, nor Amaziah the priest, and yet he was but a simple heardman, and not so much as the sonne of a prophet. Iohn Baptist had no competent iurisdiction ouer the Scribes and Pharises that sate in Moses chaire, & yet
f Mat.3. he condemned them for f a generation of vipers. The counsels where g Peter, h Steuen, i Paul, and other of the Disciples were conuented, accused and punished, lacked none of your iudiciall formalities, and solemnities, and yet the apostles stoutly resisted and vtterly contemned both their deliberatiue, and their definitiue sentences.
g Act 5.
h 6.
i 23.

The wicked alwaies asked the godly for their authoritie. Mat.21.

In deede your forefathers assaulted our sauiour himselfe with that very question; as also they did Iohn before him, and the apostles after him. When the Lord was teaching in the temple, the chiefe priestes and the elders of the people came vnto him, & said, by what authoritie doest thou these things? and who gaue thee this authoritie? When Iohn began to baptize, * the Iewes sent priests and Leuites from
Ioh.1. Ierusalem to aske him, WHO ART THOV? And when he
1oh.1. denied himselfe to be either Elias, or the prophet that was looked for, they inferred, *Why baptizest thou then, if thou be neither Christ, nor Elias, nor the prophet? And euen so
Act 4. they asked the apostles, * by what power, or in what name haue you done this?

He that preacheth the same doctrine which the apostles did, hath the same commissiō which they had.

Phil. The apostles commission we know, but yours we know not. Theop. You can not be ignorant of ours, if you know theirs. So long as we teach the same doctrine which they did, we haue the same power and authoritie to preach, which they had. Keepe your *competent iurisdictions, iudiciall cognitions* and *legall decisions*, to your selfe; the sonne of God first founded and still gathereth his Church by the mouthes of preachers, not by the summons of consistories: and he that is sent to preach may not hold his tongue and tarie, till my lord the pope, and his mitred fathers can intend to mete, and list to consent, to the ruine as they thinke, of their dignities and liberties. Phil. Despise you

counsels?

One man with truth is a warrant against al the world. *The third part.*

councels? Theop. By no meanes, so long as they be councels, that is, sober and free conferences of learned and godly teachers: but if they waxe wanton against Christ, and will not haue truth receiued, vntil they haue consented, we reiect them as conspiracies of the wicked, which no christian ought to reuerence.

Phil. Had you truth on your side you said somewhat, but you haue it not. Theop. Then should that be the question betwixt vs: and not whether the prince might make lawes for Christ with out your consents, or whether the realme had competent power and authoritie to debate and determine without a councell what religion they would professe. For though the prince and the realme haue done nothing herein, that Gods and mans lawe doth not warrant, yet may we not suffer you to stande on these quirks to delude God and his trueth: against the which, as Tertullian sayth, no man may prescribe, not space of times, not patronage of persons, not priuilege of places. He therfore that defendeth truth, is armed with authoritie sufficient, though all the world were against him, as it was against Noah, when God saued him, and drowned them, for a monument of his iustice, to quaile the rowt, and paire the pride of such as after should resist the meanest seruaut that he would send.

One man preaching truth hath warrant ynough against the whole world.

Tert. de virg. velandis.

The whole world drowned for resisting the preaching of one man.

Phil. Still you ground your selues, as if you had the truth. Theop. If we haue, the poorest preacher in this realme, hath lawfull power ynough to pronounce the pope and all his cardinals to be heretiks: and therfore whether we haue or no, must be the question. Phil. We say you haue not: and yet if you had, your procedings in it are disorderly. Theo. You must shew vs some reason.

Whether side hath truth must be the question, the rest is superfluous quarreling.

Phil. *The prince and court of Parleament hath no more lawfull meanes to giue order to the Church and clergie in these things, than they haue to make lawes for the hierarchs of angels in heauen.* Theo. Will you suffer God himselfe to make lawes for his Church? Phil. What else? Theo. And may not euery priuate man for his owne person imbrace those lawes, which God hath made, whosoeuer say nay? Phil. He must. Theop. May not the prince and the people do the like? Phil. They may no doubt imbrace the lawes of God. Theop. What if some bishops will not agree they shall? must the prince and the people

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 21.

God must be obeied when he commandeth, whosoeuer dissent.

people cease to serue God till the clergie be better minded?

The Iesuits call it a disorder to obey God before the bishops.

Phil. That is odiously spoken. Theop. But truly. The case betweene the clergie and the laitie in the first parliament of her maiesties raigne, was whether God should be serued according to his word, or according to the deuises and abuses of the Romish Church. The prince, as also the nobles and commons submitted their consents to the word of God: the bishops refused. The foundation of all the lawes of our countrie being this, that what the prince and the most part of her barons and burgesses shall confirme, that shall stand for good, there was no disorder nor violence offred in that parliament, as you lewdly complaine, but that to publike protection which the prince and most part had agreed on.

Phi. In matters of faith the prince and the laie Lords had no voices. Theo. In making lawes they had. Phi. True, but lawes for religion they might not prescribe. Theo. No more might bishops. It is onely Gods office to appoint how he will be serued. Phi. Gods will must be learned at the mouthes of bishops. Theo. They must teach, leauing alwaies this liberty to the prince and people, to examine their doctrine, and auoide their errours; and if they teach not truth, the prince and people may repell them, as the parliament did which you spake of.

Apol. cap. 4. sect. 6. The Prince and the parliament tooke not vpon them the decision but the permission and protection of truth.

Phi. The decision of truth or heresie pertained not to that court. Theo. They toke it not vpon them. Phi. Yes. *The determination, decision and definition of truths and errours, of the true worship of God and the false is attributed to that court no lesse or rather more than the foure first, or any other generall councell.* Theo. The simple rustikes of our countrey doe not so grossely conceiue of their acts and decrees as you doe that woulde seeme great masters in Israel. For who knoweth not, that in diuers realmes haue bene diuerse positiue lawes, and in this kingdome within our age cleane contrary parliaments? No man is therefore so foolish as to thinke it, neither is any besides you so malicious as to report it, that the temporall states of this realme toke vpon them the *absolute deciding of truths and errours* aboue the first foure general councels, yea *the holy scriptures them selues not excepted.* Phil. What did they then? Theo. They submitted themselues and the publike state of this realme, to the worde of God,

Queene Marie by parliament receiued the Pope, why might not Queene Eli-

which

which by lawe they might, as well as the same court syxe yeres before in the first of Queene Mary subiected this realme to the popes decrees and fansies.

zabeth doe as much for Christ.

Phil. The parliament of Queene Marie can not be misliked for admitting the faith of their fathers. Theo. Much lesse can the parliament of Queene Elizabeth be reproued for receiuing the faith of Christ. Phi. The faith of Christ is in question: the faith of our fathers is not. Theop. The faith of Christ we be bounde to kepe, the faith of our fathers we be not. Phi. Kéeping the faith of our fathers we can not misse the faith of Christ. The. What priuiledge had our fathers more than we þ they could not erre? Phi. Aske thy father saith Moses, & he wil shew thee; thine elders, and they wil tel thee. The. Shal not we be fathers to our posterity, as wel as our ancestors were to vs? Phil. Yes. Theo. Thē must our childrē aske of vs, as we must of those that were before vs. If therefore we may erre, why might not our fathers as well erre in their generations before vs?

We be bound to the faith of Christ, not of our fathers. *Deut.* 32.

Phi. They kept the steps of their fathers, which if you do, you shal not erre. Theo. This is the next way round about to come to the wood. For how wil you proue þ euery generation which hath bin these 1500. yeres since Christ, hath precisely kept the rules & limites of their forefathers? Phi. You can not shew whē or where they swarued. Theo. If we could not, our ignorāce in that point, is no great security for your faith. The defectiō of euery age from their fathers might be either not marked, or not recorded, or since obliterd; & therefore reason proue your faith to haue descended from age to age without alteration, before we beleeue it to be the faith of your fathers.

They be gon from the faith of their first fathers and egerly follow the blindnes of their later fathers.

But what meaneth this that you prescribe that way to iudge of religion and the seruice of God, which God himselfe prohibiteth? Phi. Doth God forbid vs to follow our fathers? The. In as plaine words as can be spoken with a tongue: by the mouth of Ezechiel he saith, Walke ye not in the precepts of your fathers, neither obserue their maners, nor defile your selues with their idoles. I am the Lorde your God, walke in my statutes, and keepe my iudgementes. By Dauid he saith, Let them not be as their fathers were, a disobedient and rebellious generation: a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not faithfull

God hath not referred vs from his word, to our fathers. Ezec. 20.

Psal. 78.

vnto

God forbiddeth vs to follow the steps of our fathers.

vnto God. And dehorting them from their fathers steps:

Psal.95. To day, saith Dauid, if you will heare (Gods) voice, harden not your harts, as in the day of contention, and as in the day of temptation in the wildernes, where your fathers tempted and prooued me though they had seene my workes. Fourtie yeeres did I contend with that generation, and said, they are a people that erre in hart, they haue not knowen my wayes.

Zach.1. By Zacharie he saith, Be ye not, as your fathers, vnto whom the former prophets haue cried, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hostes, turne you now from your euil wayes and from your wicked workes, but they would not heare nor harken vnto me saith the Lord. And what you count deuotion and humilitie for the people to follow their fathers, that God himselfe calleth defection and conspiracie.

Ierem.11. I haue protested vnto your fathers, euer since I brought them out of the land of Egypt to this day, saying, obey my voyce. Neuertheless they would not obey, nor incline their eare, but euery one walked in the stubbernesse of his wicked hart. And of the children

Ibid. vers.9. doing as their fathers did, he saith, A conspiracie is found among the men of Iudah and among the inhabitants of Ierusalem. They are turned backe to the iniquities of their forefathers that refused to heare my words. With what face then can you deale so earnestly with the simple subiectes of this land, to regard neither God nor his worde, but onely to runne the race of their elders, seeing God so straitly commanded the children of Israel to beware the paths and precedents of their forefathers?

Phil. We must beware their wickednesse. Theoph. Then

Our fathers may erre, though his elect cannot.

may they be wicked and so no paterns for vs or any others to follow. Phil. The Iewes were wicked. Theop. What charter can you shew, that christians shall not be the like? Phil. Hell gates shall not preuaile against the Church of Christ. Theop. No more did they preuaile against the chosen and elect of Israel: but the greatest number and gaiest

2.Tim.2. men are not alwayes the Church of God. The foundation of God standeth sure, and hath this seale, the Lord knoweth who are his. Of his elect which are his true Church our sauiour hath pronounced it is not possible they *should be deceiued:

Mat.24. Mar.13. the rest haue no such priuilege; yea rather the holy Ghost forewarneth that all besides the elect shall be deceiued. Our sauiour saith, *There shall arise false Christes

Mat.24. and

and false prophets, and shall shew great signes and wonders, so that, if it were possible, they should deceiue the very elect. The rest then, which are not elect, they shal deceiue. And so S. Paule speaking of the very same deceuers, addeth whose comming is by the working of satan with all power, & in all deceiueablenesse of vnrighteousnesse among them that perish, because they receiued not the law of the truth, that they might be saued. And therefore God shall send them strong delusion, that they should beleeue lies, that all they might be damned, which beleeued not the truth, but had pleasure in vnrighteousnesse. And S. Iohn speaking of the beast that made warre with the saints, and had power ouer euery kinred, and toong, and nation, saith: Therefore all that dwell vpon the earth, shall worship him, whose names are not written in the booke of life. So that the visible Church, consisting of good and bad, elect and reprobate, hath no such promise, but she may erre: onely the chosen of Christ which are the true members of his body, properly called his Church, they shall not erre vnto perdition: & those if you could point them out with your finger, the people might safely follow: otherwise if you set men to follow the rest of their fathers, be they neuer so many, neuer so graue, neuer so godly to your seeming; you bid them take the wide gate & broad way that leadeth to destruction, because there were many that entred it before them.

2. Thes. 2.

Reuel. 13. All shall erre sauing the elect.

The elect can not be discerned of men.

Mat. 7.

Phil. Will you make vs beleeue that our fathers are perished? The. Who are perished, is not for vs to pronounce. They were his seruants that iudgeth iustly: neither haue we to meddle with their doome, but to looke to our owne: yet this we can assure you, that many be called & few chosen. And therefore if you aduise the people to imitate the multitude of their fathers, you teach them ꝑ right way to hell. And though we may not iudge of your fathers, yet know you for a certainty that God is not afraid to iudge them, & condemne them, if they refused his truth, as you do.

To follow the greatest number is most dangerous.

Mat. 22.

Neither is it any such dangerous doctrine to say that our forefathers haue sinned and displeased God, as you would make it: the godly haue alwaies confessed it of their fathers, and not spared to tell the wicked so much to their faces. Dauid slandered not his forefathers, when he said: We haue sinned with our fathers, we haue done wic-

Our fathers sinned and rebelled against God.

Psal. 106.

kedly. Our fathers vnderstood not thy wonders in Egypt, neither remembred they the multitude of thy mercies, but rebelled at the sea, euen at the red sea. Daniell knew what
Dan.9. he pronounced when he confessed: O Lord to vs (belongeth) open shame, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we haue sinned against thee. Ezechiah was
2.Chron.29. not ashamed to say: Our fathers haue trespassed and done euill in the eies of the Lord our God, and haue forsaken him, and turned their backs. And lo, our fathers are fallen by the sword. Iohn told the Pharisees to their faces, their fathers
Mat.3. were vipers, and themselues venemous, in saying, * Ye vipers brood: and Steuen full of the holy ghost, rated the
Acts.7. Iewes on this wise, Ye * stif-necked and of vncircumcised harts and eares, ye haue alwaies resisted the holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do you. It is therefore a strange course that you take to make the people disobey God to follow their fathers: and a stranger, that you freely permit all kind of infidelitie and tyranny to your selues vnder the names of your fathers, as if the men that were before you could neither erre, nor shed innocent bloud.

Phil. What they could, we dispute not: We say they did not. Theop. That must be proued, before you may propose their acts for your imitation. Their doings may be doubted and disliked as well as yours, and so the labor is
Our fathers can not preiudice the truth of God. all one to iustifie theirs and yours. Times and persons do not preiudice the truth of God. It is permanent in all ages, and eminent aboue all things. If your fathers disdained and pursued the truth as you do, they were enimies
to God as you are, notwithstanding their earthly dignities and other excellencies, which may seeme precious in
Luke 16. your eies, but are abhominable in the sight of God, when men are void of truth.

Phil. We are not. Theo. Leaue then your fathers and other idle fansies, & go directly to that question. For if her
A parliament taking part with truth hath the warrant of God and the magistrate. maiestie receiued and established nothing but the truth of Christ in her parliament, in vaine do you barke against God & the magistrat, for lacke of competent courts, ecclesiasticall iudges, & legal meanes to debate & decide matters of religion. When God commandeth, all humane bars and lawes do cease. If they ioine with God, they may be vsed: if they impugne the truth, they must be despised.

And

And yet in our case the scepter vnited and adioined it selfe to the word of God: and therefore if princes may command for truth in their owne dominions, as I haue largely proued they may: why should not the prince hauing the full consent of her nobles and commons, restore and settle the truth of God within her realme? Phil. Lay men may not pronounce of faith. Theop. But lay men may chose what faith they will professe, and princes may dispose of their kingdoms, though priests and bishops would say nay.

Lay men may make their choice what faith they wil professe.

Phil. Religion they may not dispose without a counsell. Theop. Not if God command? Phil. How shall they know what God commandeth vnlesse they haue a counsell? Theop. This is childish wrangling. I aske, if God command whether the prince shall refuse to obey till the clergy confirme the same? Phil. You may be sure a wise & sober clergy will not dissent from Gods precepts. Theop. What they will do, is out of our matter: but in case they do; to which shall the prince harken, to God or those that beare themselues for priests? Phil. In case they do so, you need not doubt, but God must be regarded, and not men. Theop. And hath the prince sufficient authority to put that in vre which God commandeth, though the priests continue their wilfulnesse? Phil. There is no councell nor consent of men good against God. Theop. Hold you there. Then when christian princes are instructed & resolued by learned and faithfull teachers what God requireth at their hands, what need they care for the backward disposition of such false prophets as are turned frō ỹ truth & preach lies?

The prince is authorized from God to execute his commandement.

Phil. In England, when her maiestie came to ỹ crowne, it was not so. The bishops that dissented were graue, vertuous and honorable pastors, standing in defence of the Catholike and ancient faith of their fathers. Theop. You say so: we say no. Phil. Those be but words. Theop. You say very right; and therefore the more to blame you, that in both your bookes do play on that string with your rhetorical and thrasonical fluence, and neuer enter any point or proofe that may profit your reader. You presume your selues to haue such apparant right & rule ouer the faith, ouer the church, ouer christian princes & realms, that without your consent they shall neither conclude, nor consult

The Iesuits presume that all is theirs.

The third part. The prince might make lawes for truth, maugre the pope. what religion they will profesſe: their acts ſhall be diſorders, their lawes iniuries, their correction tyranny, if you miſlike them. This dominion and iuriſdiction ouer all kingdoms & countries, if your holy father and you may haue for the ſpeaking, you were not wiſe if you would not claime it; but before we beleeue you, you muſt bring ſome better ground of your title than ſuch magnificall and maieſticall floriſhes.

The prince may command for truth, though the biſhops would say no.

The prince and the parliament, you ſay, had no power to determine or deliberate of thoſe matters. And why ſo? You did diſſent. May not the prince command for truth within her realme, except your conſents be firſt required and had? May not her highneſſe ſerue Chriſt in making lawes for Chriſt, without your liking?

The Ieſuits haue neither Gods law nor mans to make that which the prince and the parliament did, to be void for lacke of the biſhops aſſents.

Claime you that intereſt and prerogatiue, that without you nothing ſhall be done in matters of religion, by the lawes of God, or by the liberties of this realme? By the laws of the land you haue no ſuch priuiledge. Parliaments haue bene kept by the king & his barons, the clergy wholy excluded, and yet their acts & ſtatuts good. And when the biſhops were preſent, their voices from ꝑ conqueſt to this day were neuer negatiue. By Gods law, you haue nothing to do with making lawes for kingdomes and common-wealths. You may teach, you may not command: perſuaſion is your part, compulſion is the princes. If princes imbrace the truth, you muſt obey them: if they purſue truth, you muſt abide them. By what authoritie then claime you this dominion ouer princes, that their lawes for religion ſhall be void vnleſſe you conſent?

Phil. They be no iudges of faith. Theop. No more are you. It is lawful for any chriſtian to reiect your doctrine, if he perceiue it to be falſe, though you teach it in your Churches, & pronounce it in your councels, to be neuer ſo true. Phil. That proueth not euery priuate mans opinion to be true. Theop. Nor yet to be falſe, the greater number is not euer a ſure warrant for truth. And iudges of faith, though princes be not, yet are they maintainers, eſtabliſhers and vpholders of faith with publike power, and poſitiue lawes, which is the point you now withſtand.

The kings of Iudah did

Phil. That they may do when a councell is precedent to guide them. Theop. What councel had Aſa the king of Iudah,

Princes haue setled christian religion without councels.

dah when * he cõmanded his people to do according to the law and the commandement, & made* a couenant that whosoeuer would not seeke the Lord God of Israell should be slaine: Phil. He had * Azariah the prophet. Theop. One man is no councell; and he did but incourage and commend the king, and that long after he had established religion in his realme.

command for truth without councels. 2.Chron.14. Cap.15. Cap.15. Cap.15.

What councel had Ezechiah to lead him when he restored the true worship of God throughout his land, and was fame to send for the priests & Leuits and to put them in mind of their duties? What councell had Iosiah, when ten yeres after his comming to the crowne, he was forced to send for direction to Huldah the prophetesse, not finding a man in Iudah that did, or could vndertake the charge?

2.Chron.29. 4.Kings.22.

Phil. These were kings of the old Testament: and they had the law of God to guid them. Theop. Then since christian princes haue the same scriptures which they had, & also the gospell of Christ and apostolike writings to guid them, which they had not, why should they not in their kingdomes retaine the same power, which you see the kings of Iudah had & vsed to their immortal praise & ioy?

Christian princes may do the like.

Phil. The christian emperors euer called councels, before they would attempt anie thing in ecclesiasticall matters. Theop. What councell had Constantine, when with his princely power he publikely receiued and setled christian religion throughout ỹ world, * twentie yeers before ỹ fathers met at Nice? What councels had Iustinian for all those ecclesiastical constitutions and orders, which he decreed and I haue often repeated? What councels had Charles for the Church lawes and chapters which he proposed & inioined as well to the pastors as to the people of his empire? Phil. They had instruction by some godly bishops that were about them. The Conference with some bishops, such as they liked, they might haue: but councels for these causes they had none.

Constantine authorized christian religion without any councell. *Euseb. de vita Constant. lib.2.* Iustinian had no councell for the making of his constitutions

In 480. yeers after christian religion was established by christian lawes, I meane from Constantine the first, to Constantine the seuenth, there were verie neere fortie christian emperors, whose lawes and acts for ecclesiasticall affaires were infinite: and yet in all that time they neuer called but sixe generall councels, and those for the

But 6. generall councels in 790. yeers.

Godhead of the sonne & the holy Ghost, & for the two distinct natures & wils in Christ: all other points of christian doctrine & discipline they receiued, established & maintained without ecumenicall councels, vpon the priuat instruction of such bishops & clerks as they fauored or trusted. Theodosius, as I shewed before, made his own choice what faith he would follow, & had no man, nor meanes to direct him vnto truth, but his owne praiers vnto God, & priuate reading of those sundry confessions that were offered him. And when neither bishops nor councels could get him to remoue the Arians from their churches, Amphilochius alone with his witty behauior, & answer won him to it. For entering the palace, & finding Arcadius the eldest sonne of Theodosius lately designed emperor & sitting with his father, Amphilochius did his dutie to the father and made no account of his sonne that sate by him. Theodosius thinking the bishop had forgotten himselfe, willed him to salute his sonne: to whome the bishop replied, that which he had done to the father was sufficient for both. Whereat when the emperor began to rage, & to conster the contempt of his sonne for his dishonor, the wise bishop inferred with a loud voice, Art thou so grieued, O emperor, to see thy sonne neglected, & so much out of patience with those that reproach him? Assure thy selfe then that almightie God hateth the blasphemers of his sonne, and is offended with them as with vngratefull wretches against their sauior and deliuerer.

Soc. li. 5. ca. 10. Theodosius made his owne choice what religion he would establish, and when the second generall councell could not get him to receiue the Arians from their Churches, amphilochius did win him to it. *Theod. lib. 5. cap. 16.*

Had you beene in the primitiue Church of Christ you would haue gallantly disdained these and other examples of christian kings and countries conuerted and instructed sometimes by marchants, sometimes by women, most times by the single perswasion of one man without all legall meanes or iudiciall proceedings: the poore soules of very zeale imbracing the word of life when it was first offered them, & neglecting your number of voices, consent of priests, & competent courts, as friuolous exceptions against God, and dangerous lets to their saluation.

Relmes haue been christened vpon the perswasions of lay men and women.

Frumentius a christian child, taken prisoner in India the farther, and brought at length by Gods good prouidence to beare some sway in the realme in the nonage of the king, * carefully sought for such as were christians among

India couered by merchants. * *Ruffi. li. 1. c. 9.*

mong the Romane merchants, and gaue them * most free power to haue assemblies in euerie place yeelding them whatsoeuer was requisit, and exhorting * them in sundry places to vse the christrian praiers. And within short time he built a Church, & brought it to passe that some of the Indians were instructed in the faith, and ioined with them.

* And neuer asked the priests leaue so to do.
* *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

The king of Iberia nære Pontus, when he saw his wife restored to health by the praiers of a christian captiue, and himselfe deliuered of the suddaine danger that he was in, onely by thinking and calling on Christ, whome the captiue woman named so often to his wife, sent for the woman, & desired to learne the manner of her religion, and promised after that neuer to worship any other God but Christ. The captiue woman taught him as much as a woman might: and admonished him to build a Church and described the forme (how it must be done.) Whereupon the * king calling the people of the whole nation together told them what had befallen the queene and him, & taught them the faith, and became as it were the Apostle of his nation, though he were not yet baptized.

Iberia conuerted by a woman. *Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

The examples of England, France & other countries, are innumerable, where kings and common-wealths at the preaching of one man, haue submitted themselues to the faith of Christ, without councels or any synodall or iudiciall proceedings. And therefore eth prince & people without these meanes haue lawfull power to serue God and Christ his sonne, notwithstanding twenty bishops, as in our case: or if you will, twenty thousand bishops, should take exceptions to the gospell of truth, which is nothing else but to waxe mad against God, by pretence of humane reason and order.

The Iesuits woud haue beene eloquent against this king, that yeelded his realme to Christ at the direction of a seely wench.

Any mā may serue Christ whosoeuer say nay.

Phil. Their examples and yours are not like. They receiued the same faith that the Church of Christ professed, you do not. Theop. They know not what the Church of Christ meant, when they submitted thēselues to the faith of Christ; they respected not the countenances of men, but the promises of God when they first beleeued. And were you not so wedded to the popes tribunals & decrees that you thinke the God of heauen should not preuaile nor cōmand without your allowance, you would remēber that the church her selfe was first collected & after increased by

Many countries receiued the faith before they knew what the Church meant.

Christs Apostles, maugre the councels of priests and courts of princes that derided the baseneſſe, and accuſed the boldneſſe of ſuch as would preach Chriſt without their permiſſion. Phil. The apoſtles had a iuſt and lawfull defence for their doings. Theop. What was it? Phil. * We ought rather to obey God than man. Theop. Was that authoritie ſufficient for them to withſtand the ſynodes of priests and ſwords of princes? Phil. Moſt ſufficient. Theop. And the truth of God changeth not, neither doth his right to command againſt the powers and lawes of all mortall men decay at any time. Phil. By no meanes. Theop. Then this muſt onely be the queſtion betwixt vs, whether the prince or prelats ſword for that which God commandeth. If the prince tooke part with God, then your clergie were but Antichriſts atturnies, and all your Apologies, Defences, Replications and Demonſtrations are but prophane brables & quarels, ſuch as Iulian or Porphyry might and did obiect againſt Chriſt, for that his faith came firſt into the world, by the diſordered raſhneſſe, as they thought, and tumultuous headineſſe of the common people; euen as the Iewes alſo diſdained Chriſt himſelfe, and ſaid of his followers; Doth any of the rulers or of the phariſies beleeue in him? But this people, that know not the law, are curſed. If your biſhops held the faith, then had you wrong before God, but no violence before men ſith euerie realme may diſpoſe themſelues, their lands, and liuings, as they ſee cauſe, and make choice of their religion and teachers, though they take not vpon them to decide and define which is truth and which error, as you falſely and ſcornefully report.

Act 5. * If truth were a ſufficient diſcharge for fiſhermen to withſtand both prieſts and princes, much more may princes vpon that warrant neglect the conſent of their owne ſubiects, though they be prieſts.

Iohn. 7.

Phil. They make it treaſon to call their proceedings hereſie. Theoph. To call the prince tyrant or heretike, is no point of religion, but plaine railing on powers, which all Chriſtians are prohibited: for law repreſſeth the filthines of your tongues, it forceth not the perſuaſions of your harts, it is no deciſion of hereſie, but a prohibition of curſed and intemperate ſpeech: which of dutie you ſhould forbeare, and the prince may iuſtly puniſh. Phil. Shal it be death for a man to ſpeake what he thinketh? Theop. If the ſpeech be ſlanderous or oppробrious, why ſhould it not? He that curſeth his father or mother, ſhall die the death by the law

Railing on princes is prohibited by the law of God.

Exod. 21.

of

of God: and the selfesame reuerence is due to the magistrate, * thou shalt not raile vpon the judge, nor * speake euill of the ruler of the people: yea saith Salomon * Curse not the king, no not in thy thought: and though Dauid himselfe in respect of his oth spared Shimei that railed on him, yet he charged Salomon his sonne to giue him his deserts. Thou shalt not count him innocent, for thou art wise, and knowest what thou oughtest to do vnto him, therfore thou shalt cause his hoare head to go downe to the graue with * blood. Therefore you must either leaue railing with Shimei, or not thinke it much to suffer at Salomons handes as Shimei did.

Leuit. 20. Exod. 22. Eccle. 10. 3. Kings. 2. Dauid iudged Shimei worthie to die for railing on him.

Phil. The princes person we will spare, but that shall neuer driue vs to thinke wel of your proceedings. Theop. If this realme haue receiued or established anie other faith than that which Christ commaunded, the Apostles preached, the Catholike Church imbraced, then let all our proceedings be violent, disordered and reprochfull: but if we haue not, then looke to your selues. For the prince and the parliament had Gods and mans authoritie to do as they did. Phil. If, doth not hurt vs: our faith is Catholike. Theop. No one point of your faith which we reiect, is Catholike: and the reformation which is now setled, by the lawes of this realme in matters of religion, is warranted by the word of God, and auncient iudgement of Christes Church. Phil. Nay our faith is grounded on the sacred Scriptures and the generall consent of the Catholike Church. Theop. Proue that and we require no more. Phil. Will that content you? Theop. Yea verily. But you were best, beginning a fresh matter to spit in your hand, and take better hold than heeretofore you haue done. Phil. My handfast is so sure, that you shall not shake it off. Theoph. Your heart feeleth you, whatsoeuer your handfast doth. Proceeding with the next part we shall see how sure you hold.

The end of the third part.

The

THE FOVRTH PART

SHEWETH THE REFORMATION of this realme to be warranted by the word of God, and the ancient faith of Christes Church, and the Iesuits for all their crakes to be nothing lesse than Catholikes.

Phil. WHat one point of our religion is not Catholike? Theop. No one point of that, which this realme hath refused, is truelie Catholike. Your hauing and adoring of images in the Church: your publike seruice in a tong not vnderstood of the people: your gazing on the priest whiles he alone eateth & drinketh at the lords table: your barring the people from the lords cup: your sacrificing the sonne of God to his father for the sinnes of the world: your adoring the elements of bread and wine with diuine honour in stead of Christ: your seuen sacraments: your shrift: your releasing soules out of purgatorie by prayers and pardons: your compelling priests to liue single: your meritorious vowing and performing pilgrimages: your inuocation of saints departed: your rules of perfection for monks and friers: your relying on the pope as head of the church, and vicar generall vnto Christ: these with infinite other superstitions in action, and errors in doctrine we denie to haue any foundation in the scriptures, or confirmation in the generall consent or vse of the Catholike Church).

Phil. We sticke not on your words, which you vtter to your most aduantage: but be not these things as we defend them, and you reiect them, Catholike? Theop. Nothing lesse. Phil. What count you Catholike? Theop. You were best define that: it toucheth you neerest. Phil. I meane Catholike, as Vincentius doth, that wrote more than 1100. yeres ago. Theop. So do I. And in that sense no point of your religion, which this realme hath refused, is Catholike. Phil. All. Theop. None. Phil. These are but brags. Theop. In deed they are so. Nothing is more common in your mouthes than Catholike: and in your

Vincentius Lyrinens. aduers. hæres.

your faith nothing lesse. Phil. Who proueth that? Theop. Your selues, who after you haue made great sturre for Catholike, Catholike, and all Catholike, when you come to issue you returne it with a *non est inuentus*. Phil. Will you lie a little? Theop. I might vse that sometimes, which is so often with you: but in this I do not. Phil. I say you do. Theop. That will appeare, if you take anie of those points which I haue rehearsed. Phil. Which you will. Theop. Nay the choice shall be yours, because the proofe must be yours.

Phil. Take them as they lie. Hauing and worshipping of images in the Church, is not Catholike? Theop. It is not. Phil. Eight hundred yeares ago the generall councell of Nice, the second, decreed it lawfull and euer since it hath beene vsed. Theop. Catholike should haue four conditions by Vincentius rule, and this hath not one of them. There can nothing be Catholike, vnlesse it be confirmed two waies: first by the authoritie of Gods law, and next by the tradition of the Catholike Church, not* that the canon of the scripture is not perfect & sufficiēt enough for al points of faith, but because many men draw and stretch the scriptures to their fancies,* therfore it is verie needfull that the line of the propheticall and apostolical interpretation should be directed by the rule of the ecclesiasticall and Catholike sense. Now in the Catholike Church her selfe we must take heed we hold that, which hath beene beleeued, at all times, in all places, of all persons, for that is truelie and properlie Catholike.

How Vincētius defineth Catholikes.
* *Vincent. aduers. hæret.*
* *Vincent. Ibidem.*
* *Ibidem. Quod semper, vbique & ab omnibus creditum est.*

By this rule your erecting and adoring of images in the Church is not Catholike. For first it is prohibited by Gods law: and where the text goeth against you, the gloze can not help you. If there be no precept for it in the word of God, in vaine do you seeke in the Church for the Catholike sense & interpretation of that which is no where found in the scriptures. If it be not propheticall nor apostolicall, it can not be Catholike nor ecclesiastical. Againe, how hath this beene alwaies in the Church, which was first decreed 780. yeares after Christ? It is too yong to be Catholike that began so late, you must go nearer Christ & his Apostles, if you will haue it Catholike or ancient. Thirdly, al places & persons did not admit & decrees of the councell.

Worshipping of images is against the scriptures.

It hath not beene beleeued at all times.

Neither in all places nor of all persons.

councell. For besides Africa and Asia the greater, which neuer receiued them, the Churches of England, France and Germanie did contradict and refute both their actions and reasons. And in Greece it selfe not long before, a Synod of * 330. bishops at Constantinople condemned as well the suffering as reuerencing of images.

*Sigebert. in anno 755.

Phil. The most part of this that you saie is false: the rest we little regard, so long as we be sure the Church of Rome stood fast with vs. Theop. All that I said is true: and as for the Church of Rome, she can make nothing Catholike. That the Church of England detested that second Councell of Nice; Roger Houeden, that liued 400. yeeres ago, witnesseth: Charles the king of France sent ouer into England the actes of a Synod sent him from Constantinople: where, out alas, are found many vnseemly things & contrarie to the true faith, specially for that it is there confirmed with the generall assent of all the East teachers, to wit, of 300. bishops & moe, that images ought to be adored, the which the Church of God vtterlie detesteth. Against the which Albinus wrote an epistle maruellouslie grounded on the authoritie of the diuine scriptures, and carried it with the said Synodicall acts in the name of our (*english*) bishops and princes to the king of France. Charles two yeeres after called a great Synod of the bishops of Fraunce, Italie and Germanie, at Franckford: where the second Councel of Nice was reiected & refuted. Phi. Nay the Councell of Constantinople against images was there reuersed & exploded. Theo. Your friends haue done what they could, to make that seeme likely, and many of your stories run that way for life, but the worst is, the men that liued and wrate in that very age do marre your play. Regino saith: *Pseudosynodus Græcorum, quæ pro adorandis imaginibus fecerant, à Pontificibus reiecta est.* The false Synode of the Græcians which they made for defence of the worshipping of images, was reiected by the bishops (assembled at Franckford vnder Charles.) Hincmarus Archbishop of Remes, then liuing when these things were in fresh memorie, saith thus of Charles his Councell: The seuenth general Councell so called by the Græcians (in deed a wicked Councel) touching images, which some would haue to be broken in peeces, and some to be worshipped, was kept not long before my time by a number of bishops gathered togither

Continuationes Bedæ anno 792.

The church of England against images.

The churches of Fraunce, Italie and Germanie, condemned the second Councell of Nice.

Regino, lib. 2. anno 794.

Hincmar. Remens. contra Hincmar. Landunensem epis. cap. 20.

The west churches against the worshipping of images. togither at Nice and sent to Rome, which also the bishop of Rome directed into France. Wherfore in the reigne of Charles the great, (the see apostolike willing it so to be) a generall synod was kept in Germany by the conuocation of the said emperor, and there by the rule of the scriptures and doctrine of the fathers, the false councell of the Græcians was confuted, and vtterly reiected. Of whose confutation there was a good big booke sent to Rome by certaine bishops from Charles, which in my yoong yeeres I read in the palace.

The fourth part.

The councel of Nice the second refuted by a generall synode of Germany.

A whole booke written in the refutation of the 2. Nicene councell by Charles and his bishops.

Vrspergensis hath bene vnder the file of some monkish dezzauer, as many other writers and fathers haue bene. For in him you haue razed out the name of the city of Nice, and put in Constantinople, to make men beleeue the synode of Franckford condemned, not the second Nicene councell that setled adoration of images, but another of Constantinople that banished images. Vrspergensis saith, The synode, which not long before was assembled * vnder Irene and Constantine her sonne in Constantinople called by them the seuenth general councell, was there (in the councell of Franckford) reiected by them all as void, and not to be named the 7. or any thing else. Here some foolish forgerer hath added these words (in Constantinople) whereas it is euident, the councel vnder Irene and Constantine her sonne, was kept at Nice, and not at Constantinople, and Hincmarus that liued in the time of Charles & read the booke it selfe of the synode of Franckford, whē it was first made, saith the bishops assembled in Germany by Charles vtterly reiected & refuted the councell of Nice, called the seuenth generall councell.

The monks haue razed out Nice, and put in Constantinople. *Vrspergen. in anno. 793.* That coūcell was assembled at Nice and not at Constantinople.

The verie same words (at Constantinople) are in the actes of the Councell of Franckford, as Laurentius Surius * saieth, though verie falsly, for ought that I find in the booke it selfe, & contrary to the plaine words in many places & namely in the 4. booke, 13. chapter, where they are refelled from cōparing themselues with the first Nicene councell, because they were assembled in the same city, & so *li. 4. ca. 24.* But if the words had bene conueied in, as they are not, (except Surius copie be framed by Surius himselfe to verifie his own saying) what proofe is this that the Synod of Franckford neuer decreed against adoration of images, but rather with it, as that mouthie frier obserueth,

** Tomo Concil. 3. admonit. Surij ad lector. de Synod. Franc. fol. 226.*

where

where the reasons & authorities of the 2. Nicene councell for adoring images, are truly & fully refuted throughout those foure bookes? And his conclusion, that we haue forged those bookes, and conueied them into the popes library, where they lie written in ancient characters, as the *keeper of the popes library confesseth, is like the rest and not vnlike himselfe, who careth not what he writeth, so it serue his humor, and helpe his cause.

*Augu. Steue. de Donat. Constant. lib. 2. numero 62.

For otherwise who that were maister of himselfe, would suppose it easier for vs to forge foure whole bookes in Charles name, and to write them in ancient hands, and thrust them into the popes library, and into many other churches and abbaies, and no man spie it, than for you hauing the books so many hundreth yeres in your keeping to put in this one word (Constantinople?) And if our lucke were so good, to forge so neare the popes nose, & not be descried, who forged Hincmarus, Regino, Houeden, Vrspergensis, Adon, Auentine, and others that testifie the councell of Franckford refuted the false synode which the Grecians kept * *Pro adorandis imaginibus*, For the adoring of images? If you were so negligent, as to suffer so many to be forged against you and laid in your libraries, & you not find it: how iust cause haue we to persuade our selues that you would winke with both the eies, when others should be corrupted to make for your purpose?

*Adon. aetate 6. Auent. lib. 4. saith, *Scita Graecorum de adorandis imaginibus rescissa fuit.*

Phil. Many, you know, report for vs, that Charles and his councell condemned the breakers of images; & a number of your owne side confesse the same. Theop. In stories we must not respect the number and vehemencie, but the antiquitie & sinceritie of the authors. Two hundreth, that liued long after, and were not acquainted with the deeds themselues; can not counteruaile two that liued in the same age, and had the full perusing of their acts. Againe, your later writers were all addicted to images, and therefore they would not acknowledge that euer the councell of Franckford condemned the councell of Nice for adoring images. Lastly, it is not altogether a lie when they say the councell of Frankford refused ỹ councell of Constantinople. For where the counsel of Constantinople said it was idolatrie to haue them, and the councel of Nice defined it lawfull to worship them, the councel of Frankford, as Hincmarus

Their monks & friers being worshippers of mages themselues, would not beleeue that the second Nicen Councel was condemned for decreeing images to be worshipped. The booke extant agreeth with this report

rus confesseth, liked neither, but held it a thing indifferent to haue them, & adiudged it a meer impietie to worship thē. of Hincmarus.

Phil. Then hauing of images, you grant, was catholike, though the worshipping of them, in some places were not so taken. Theop. The hauing of images was neuer catholike, and the worshipping of them was euer wicked, by the iudgement of Christs Church. Phil. At this time the West Church did not gainesay the hauing of them. Theop. The West Church at this time vsed them onely as ornaments, and monuments for the ruder sort to learne the liues and deaths of ancient and vndoubted martyrs: but if you forget not your selfe, you be 800. yeers too short of catholike; and euen then by the Churches of England, France, Spaine and Germanie, was the worshipping of images detested and refuted as contrarie to the christian faith.

The West Church 800. yeeres after Christ suffered stories to be painted and carued in the church but not to be worshipped, as the second councell of Nice concluded.

Phil. By worshipping and adoring of images, we doe not meane, that godlie honor should be giuen to them, but onely a kind of externall dutie and reuerence with the gesture of the bodie, as kneeling, kissing, censing, religious holding vp of eies and hands before them, with such like signes of outward submission. Theop. Neither do I think that Adrian the bishop of Rome, or the Grecians were so blasphemous & brutish idolaters, that they decreed diuine honor to dead & senslesse stocks: though your Schoolemen not long before our age came to that grosse and filthy doctrine, & called it with a vain translation of the honor that was done to the image, as passing from the image to the principall it selfe represented by the image: but the Grecians I think meant an externall regard and reuerence, such as is giuen to the sacred vessels, bookes, and elements that are vsed in baptisme, and at the Lords supper. For those be their owne comparisons though their words be adoration and veneration: and yet that externall and corporall honor giuen to images, the West bishops abhorred as neither catholike, nor christian, & the Church of Christ long before them condemned as heretical.

The Grecians were not so brutish as to decree diuine honor to stocks.

The West Church refused to giue any externall honor to images.

Gregorie the first, 200. yeeres before Charles called the councel of Francford, thought it not amisse to haue painted histories suffered in the church, but in no wise the pictures to be worshipped. Your brotherhood, saith he to Serenus bishop of Massilia: seeing certaine worshippers of images

Greg. lib. 7. epist. 109.

brake

brake the said images and cast them out of the Church. The zeale which you had that nothing made with hands should be worshipped, we praise: but we thinke you should not haue broken those images. For painting is therefore vsed in Churches, that they which are vnlearned may by sight read that in the walles, which in bookes they cannot. Your brotherhood should therefore haue spared the breaking of them, and yet restrained the people from worshipping them, that the rude might haue had, how to come by the knowledge of the story, and yet the people not * sinne in worshipping the picture.

Stories painted in the Church, but no picture worshipped.

*Sinne to worship pictures.

Painted stories, Gregory thought might be tolerated in the Church, for the simple to learne the deaths and martyrdoms of many saints, which in bookes they could not: but as for worshipping them, he confesseth the people should sinne in doing it, and the bishop did well in keeping them from it.

Gregor. lib. 9. epist. 9. The scriptures prohibite the worshiping of pictures.

And treating in an other place of the same matter, he saith: The children of the Church now dispersed are to be called togither, and taught by the testimonies of the sacred scriptures, that nothing made with hands may be worshipped. **And so concludeth,** adoration of images by all meanes auoide.

Ambros. de obitu Theodos. Error & wickednes to worship the crosse that Christ died on.

S. Ambrose **speaking of that crosse, on which Christ was crucified, saith:** Helena found the title, and worshipped the king, not the wood surely: for that is the error of the Gentiles, and vanitie of the wicked. S. Augustine **requiring the Manichees to shew what one thing they could mislike in the catholike church:** Bring me not, saith he, such christians as either know not or keepe not the force of their profession. Rake not after the rude sort, which euen in true religion are intangled with superstition. My selfe know many that are worshippers of tombs & pictures. I warne you that you cease to speake euill of the catholike Church, by carping (these) mens maners, whom the Church her selfe condemneth, and seeketh euery day to correct them as vngracious children.

Aug. de moribus ecclesiæ Catholicæ. lib. 1. cap. 34. Bowing and burning incense to the image of Christ obiected to heretiks as Idolatrie.

Marcellina **is reckoned and detested as an heretike by** Irenæus, Epiphanius & Augustine, **for hauing the images of Christ and** Paul **in her closet, and setting garlands on their heads and burning incense to them.** Marcellina, saith Austen, was of Carpocrates sect, and worshipped the images of Iesu, Paul, Homere and Pythagoras with bowing her selfe

August. de hæresib. hæres. 7.

and

and burning incense. So saith Epiphanius. Of this sect was Marcellina of Rome. She made secretly the images of Iesu and Paul, and Homere and Pythagoras, and burned incense to them and worshipped them. And charging the whole sect of Carpocrates, with the same fault, he saith: the heretikes called *Gnostici*, besides all this, haue images painted with colours, and some of gold and siluer, which they saie are the images of Iesu, and made in the time of Pontius Pilate, when (Christ) was conuersant amongst men. These they keepe closely. And so doth Irenæus also witnesse, they all esteeming and adiudging it to be heresie and idolatrie to cense and bow to the image of Christ or Paul, as well as to the image of Homer or Aristotle.

Epipha. in 80. haref. anacepha.
Epipha. lib. 1. tom. 2. haref. 27.
Iren. li. 1. cap. 24.

Phil. Not so neither. Theop. Yes euen so. This in manifest words is reckoned by these three fathers for a speciall point and part of their wickednes, as well as the worshipping of other philosophers images. Phil. Put you no distinction betweene the images of Christ, and other prophane persons? Theop. The worshipping of either, is heathenisme & idolatry. Phil. Call you the image of Christ an Idoll? Theop. Not vnlesse it be worshipped: but if it be, then is it an idoll, and incense burnt vnto it, is idolatrie. Phil. How proue you that? Theop. If the iudgement of Christes Church in accompting them heretikes for that act, do not weigh heauie enough with you, the law of God confirmeth the same. Phil. Where? Theop. You be not I trust to seeke of that which euerie child with vs can saie: * Thou shalt make thee no grauen image, nor the likenes of anie thing that is in heauen aboue, or the earth beneath, or in the waters vnder the earth. Thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor worship them.

The worshipping of Christs image is idolatrie.

Exod. 20. Deut. 5.

Phil. Doth this precept touch the image of Christ? Theop. It toucheth any thing made with hands, that is worshipped, be it the image of God, of Christ, or whom you wil. Phil. No sir, it toucheth the images of false Gods but not of the true God: for they be idols, that are nothing. Theop. We speake not of the things them-selues but of their images made with hands. A false God is an idoll in the heart of man, and so are all things in heauen & earth, to the which we giue any such ghostly or bodily honour as God hath prohibited. S. Paul calleth the * coue-

* Ephes. 5.

tous man a worshipper of idols: of others he saith, * whose God is their bellie, teaching vs, that, what soeuer we loue, serue or obey against the cõmandement of God, we make it our God, by preferring it before the will and precepts of the true God: and in that it is our God, which of it selfe is not God, it is an idol, and the loue, seruice, and honor, that is so yelded to it, is idolatrie by the law of God. For this cause, the bowing our knees, and holding vp our hands to an image, though it be not all the honor we owe and yeld God, yet is it such honor as he hath prohibited to be giuen to any thing made with hands, and in that respect our aduised and determined doing it against his commandement is idolatrie, for his precept is resolute: Thou shalt not make thee the likenes of any thing in heauen or earth, thou shalt not bow thy selfe before them, nor serue them.

* Phil. 3. Bodily or ghostly honor giuen to any thing which God prohibiteth, is idolatrie.

Exod. 20.

Phil. This may not be vnderstood of the image of the true God: for if the images of princes may be reuerenced, & idolatry not committed, much more the image of God. Theo. Earthly similitudes of your making, may not controule the heauenly precepts of Gods owne giuing. The images of princes may not wel be despited or abused, least it be take as a signe of a malicious hart against the prince, but bowing the knee, or lifting vp the hand to ỹ image of a prince, is flat & inuitable idolatry. Phi. The image of God deserueth more honor than the images of men, in respect of the person that is resembled. Theop. You heard the plaine precept of God commanding no such honor to be giuen to any image made with hands, no not to ỹ image of himself.

God prohibiteth the worshipping of his owne image. Deut. 4.

Phil. I heare you so interpret, but I heare not him so command. Theo. You may when you wil, the scripture in that point is very cleere. Moses the reporter of the law frõ Gods owne mouth, laying forth the ground of the second precept, saith: The Lord spake vnto thee out of the midst of the fire: & ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude. Take therfore good heed to your selues, for you sawe no image (of God) in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: that ye corrupt not your selues, & make you a grauen image (of God) or likenes of any figure, whether it be of male or female, or of any beast that is on earth. And so along pursuing the seuerall branches of the second commandement. They sawe no shape of God,

least

least they should make them any image of God, contrarie to that which he had commanded them.

By this precept Esay proueth that God should not be figured. To whom then will you liken God? or what similitude will you set vp vnto him? And sharpely rebuking the people for not remembring that part of the law, wherein they were charged to make no likenes nor similitude vnto God, he saith; Know ye nothing? Haue ye not heard it? Hath it not beene told you from the beginning? Not meaning any secret or priuat instruction of man, but the open and written law of God, which was then deliuered them, when they first became the people of God. So that aswell the writer, as the interpreter of ỹ law pæld this to be the sense of the second precept, that no similitude or likenes should be made vnto God, because no such image can resemble the brightnes of his glory, but only demõstrate the baseness of our fansie. Phil. We talke not of making similitudes vnto God that be vnlike him, but of worshipping those that be like him. Theo. And since none can be made, that is like him, the bowing to any is not the honoring of him, but the seruing of idols, which he abhorreth. Again, the first part of this precept, Thou shalt not make thee any grauen image, nor the likenes of any thing, directly concerning the shapes and images that any man would or could make vnto God, as Moses and Esay do witnes, the rest of the same precept: Thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor serue them, must needes be referred to the selfe-same similitudes and figures, which before were prohibited to be made. Thirdly, if any grauen image of God might be worshipped, why might it not be made, since it can not be worshipped vntill it be made? God therefore prohibiting it to be made, instructeth vs that though it were made it should not be worshipped. And to that end God himselfe protesteth, My glory will I not giue to an other, nor my praise to grauen images; meaning no part of the honor & seruice that is due vnto him, whether it be spiritual, as fear, loue, faith, obedience, praiers & thanks: or corporal; as bowing the knee, lifting vp the hand, burning incense, & such like, which are idolatries when they are done to images as well as the former kinds of inward and ghostly worship.

Esay. 40.

Ibidem.

Moses and Esay refer the second precept to any image made with hands and erected vnto God.

The later part of the 2. precept forbiddeth to worship that which the first did forbid to make.

Esay. 42.

Phi. Idolatries they be, whē they be done to the images

of false Gods which are idols, not otherwise. Theo. False Gods by nature there are none: We know, saith the Apostle, that an idoll is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one, and he is wholy truth: but the shape or figure made with hands, to resemble the true God, whatsoeuer it be, is an idoll, prohibited by Gods law, as I haue proued; and therefore bowing the knee, or holding vp the hand to it, is idolatrie condemned by that precept which I last repeated, Thou shalt not bow thy selfe to them, nor serue them. Phil. What? not to the image of the true God? Theop. The image of the true God, made with hands, is a false God, and no likenesse of his, but a lewd imagination of yours, set vp to feede your eies with the contempt of his sacred will, dishonour of his holie name, and open iniurie to his diuine nature. For what resemblance hath a dead and dombe stocke, shapened like a man, to the glorious, inuisible and infinite maiestie of the liuing and euerlasting God? How are you not afraid to defend the worshipper, when God accurseth the maker of anie such carued or molten image; as being an abhomination in his sight? Doth your cunning or conscience serue you to gaine-say the manifest voice of God himself speaking by his prophet? To whome now will you liken me, that I should be like (him) saith the holie one?

1. Cor. 8.

An image made by man vnto God, is but a dishonour vnto God.

Deut. 27.

Esa. 40.

Phil. We be not so foolish as to thinke the shape of a mortall man resembleth the incomprehensible substance of the deitie. Theop. God graunt you be not. Do you then acknowledge, that euerie likenesse made with hands to represent the God of heauen, is an idoll? Phil. Euerie likenes: what meane you by that? Theop. I meane the likenes of man, woman, or of any other creature in heauē or earth. Phil. It is somewhat hard to call the image of God an idoll. Theop. To call that an idoll which man maketh for an image vnto God, since God himselfe refuseth euery such likenes, and pronounceth it * accursed & abhominable, is no hardnes at all. Yea rather to giue it a better name, were to make God a liar, and in spite of his spirit, to saue the Iewes and Gentils from that idolatrie, wherewith they were charged, and for the which they be condemned in the scriptures. For the things which they worshiped, they thought to be the images of God, and in that respect did

Euery image erected vnto God is an idoll.

Deut. 27. Sapient. 14. Esa. 44.

did they honor not them so much as God by them, supposing them to be his images.

Phil. The Gentiles and Jewes that were idolaters, worshipped false gods, and not the image of the true God.

Theop. Their false gods were the works of mens hands made to resemble in their conceit the true God. The children of Israell did not thinke their golden calfe to be a God, but minding to haue some monument of God alwaies in their sight to stir them to deuotion, they made choice of a calfe, because they had seene such images set vp to God in Egypt, where the people serving God in that visible shape were wealthy and mighty, by which blessings they coniectured God was well pleased with the seruice of Egypt; and therefore to testifie their thankfulnes for their deliuerance, they erected an image vnto God their deliuerer, and proclaimed * an holy day, (not to the calfe, but) vnto the Lord. The mother of Micheah * vowed siluer vnto the Lord, to make a grauen and molten image. Which she after perfected, and named Teraphim, building a chappell, and entertaining a Leuite for it, in the honor no doubt of him to whom the siluer was first dedicated.

The idolatrous Iewes pretended to worship the image of God, when they set vp the calfe.

*Exod. 32. verse 5.

*Iudic. 17.

The Jewes in all their generations knew there was no God but one, and yet seeing the Gentiles that serued God in the shape of a man or likenes of other creatures, to prosper and liue at harts ease, and oftentimes to be lords ouer them that were the people of God, they fell to the manners of the nations round about them, and honored as they thought, the true God of Israell with bodily shapes and figures, whereas God by his prophets, notwithstanding their good intentions reiected and reproued that their seruice as done to strang gods and idols. Yea Baal it selfe, which the scripture detesteth as a most infamous idoll, was nothing else but a corporall image erected vnto God: by which the people dreampt they serued and pleased God, as may be gathered by Osee, where God promiseth to receiue Israell vnto fauour, and to cause them to cease from their idolatrous dishonoring him with the name of Baal. *At that day saith the Lord, thou shalt call me no more Baal, and by Esay, where God denieth the images that were set vp for him, to be *like vnto him.

Iudic. 2.

Baal was set vp for the image of God

*Ose 2.

*Esa. 40. 46.

The very heathens were not so blind as to beleeue the

things which they made with their hands were gods, neither did they set them vp as gods, but rather as images vnto God, whom they thought to be delighted with that kind of visible and voluntary seruice. S. Ambrose saith of them: *Gentes lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant.* The heathen worship their (peeces of) wood, because they thinke them to be the images of God. Themselues could answer the Christians in that sort, as Celsus in Origen. *Quod si vel lapidem negent, vel lignum, vel æs, vel aurum Deum esse, ridiculum profectò erit id sapere. Quis enim ea nisi stolidus quispiam pro dijs habuerit? Sed deorum sunt ista vel sacra vel effigies quædam.* If the (Christians) deny things made of wood, stone, brasse, or gold to be God, we grant that were a ridiculous opinion. Who but a starke foole did euer account them for gods? Yet these are seruices vnto the gods, or else certaine resemblances of the gods. So Lactantius witnesseth of them: *Non ipsa, inquiunt, timemus, sed eos ad quorum imaginem ficta & quorum nominibus consecrata sunt.* (The heathen) vse to say, we stand not in awe of these (images) but of them after whose likenes they be figured, and in whose names they be dedicated. Their words in Clemens are: *Nos ad honorem inuisibilis Dei visibiles imagines adoramus.* We worship the images which we may see, in the honor of that God which can not be seene. And in Saint Austen, *Nec simulachrum, nec dæmonium colo, sed per effigiem corporalem eius rei signum intueor quam colere debeo.* I worship neither the image, nor the diuell, but by a corporall figure I behold the signe of that which I ought to worship. Saint Paul chargeth all the gentils not with hauing new gods, or other gods, but for turning the truth of God vnto a lie (to wit,) the glorie of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man, which they made and honored as the images of the true God.

Ambro. in psa. 118. sermo. 10.

Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 7.

The heathen did not take their images for gods. *Lactant. de falsa religione, lib. 2. cap. 20.*

Clemen. recognitio. ad Iac. lib. 5. August. in psal. 113. concione 2.

Marke well this shift, & tell me what the papists lacke of it. Rom. 1.

Grosser idolatrie than the which can not be committed. For if to worship the creatures themselues which are the works of Gods hands, and wherein his eternall power and diuinitie do appeere, were palpable idolatrie: how inexcusable is it to serue the works of our owne hands, and the shadowes of those creatures prepared by art and applied by our braine conceit to resemble the creator? you must therefore either grant euery likenes made with

It is wickeder idolatry to worship an image, than to worship a creature.

with hands, and set vp for an image vnto God, to be an idoll, or else excuse both Jewes and gentils from idolatry, which I trust you will not.

Phil. The gentils knew not God, and for that cause could set vp no image vnto God, but vnto their owne ignorant imagination of God. Theop. And you that presume to know God, if you set vp such images vnto God as the gentils did, which knew him not; you be ranker idolaters than they were. The more knowledge you haue of God, the more sure you be that those things made with hands be no way like vnto God, and that he vtterly detesteth and expressly forbiddeth both the making & the reuerencing of all such images as workmen could deuise for him, were they Pagans, Jewes, or Christians. *A greater sin for those that know God, to set vp an image vnto him, than for those that knew him not.*

Phil. What if we grant you that God should not be figured? Theop. Then you must also grant that euery image erected vnto God is an idoll. Phil. The figures of beasts, birds, worms, and other vnreasonable creatures made to resemble God, are idols. Theop. And so is the figure of a man: Moses teaching the children of Israell so much in precise termes: Take heede that you corrupt not your selues, and make you a grauen image or representation of any figure, whether it be of man or woman. And S. Paul affirming of the gentils, that when they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, but became vaine by their discourses (of reason) and their foolish hart was full of darknes, in that they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the likenes of the image of a corruptible man. The same you may see in * Dauid and Esay: where the shape of man set vp for an image vnto God, is directly condemned for an idoll; as well in the Jewes that knew God, as in the gentils that knew him not. Whether is be therefore the likenes of man, beast, bird, worme, fish, or whatsoeuer creature in heauen or earth, if it be made or vsed as an image vnto God, it is an idoll: and the submission of the knee, and deuotion of the hands, that is, any reuerent and religious gesture vnto it, is idolatry. *The figure of a man set vp vnto God is an idoll as well as the figure of a beast.* Deut. 4. Rom. 1. * Psal. 113. Esay. 44.

Phil. All this yet toucheth not vs. Theo. Doth it not: First, what answer can you make for figuring the image of the most blessed and glorious trinitie, sometimes with three faces, as in your common * prayer bookes printed *An horrible picture of the trinitie with three faces in the*

popish praier bookes. *Horæ Mariæ impressæ per Iohan. le Preſt. impens. Rob. Valent. 1555.

in the late raigne of quene Mary, and sometime like* an old man hauing a long gray beard, and his son sitting by him with a doue betweene them: as in most of your churches and oratories: what answere I say can you make for these notorious and enormous impieties? Not onely the adoring, but the very making of such pictures is abhominable, & the self same frensie that God reuenged in Iewes & Gentils with horrible plagues. Secondly if to worship the image of God made by art, with kneeling, censing, or holding vp the hands, be against the law of God, & condemned in the scriptures for the seruice of idols, how can your adoration of images not only with corporall gestures, but with spirituall praiers and vowes be Catholike, or that

Nicen. synod. 2. actione 2.

councell be Christian, which first decreed, the images of all saints, men and women, might perfectly and openly be adored?

Phil. We were not the makers of those pictures of the trinitie. Theop. We know you be neither painters nor caruers: but you were the sufferers, allowers, proposers and commenders of these pictures vnto the people: and in that respect your sinne is farre greater than theirs that

Sapien. 14.

were onely the painters and grauers of them, though there lie a curse euen on them for their wicked labor and trauell, to haue God dishonored by their art and industry.

*You do defend them in your Rhemish testament. fol. 345.

Phil. The images of the trinitie we will not* defend, because your tongs are so bent against them: and yet the Catholikes did not sinne in doing their deuotions to God by those or any other occasions. Theop. The people are in good case to haue such teachers as you be. The figuring of the trinitie the most of you dare not defend, (though your Rhemish obscruers haue the faces to defend any thing) because the law of God is direct against it, pronouncing all such resemblances of God to be* an abhomination vnto him: and yet you closely incourage your Catholikes to continue their former liking of those pictures, and by some smoth words would faine make them beleeue they serue God, when they honor that which God openly reiecteth as an idoll.

*Esa. 44. Deut. 27.

The artificiall figure of Christes hu-

Phil. Against ꝑ images of Christ & his saints, you haue no such exception; why then mislike you that those should be worshipped? Theop. If the image of Christes diuine nature

nature may not be worshipped, much lesse may the figure of his humane flesh framed of wood or stone be so highly reuerenced. Secondly man himselfe is a perfecter & truer image of Christ than any can be made with hands, & yet for all that you neither do, nor may offer to worship anie mortall man. Thirdly if ought should be worshipped in the painted and carued images of Christ, it must be the matter, or the forme. The matter is wood, stone, brasse, siluer or some other mettall: in which is no religion. The forme is nothing but the skil & draught of the crafts-man proportioning a shape not like vnto Christ whom he neuer saw, but as his owne fansie leadeth him: & in that case you worship not the similitude of our sauior, but the conceit of the maker. Fourthly the workeman is euer better than the worke; for so much as there is no grace in the image which came not from the caruer. And since no man boweth to the workeman, why should you kneele to the worke of his hands? Lastly see you not how absurd it is, that * men which haue reason, sense and life should worship things that are void of reason, senseless & dead?* Wherefore doubt you not but there is no religion (or deuotion) whersoeuer there is an image. Religion consisteth of diuine things; & nothing is diuine, but that which is heauenly: images *ergo* are farre from (deuotion and) religion, since there is nothing in them that is heauenly, they consisting of earth.

mane flesh may not be worshipped.

Lactant. de falsi. religio. lib. 2. cap. 2.

** Lactant. Ibidem.*
** Lactant. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

Phil. You reason as though we worshipped the earthly matter or shape, and not rather the things represented by them. Theop. If you talke of worshipping Christ and not his image, we yeeld to you without any farther speech that you must worship him with all humilitie as the naturall, true and onely sonne of God: but what is that to the adoration of his image made with hands, which you defend to be catholike? Phil. May we not giue some reuerence to the image of Christ, though he be in heauen: as wel as you do to the thrones and letters of princes, when themselues be not present? Theoph. Haue you no surer ground of your catholike doctrine for adoring images, than a single similitude taken from the ciuill and externall reuerence that is yeelded to princes seats and scales?

Christ must be worshipped with humility, but not his image because that is not Christ.

Phil. Yes we haue surer: but first answer this. Theop. This is not so sure as you thinke. Phil. Sure, or vnsure, what

Earthly similitudes are al the proofes that papists haue for adoration of images.

what say you to it? Theop. First, that painted and carued images, be neither the seats nor scales of Christ, and so no sequele from those to these. Next, that the ciuill honor which is due to princes, can be no president for any religious honor to be giuen to images: especially the same God, which commandeth ech man to honor the king, forbiddeth all men to bow themselues to any similitude of his made with hands.

Phil. Let them haue some reuerence yet, either religious or ciuill for his sake whom they represent. Theo. If a man should make a scale like the princes, or naile vp cloth of tissue where the prince is not, and say it is a chaire of state, would you be so foolish as to regard either of them, or should you not dishonor the king, if you did reuerence them, since they be not such things, as the prince accepteth or vseth for his, but other mens counterfaits? Phil. I speake of that chaire where the prince did sit, & of that scale which the prince did send. Theop. I know you did, & therefore I refused your similitude, as vnlike the matter in question betwixt vs: bicause images are neither places of Christs presence, nor witnesses of his will, as seats and scales are vnto princes: no nor ordained, allowed or admitted by Christ to haue any credit or vse about his heauenly person or pleasure; but onely proposed by men of a natural & kind affection as they thought towards Christ: though cleane without warrant, and so without thanks from him. For he of purpose toke his bodily presence frō the eies of men, that he might dwel in their harts by faith, & to teach vs to honor him, not by that proportion of face, which the painter would draw, but by that abundance of loue, grace and mercy, which he hath extended on vs, and laied in store for vs, and which no corporall eies can behold, nor colours expresse, but onely the hearing of his word, and working of his spirit can lighten and persuade the hart of man to conceiue and beleeue.

The seates & scales of princes make nothing for adoration of images.

An image can teach vs nothing of that we should behold in Christ.

Phil. Is it not thanks-worthy with God to haue alwaies the shape of his sonne before our eies, that we may honor him with our harts? Theop. To honor him with your harts, and to haue him at all times in your minds is religious and requisit: but to make light of those meanes which he hath prescribed to nourish your faith, and continue

nue the memory of himselfe, & to seeke out others of your owne fit to please your senses, not to resemble his greatnes or goodnes, this is neither acceptable vnto God, nor profitable for your selues. Phil. To remember Christ can not be euill. Theop. Not to remember him till you looke on a picture can not be good. Your harts ought alwaies to be lifted vp vnto him, that *whether you eat or drinke, wake or sleepe, or *whatsoeuer you do in word or deede, (you may) do in the name of the Lord Iesu, *giuing thanks alwaies for all things vnto God the father in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ. You must not tary for the execution of this precept till you see an image. But all your actions, words, and thoughts must be directed to the praise of his glorie and honor of his name.

Christ hath left better & safer meanes to remember him, than by an image: which papists leaue & prefer their owne deuises before his.
* 1. Cor. 10.
* Colos. 3.
* Ephes. 5.

This if you put in vse, you shall neede no painted nor carued image to bring you in mind of his mercies. The benefite and blessings within you, without you, and on euery side of you (which God for Christs sake bestoweth on you) are so many, that you can hardly forget him: vnles you also forget the earth that beareth you, the heauen that couereth you, the day that guideth your feet, the night that giueth you rest, the meats that you feed on, and the breath that you liue by: yea your owne bodies which he wonderfully made, and soules which he preciously bought: all these things and all other things in heauen and earth you must drowne in vtter oblivion, before you can infer that images be needfull to put vs in mind of our duties to God. And since without images you can and must remember the father that created, and the holy Ghost that sanctified you, why should you forget the sonne that redeemed you more than the other, except you haue images at your elbowes to kindle your appetites?

By what meanes and waies the holy Ghost occasioneth vs to remember the sonne of God.

He hath a dull hart that remembreth not Christ till he see an image.

But this is nothing to the worshipping of images, which you should proue to be catholike. Though there were an historical vse in painting the shape of our sauior, yet is it no pietie to worship the picture. Grant it might be vsed for remembrance, for religion it may not; & therefore you are all this while besides the marke.

Philander. You denie both the hauing and worshipping of images to be catholike. We proue the hauing of them to be necessarie by the fruit and profit that

The fourth part. The honor done to a wooden image is not done to Christ. What commodities the papists say they suck out of images. that commeth from them: namely the instruction of the ignorant in the story of their saluation, the putting vs in often remembrance of our sauior, and the stirring vp our deuotion with more feruencie.

The worshipping of them we proue with more facilitie: for if he that honoreth the image honor ꝑ person himselfe thereby represented, as S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Chrysostome and S. Ambrose do affirme: then the worship which is done to the image of Christ, passeth vnto Christ himselfe: and by consequent if it be lawful to adore and honor Christ, it is not vnlawfull to do the like to his image. Besides, we can proue that adoration of images is a tradition deliuered from the Apostles, and obserued in all Churches: and that the scripture it selfe supporteth vs in this point, as the learned epistle of Adrian the bishop of Rome to Constantine and Irene doth largely shew: and for the credit of the cause we haue a generall councell eight hundreth yeres old to say as much in euerie point as I affirme, and more.

All these fathers are wrested by papists from their right meaning.

Theoph. We maruell not to see you so deepely deceiued and strongly deluded as you be: such is the iust iudgement of God on all that admit not the loue of the truth, but haue pleasure in vnrighteousnesse. You rest on the vanities and forgeries of such as were inclined to the same error before you, not examining their proofes, nor considering their reports; but presuming their euident follies to be pregnant authorities for you, which is euer the next way to seduce others, and to be seduced your selues. As touching the shew which you make of scriptures, apostolike tradition, Churches, fathers, and councels, it is a childish and friuolous vaunt. The fathers which you quote, are abused, the Apostles and their Churches belied, the scriptures depraued and wrested, the councell, which you call generall, reiected as wicked, and diligently refuted in the same age by the west bishops. Of these emptie and vnluckie maskes, the more you bring, the lesse you winne.

2. Thess. 2.

The papists greedily embrace other mens forgeries & many of their owne for adoration of images.

Phil. We lose nothing so long as you lode vs only with words. Theop. If your proofes be vaine, my words be true: looke you therefore to the soundnesse of that which you alleadge: otherwise your owne burden will ouerpresse you.

Phil.

The honor done to a wodden image, is not done to Christ. *The fourth part.*

Phil. The collection which I made out of S. Basill and others, is very sure. S. Basill saith: *Honos imaginis in ipsum prototypum redit.* The honor done to the image redoundeth to the principall that is thereby represented. S. Athanasius, *Qui imaginem adorat, in ipsa imperatorem adorat.* He that reuerenceth the image, honoreth therein the emperor. And S. Chrysostome, Knoweſt thou not, that he which hurteth the emperors image, defaceth the imperiall dignitie it selfe? And so S. Ambrose, He that crowneth the emperors image, honoreth surely him, whose image he honored: and he that despiseth the emperors image, doth the iniurie to the emperor, whose image he did spit at. Theop. We doubt not of this similitude. Phil. Then we inferre: *ergo* he that worshippeth the image of Christ worshippeth Christ himselfe: and so the adoration of Christs image is not idolatrie, but pietie.

Nicen. Concil. 2. act. 6.
Ibidem.
Ibidem.
Ambros. in Psal. 118. concio 2.

Theop. You meane that image of Christ which is made with hands. Phil. I do. Theop. Then we deny the consequent. Phil. Why so? Betweene the resemblances of Christ & others the proportion is good. Theo. Yea, but betweene the seruices of God and men, & also betweene their images, the distinction is great. Princes can expect no more but a sober reuerence due to their states, expressed by some decent gestures of the body, that others may behold it; & that to be yelded chiefly to their persons, and secondly to their deputies, vicegerets & messengers, yea to their ensignes, armes and recognisances, such as they shall vse or allow to represent their power or to notifie their pleasures. In which case they that honor the princes throne, sceptre, seale, sword, token or image, honor not the things which they see, but the power that sent them.

Great difference betweene the seruices and images of God & men.

Thus farre your similitude is currant, marie from hence to adoring the carued and painted images of Christ, can you draw no consequent.

The Similitude of honoring the originall by the image answered.

First because Christ hath neither appointed nor allowed them to represent his person, as princes haue.

Next for that our Sauiour as the sonne of God, must haue a diuine honour in spirit and truth, fit for the creator, whereof neither images nor anie other creatures are capable: & is so iealous of it that he will part it with none, and namely not with grauen or molten images.

No creature, nor image capable of Christs honor becaus it is diuine.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the image of any prince is then to be honored when the person is absent: but in the presence of the emperor himself to turne to his image were * apparant madnes, as Lactantius teacheth. Since then the Lord Iesu is by his diuine maiestie present in all places at all times to receiue that honor and adoration of all men that is done vnto him: it is no pietie but frensie to honor his image when he himselfe is not absent: and requireth as wel the religious behauior of the body, as the inward motions of the minde to be yelded vnto him.

* Lib. de falsa religion. cap. 2.

The fathers make Christ the image of God, and not a piece of wood to be the image of Christ.

Lastly, these fathers doe not bring this similitude to proue that we should worship the image of Christ made with hands, but that we should adore Christ himselfe, as being the expresse image of his father, proposed by God to haue one and the same honor with him, and in that respect the honor done to him passeth vnto God the father whose image he is, euen as the reuerence giuen to the officers, arms or images which princes send to set vp, vnto themselues, is accepted as rendred to their owne persons, when they cannot otherwise be present in the place to receiue it but by a substitute, or a sign that shal represent their state.

Phil. You may quarel with any conclusion if you be once minded to be froward. Theoph. Call you that quarelling, when you cannot be suffred by a similitude stretched whither you list your selues, to subuert the very groundworke of all religion and godlines? for if this sequele be sure, that the honor done to the painted or carued image of Christ is transferred to Christ himselfe; then must you giue to the image of Christ no baler, nor other honor than Christ is willing and worthy to receiue: and that is the highest and diuinest kind of adoration that may be, which the scriptures reserue onely vnto God.

If an image must haue Christs honor, *ergo* it must be God. Math. 4. Luke 4.

And what is this but to set your selues against heauen, and to cry defiance vnto God, by giuing his honor vnto others: yea to the vilest and ignobliest things of all others; & to serue most abiect creatures in equal degree of glory with the most mightie creator and quickener of all? If you giue them no religious nor diuine honor, but a louing aspect or a reuerent behauior, that single salutation or manerly submission may not passe vnto Christ, lest you seeme to vse him as your good familiar & old acquaintance,

Images may haue no diuine honor, & Christ will haue no ciuil salutations nor friendly greetings.

or

or else as some earthly potentate rather, than as the God of grace and second person in the blessed Trinitie. Lesse than diuine honor Christ will not haue: he that otherwise honoreth him, defaceth him, and that honor you can not impart to his image without sacrilegious and damnable idolatrie: your conclusion therfore is not only vaine, but also wicked, if you refer it to the image of Christ made with hands: and other acceptions of Christs image can do you no good.

Phil. S. Ambrose vttering the words which I last rehearsed, addeth farther, *Vides quod inter multas Christi imagines ambulamus:* Thou seest we walke among many images of Christ: and therefore all sorts of images which pertaine vnto Christ must haue their conuenient honor. Theo. But S. Ambrose the next words before vtterly excludeth your wooden images as not within the limits of his speech, and reprooueth the gentils, for thinking a peece of wood could be an image vnto God: and then addeth as you say, that the Church had many images of Christ: not, many kinds of images, but many in number that Christ accepteth and reputeth for his images; and those he maketh to be the poore and afflicted in whom Christ is relieued or despised, as he sheweth by the words of Christ, speaking of them as of himselfe in the twentie fiue of Saint Matthews gospell. And this rather hurteth than helpeth your conclusion. For if the honor which is due to Christ may not be giuen to men, who are the liuing images of Christ made by the workmanship of God himselfe, much lesse may the same be deriued to wood or stone fashioned by mans hand, and in no point answerable to the true proportion of Christ, but in this onely that they be shaped like men. For which cause they resemble the sonne of GOD no more than they doe any other of the iust or vniust that did or do liue, and cannot truly be called the images of Christ, but onely by the painters purpose, and the peoples error, which haue no power to appoint what image shall stand for Christ, much lesse to prescribe what honor he shall be content to communicate to that image, which they list to erect vnto him. These be sufficient causes to stop your conclusion, if your antecedent were generall as it is not, and similitudes you may not wrest farther than

In Psal. 118. sermo. 10.

Christ acknowledgeth the poore to be his image, and yet it were wickednes to worship them.

Men are the liuing images of Christ made by the hands of god himselfe.

The image which is made for Christ, is no more like him than it is to any other of the saints or wicked.

than they, that made them, did intend them.

Making and worshipping of images falsly fathered on the apostles. *Damasc. lib. 4. ca. 17. & Nicephor. lib. 2. cap. 7.* A fable of Christ painting his own face. *Euseb. Lib. 1. cap. 13.* * *Distinct. 15. §. S. Romana.* Of such legends the Church of Rome hath plentie. * *Damasc. li. 4. cap. 17. Citatur ab Adriano in epist. sua Nicenæ synod. 2. act. 2.*

Phil. You said somwhat if the worshipping of images were not deliuered vs by tradition from the apostles. Theop. Were the apostles makers or worshippers of images? Phil. Neuer read you that? Theop. Yes I haue read it often, but I was neuer so wise as to beleeue it. Phil. Then I perceiue you would hardly beleeue that Christ himselfe made the first likenes of his owne face, and sent to king Abagarus, as Damascene and Nicephorus witnesse. Theop. You may well sweare, I will neither beleeue you, nor Damascene. Damascene saith, *Fertur quædam historia:* there is such a storie spread abroad, but he neither telleth by whom it was made, nor of what credit it is, and Eusebius that first tooke this storie of Abagarus, and that at large out of the monuments of the citie Edessa, reporteth no such thing: yea the Church of Rome her selfe some hundreths before Damascene, repelled that * epistle of Christ to Abagarus then extant by name as apocryphall. And therefore you bolster an error, and abuse the people of God with forgeries long before condemned, though since receiued by Nicephorus and other fablers among the Grecians, who wrote all they found without iudgement, or without all shame fained that they neuer found, except it were in some wicked and witlesse legend, such as your Church of late daies had good store.

[a] What shame haue they left that make such places in the fathers names?

Phil. And so the image of our Ladie made by S. Luke, you will say is a fable; and yet Simeon Metaphrastes doth confirme it. Theop. Leaue these late and obscure liars, and bring somwhat worth the answering.

Phil. Saint Basil saith the painting and adoring of images is a tradition of the apostles: and so doth [a] Damascene. The words of S. Basil are, *Quam ob causam & historias imaginum illorum honoro & palam adoro. Hoc enim nobis traditum à sanctis apostolis non est prohibendum, sed in omnibus ecclesijs nostris eorum historias erigimus.* For which cause I honor and * openly adore the stories of their images. And this being * deliuered vs from the apostles is not prohibited, but in * all our churches we erect their histories.

[b] This place is not found in all S. Basils epistles, and yet there are extant of his 180; and many of them not fower lines apeece, so that all were preserued, saning this that was neuer writte.

Theop. Can you turne vs to the place in Saint [b] Basil? Phil. The epistle is not extant, but Adrian the bishop of Rome, whose credit is sufficient for a greater matter than this,

this, doth alleage it out of his writings against Iulian the Apostata. Theop. Adrian and you both shall pardon vs for beleeuing you, when we find no such words in all S. Basil. Phil. They might be there in S. Basil, though they be not now. Theo. If the words did agree with the spirit of S. Basil, or with the state of those times, or with the rest of the fathers and ancient teachers in Christs Church, we would not so much dislike them, though they were not found in S. Basils workes: but now seeing the words to be sensibly false, if not vtterly wicked, and to haue no conuenience with the doctrine of those that taught in the same time or neere about his age: and knowing in the contentions of the Grecians for images somewhat before Adrian, what framing and filing of fathers there was to beare out either side: we thinke it easier for the bishop of Rome to be deceiued in a Greeke writer, that liued 450. yeares before him, by some false reporter, lewd translator, or cunning forgerer, than for Basil to be so great a stranger in the Church of Christ and so manifest a despiser of Gods precepts, that he would openly defend, and himselfe vse, adoration of saints images without anie scruple; as deliuered from the Apostles; who were far from hauing, & farther from teaching the godly to worship the images of the prophets, Apostles, or martyrs, as this deluder dreameth. And therefore either shew vs the epistle where this is written, or else leaue loding the learned fathers names with such vnlearned corruptions.

If that were Adrians epistle he might soone be deceiued: but it seemeth to be rather a late forgerie in Adrians name.

Phil. Were there not many things written by the catholike fathers that now are perished? Theop. And as many things forged in their names that were neuer written by them, as appeareth in all their workes to this day by the iudgement of your verie friends. Phil. This is the next way to call all their writings, & so the whole christian faith in question. Theop. You would faine haue vs swallow your monkish impieties vnder the colour of their authorities: but the wisedome of God hath better prouided for his Church than so. The rule of our faith is the voice of our shepeheard. By that we iudge of the writings of all others, be they faithfull or infidels. If this were written in Basil, we would not receiue it vntill we had tried it by that touchstone: finding no such

Infinit forgeries haue been cómitted in the fathers names, as appeareth at this day in all their works.

thing in all his workes, why should we regard it?

The west bishops that refuted the 2. Nicene councell and al authorities one after an other, neuer mentioned this place: & therefore it hath beene put in since their time.

Phil. There it was, though now it be not. Theo. There it is not, wheresoeuer it was; and your alleager hath no such credit with vs that we should trust him. Phil. Trust no man I pray you, that is against you. Theop. We trust not you to be your owne caruers. Phil. This authoritie was alleaged & allowed to be S. Basils in a generall councell 800. yeeres ago. Theop. That councell was neuer receiued nor confessed to be generall by the west Churches, but reiected and condemned as a wicked coniuration against the faith: and the * letter there framed in Adrians name, besides that it sauoreth altogether of your late forge at Rome, is a pestilent and shameleſſe depriuation both of fathers and scriptures. Phil. You be very choice that like nothing, except it be exquisite. Theop. You be worse than grosse, if you take such palpable lies to be the textresses of your faith. Omit that fond and false report of Constantines * leprosie purposing to be washed in a bath of infants * bloud, and behorted from it in the night as he slept by some that appeared to him, whome he afterward * knew to be Peter and Paul by their * images which Siluester bishop of Rome shewed him: and that thereupon Constantine being first a * persecuter of the Christians, was conuerted, and * baptized by Sylueſter, and began to build Churches and * decked them with images in euerie place; (lewder and viler fables than which your legend hath none:) the rest of Adrians allegations out of the scriptures & fathers, what are they but open iniuries and mockeries of God and man?

* Seuen notorious lies repugnant to al the church stories, touched in one corner of this epistle.

The scriptures alleaged in Adriãs epistle.

The scriptures which he bringeth to proue the making & adoring of images be these: God made man of the slime of the earth after his owne image. Adam of his owne free will * called all the beasts of the field and foules of the aire by their proper names. * Abel of his owne accord presented a sacrifice vnto God of the firstlings of his flocke. * Noe after the flood of his owne head built an altar vnto the Lord and offered thereon. So Abraham of himselfe erected an altar in the honor and glory of God. * Iacob also, when he had in his sleepe seene the angels of God ascending and descending by the ladder, after he rose of his owne motion, set vp a stone on the ground, where his head lay, and powred

* Genes. 1.
* Genes. 2.
* Genes. 4.
* Genes. 8.
* Genes. 28.

oile

oile on it, and named the place Bethel, and we do not read that God for this cause was angrie with him. Againe, the same Iacob worshipped in the top of his staffe. Not that he worshipped the staffe, but him that held it in a signe of loue.

Then alleaging the brasen serpent, and the Cherubins made by Moses and Salomon, he descendeth to other testimonies of Esay and Dauid, as fit for his purpose as salt for soze eies. Esay saith, [a] In those daies there shall be an altar vnto the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillor touching the ends thereof, and it shall be for a signe and a testimonie to the Lord in the land of Egypt. And Dauid the tuner of psalmes saith; [b] confession and beautie before him. And againe: Lord, I haue loued the comelines of thine house. And againe: [d] Thy face Lord will I seeke. And againe: [d] The rich among the people shall bow themselues before thy face. And againe: [f] The light of thy countenance is signed vpon vs.

If the scriptures be not horribly abused, let images on Gods name be adored.

[a] Esay. 19.
[b] Psal. 95.
[c] Psal. 25.
[d] Psal. 26.
[e] Psal. 44.
[f] Psal. 4.

These be the best proofes which Adrian or he that framed this letter in Adrians name could find in all the scriptures for the making and adoring of images, and these you see be very miserable. For what fellowship hath Adams act, Abels sacrifice, Noahs or Abrahams altar, Iacobs stone and staffe, Esaies title or pillor with images: or when Dauid spake of the face and countenance of God, did he so much as dreame of the grauen and wooden figures, which you would erect vnto God against his heauenly will and truth?

Children would not thus play with scriptures.

Phil. In deed these places be not altogether so pertinent as we could wish them: but the brasen serpent & the two Cherubins which Moses set vp, directly make for images.

Theop. They do not warrant your erecting of images: and your adoring of images they vtterly ouerthrow. For the brasen serpent was a figure of Christ, as we find confirmed by his owne words in the * gospell of S. Iohn: and yet though God * commanded Moses to make it, and healed the dreadfull plague of the people by it, and the Iewes had kept it aboue 700. yeres as a monument of Gods mercy toward them in the desert, when they began but * to burne incense to it, Ezechiah the religious king of Iudah brake it in peeces and is commended by the holy Ghost, namely for that act.

The brasen serpent made by Moses.
* Iohn. 3.
* Numb. 21.
* 1. Kings. 18

And broken in peeces by Ezechias when it was abused.

This example we would haue you aduisedly to marke. A figure of Christ erected by Gods own commandement, and seruing to put all Israels posterity in mind of the wonders which their fathers saw in the wildernes, when it was abused was defaced, and the fact allowed by Gods owne mouth. Hence we conclude, that the painted & carued images of Christ himselfe may not be adored, and if they be, they may be removed, though they were deliuered euen by the Apostles, as yours were not.

The Cherubines were made by Gods appointment, but not set in ane place for the people to adore them, or so much as to see them: nay the priests themselues were kept from the sight of them; * onely the high priest, once euery yeere, went into the second tabernacle where they stood, the vaile being closely drawne betweene that & the first tabernacle, where the rest of the priests serued. And since Gods care was so great that they should not be seene; we infer, his will was as cleere that they should not be worshipped, for so much as they could not be worshipped vnlesse they were seene.

* Hebr. 9.

The Cherubins not seen much lesse worshipped.

Phil. Yet this sheweth that God would haue them made. Theop. But not seene, much lesse worshipped. And as for the making of them, Gods act aboue his law is no warrant for you to breake his law. By his law he restraineth you, not himselfe from the making of any such similitudes. And therefore though he might for causes to him knowne go against his law, you may not. This rule Tertullian will teach you. It is no hurt that the same God by his law forbade a similitude to be made, & by an extraordinary precept commanded the similitude of the brasen serpent to be made. If thou wilt obey God thou hast his law, make thee no similitude. If thou looke to the precept that was giuen after for making a similitude, then see thou imitate Moses. Make no image against the law, vnlesse God bid thee (as he did Moses.)

Tertul. de idolatria.

Fathers abused by Adriã, as well as scriptures.

Phil. The fathers who knew the scriptures as well as you, were of an other mind, as you may see by Adrians letters, auouching many and good authorities out of them.

Nicen. synod. 2. act. 2. Eight fathers per-

Theoph. Adrian dealeth with the fathers as he did with the scriptures. Eight of them he alleageth & abuseth euery one of them. Augustine saith, * The image of God what is

it

it but the face of God in which the people of God are signed? And Ambrose; * when we worship in Christ the diuine image and crosse, do we part him in sunder? The diuine image and countenance, which these fathers speake of, is the brightnes of Christes diuine nature and glorie: his crosse is his death and humilitie: those Adrian grossely supposeth to be such as grauers & caruers do make with their hands. And where Cyrill saith, Faith painteth (or liuely describeth vnto vs) the word which was in the forme of God: that euidence and clearenes of the Gospell setting the sonne of God in his diuine maiestie before our eies, your holy father lewdly misconstrueth for painting with pencils and colours. Athanasius, Chrysostome and Basill, drawing similitudes from the painters art, & emperours image, to other purposes, are violently wrested to make for that they neuer meant nor thought. Gregory Nissene confesseth he had often seene the storie of the passion pictured, but he neither saith in Churches, nor alloweth it anie worship.

uerted in this one Epistle.

The fathers draw similitudes from prophane things, and Adrian wresteth them vnto diuine things.

Hierom is brought in last and made to say that which not only no learned father euer uttered, but no sober nor christian man euer imagined. As (God) gaue leaue to the Gentils to worship things made with hands, and to the Iewes (to worship) the carued works and two golden cherubins which Moses made, so hath he giuen to vs Christians the Crosse, and to paint and reuerence the images of good works, and so to get him to like of our labour. The two first points, that God gaue leaue to the Gentils to worship things made with hands, and licenced the Iewes to adore the works and shapes of cherubins which Moses made, are so directlie against the truth of the scriptures, and rule of our faith, that nothing can be more: the last may well be written by him that wrate the first, and as soone true as the rest. And were it found in Hieroms workes, as it is not, it would but argue that other mens hands had been in Hieroms bookes as well as his: which is no newes in the most of the fathers Greeke and Latine that you haue left vs at this day: but of that paines Adrian himselfe hath eased vs by alleaging that which is not in all S. Hieroms volumes.

Hierom made to speake open impietie.

No such thing in all Hieroms works.

Amidst the route of these follies and forgeries, com-

The place of Basill as set amidst these depravatiõs of scriptures and fathers. The same place otherwise repeated in the same Councell, and therfore the first or the last must needs be forged. *Nicen Synod. act. 4. ex ep. Basil. ad Iulian. Imperator.*

meth in that bastard place of Basill, no where found in all his writings; which, besides the apparant slander there fastned on the Apostles and Churches of Christ against all truth, the legats of Adrian in this verie Synod convince of a manifest and mightie corruption in the words that be most materiall for your purpose. Phil. Did the legats of Adrian contradict their maisters allegation? Theop. The same place being rehearsed by Demetrius a Notarie out of the booke it selfe, which the legats of Rome offered in the Councell, sounded far otherwise than Adrian had cited it. For where Adrian in his letters alleaged, *Hoc enim traditum nobis ab Apostolis non est prohibendum:* This being deliuered vs by the Apostles, must not be prohibited: the booke which they read, had *Hoc enim nobis a sanctis Apostolis non est prohibitum:* this is not forbidden vs by the Apostles. It is one thing to say, The Apostles did deliuer it, and an other to say, The Apostles did not prohibit it. Betweene these two reports, if you weigh them wel, you shal find good difference. Phil. If you like not the former reading, take the latter, and that in sight is true. For the Apostles in particular words did not prohibit the making and worshipping of holy images. Theop. They needed not. God by his law long before had done it verie sufficientlie: and that standing in full force, there needed no new prohibition, since no authoritie could be greater than his, who had alreadie forbidden it. And yet by your leaue, the Apostles did not only propose the whole lawe of God, as * holy, iust, and good, but they namely touch the second precept, which we reason of; Saint Paul confessing the Iewes did well according to the law * to abhor idols, and that the Gentiles * were giuen ouer to their vile affections for turning the glorie of God to the image of a man; and S. Iohn requiring all Christians to beware the like, in saying, * Babes, keepe your selues from idols. Phil. From idols: but not from images. Theop. An image made with hands if it be set vp to God himselfe, and worshipped, is an idoll, as I haue proued; and therefore you must either renounce your adoring of images, which your forged Basill would establish, or else suffer them to stand for idoles, from which S. Iohn deterreth vs.

The apostles did not prohibit the making of images in special words, because God had done it sufficientlie before.

* Rom. 7.

* Rom. 2.
* Rom. 1.

* 1. Ioh. 5.

Phil. S. Augustine saith it is not an idoll except it be

Dei

Dei falsi & alieni simulachrum, the image of a false and strange God. And in that respect you do the images of Christ and his saints great wrong, to call them idols. Theop. S. Augustine in that place disputeth how Gedeons ephod should be said in the scripture to be fornication in the people, and the destruction of Gedeons house since it was (as he thought,) no likenes of any thing against the law, but an imitation of the priests apparell prescribed in ỹ law. And albeit to interpret himself, what he meant, when he said it was no idoll, he addeth by way of explication, (that is no shape of any false or strange God) yet doth he not limit the word to that continuall use: but rather graunteth, as his conclusion sheweth, that there were mo kinds of idols, & that this, though it were a garment in the law, & not an image against the law, yet was it in sort an idoll, and so his words import: *Factum est Gedeon & domi eius in scandalum, quia & hoc quoddã genus idoli quodãmodo erat.* This was the ruine of Gedeon & his house, because it was in some sense a kind of idoll. Tertullian will tell you the word is generall, and noteth the likenes or shape of any thing. *εἶδος græcè formam sonat, ab eo per diminutionem εἰδωλον deductum æquè apud nos formulam facit: igitur omnis forma vel formula idoli se dici exposcit,* This word εἶδος in greeke signifieth a shape, whence εἰδωλον is deriued as a diminutiue, and with vs signifieth any likenes: therefore euerie shape or likenes may well be called an idoll. Isidore repeating Tertullians words as worth the noting, addeth of his owne; *Idolum est simulachrum quod humana effigie factum & consecratum est.* An idoll is an image made after the shape of a man, and dedicated (vnto some religious vse.)

August. quæst. super Iud. li. 7. ca. 41.

Gedeons Ephod was an idoll, though it were not the image of a false God.

Aug. Ibidem.

Tertul. de Idolatria.

Isido. Originum lib. 5.

Phil. May, dedicated vnto some false God, and then it is rightlie an idoll. Theop. But Isidore saith generallie, that an image consecrated is an idoll: and consecration is the addicting of any thing to holy and diuine vses. Phil. That is not Isidores meaning. Theop. Those be Isidores words.

Phil. You heard S. Augustine say, it must be the image of a false God. Theop. S. Augustine doth not tie the word to that signification as you heard by his owne confession: and yet if you take false and strange gods, as S. Augustine doth, your adoration of painted and carued images will proue them to be false christs, and your selues to be

An image worshipped is a false

God, and consequently an idoll.

worshippers of false Gods. For if you worship Christ not after his will, but after your conceit, you worship now not Christ, but the fiction and imagination of your owne hearts; and that is a false Christ as Saint Augustine learnedlie and truely teacheth. *Quisquis talem cogitat Deum, qualis non est Deus, alienum Deum vtique & falsum in cogitatione portat.* Whosoeuer supposeth God to be that he is not, beareth a strange and false God in his cogitation. This else-where he calleth the idole of the heart, not only in pagans, but also in christians. Of the false fancies that pagans had of God, he saith: * *Prius id agimus vt idola in eorum cordibus confringamus.* The first thing that we labour is to breake downe those idoles in their hearts. Of the wrong imaginations of christians he saith, * *Quæ omnia idola cordis sunt:* all which are idoles of the heart.

Quæst. super Iosua. lib. 6. cap. 29.

The idoll of the heart.

* *August de verbis Dom. secundū Mat. sermo. 6.*

* *Idem in Ioan. tract. 19.*

Phil. A false opinion of his essence is an idole in the heart of man. Theop. And so is a wrong persuasion of his will or worship. Hierom saith, *Vsque hodie in domo Dei, quæ interpretatur ecclesia, sine in corde animáque credentium ponitur idolum, quando nouum dogma conflituitur.* Euen to this present day, an idole is set vp in the house of God, which is interpreted to be the Church, or else in the hearts and soules of the beleeuers, whē a new point of doctrine is deuised. And therefore generally resolueth of all errors, *Quod omne dogma contrarium veritati adoret opera manuum suarum, & conflituat idola in terra sua:* that euery opinion repugnant to truth worshippeth the works of his owne hands, and erecteth an idole in the land where it is. By the works of their owne hands, he meaneth the deuises of their hearts, as else-where he sheweth. *Heretici perdito mentis iudicio adorant idola quæ de corde suo finxerunt.* Heretikes with their wicked resolution of mind, (or else void of sense and feeling of mind) adore the idols which they haue framed in their owne hearts. S. Augustine citeth and commendeth the saying of Socrates. * *Vnumquemque Deum sic coli oportere, quomodo ipse se colendum esse præceperit.* Euerie God must be worshipped in such sort as he hath commanded himselfe to be worshipped. And thereupon inferreth, that if any would worship (the God of the Hebrews) otherwise than he him-selfe had willed, *non vtique illum colerent, sed quod ipsi finxissent,* they should not haue worshipped him, but their owne fiction.

Hieron. in Ier. cap. 32.

Euery false opinion of God is an idoll.

Hieron. in Esaiæ cap. 2.

Hieron. in Ose. cap. 4.

* *August. de consens. Euangelist. lib. 1. cap. 18.*

To serue God as we list, and not as he will, is idolatrie.

In

In this consisteth the chiefest ground of all religion. For God hath not charged vs to be curious in searching his essence, but to be carefull in obseruing his will. He neither taketh nor requireth any thing at our hands besides his worship. That if we pæld him according to his will, we honor him as our God: if we alter that which he hath appointed for himselfe, or adde any thing vnto it, he reiecteth all our seruice as done not vnto him, but to the conceit of our harts, which by nature is no God, and therefore an idoll. For this cause God is euery where so earnest with vs, that we should serue him not after our fansies, nor with our deuises, but answerable to his will reuciled in his word. You shall not do, euery man what seemeth him good in his owne eies: whatsoeuer I command you, that take heed you do that (and nothing else.) Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there from. And when the Iewes thought to be very forward in deseruing God with their deuotions and oblations, they were repelled with this demand, *who requireth this of your hands? Our Sauior himselfe assureth you that *you worship God in vaine, if your feare (or seruice) towards him be taught (you) *by the precept of men.

Why the seruing of God otherwise than he willeth is idolatry.

Deut. 12.

*Esa. 1.

*Mat, 15.

*Esa. 29.

Phil. All this we admit. Theop. Then when we serue God besides his will, we serue not him, but the presumption of our owne harts which is an idoll: and this deuotion of ours, though we wholy intend it to him and earnestly vrge it on him, yet is it the worship of idols, & not of God, since he vtterly renounceth it as none of his, and being refused by him as iniurious to his truth, though it be appointed for him as most fit in our fansies, it must of necessity be counted idolatry.

Phil. What is this to the image of Christ, whereof we were reasoning? Theoph. Vnlesse you can proue that Christ will be serued with materiall and artificiall images, and is content to accept that honor as done to himselfe, which is pælded vnto them, your adoring them maketh them idols and your selues idolaters. For they be things made with hands, which you can not worship without apparant idolatry.

Phil. We worship not them, but him that is represented by them. Theop. It lieth not in your power to diuide ado-

The worshipping of

ration

Christ by an image except himselfe cõmande it, is idolatry.

ration betwixt Christ and his image, or with your intention to assigne that honor vnto him, which you do to the works of your owne hands without his warrant. You must know whether he will accept it as done to him selfe, before you may venture to convey it vnto him by dead and dumbe creatures. Phil. We doubt not of that. Theop. Your confidence will not helpe the matter till his commandement be shewed.

They must shew where Christ commanded him selfe to be worshipped by an image.

Phil. Al men, you know, think that done to themselues which is done to their image. Theop. But Christ, that is God as well as man, is not so content. Phil. How proue you that? Theop. May the proofe must be yours, since the fact is yours. You must shew that Christ alloweth of the honor done to a painted or carued image as done to him selfe. If you can not, you convince your selus of sacrilege, presumption & impietie, when you giue that honor which is due to Christ, vnto a stocke or a stone set vp in his stead without his leaue or liking. For this precept, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, & him onely shalt thou serue, excludeth as wel images as creatures from being partakers of his diuine honor: and the image which you make, be not so good as the creatures which God made, which yet in no wise may be worshipped.

And so you do, as shall appeare by the confession of your fellowes.

Phil. You reason as * if we gaue diuine honor vnto images, which we do not. Theop. Your schooles with one consent do giue the same honor vnto the image which is due to the originall: that is diuine honor to the image of Christ. If you be ashamed of that error, you rid your selues of some danger, but you leaue your church in the briars; which hath all this while professed and practised that idolatrous doctrine.

*Fortalicium fidei contra Iudæos, Saracenos, &c. lib. 3. consideral. 4. argument. 24. Diuine honor giuen to images by the Church of Rome.

Phil. Our Church neuer gaue images any diuine honor. Theo. The foxtres of your faith is direct against you: *Crux Christi & eius imago venerari debent adoratione latriæ. Et hæc est opinio Thomæ in 3. sententiarum distinctione 2. The crosse & image of Christ ought to be worshipped with such honor as is due vnto God. And of this opinion is Thomas vpon the 3. of the sentences, the 2. distinction. Phil. Holcot was not of that mind as you find it testified in the same place. Theo. But Holcots reward was to be repelled with his contradiction, because your church toke part with Thomas. And

so

so your fortresse saith, * *Licet hoc rationabiliter videatur dictũ, tamen loquendum est, vt plures & communis opinio tenet oppositum.* Though this saying (of Holcot) seeme reasonable, yet we must go with the multitude, & the common opinion holdeth the contrary. One of your Italian bishops, who knew better than you what the Church of Rome holdeth, saith: *Ergo fatendum est fideles in Ecclesia adorare imaginem sine quo volueris scrupulo: quin & eo illam venerari cultu quo & prototypon eius. Propter quod, si illum habet adorari latria, & illa habet adorari latria.* We must therefore confesse, that the faithfull in the Church do without any qualificatiõ ADORE THE IMAGE (which they see) yea with the same kind of worship that is due to the originall. Wherefore if that haue diuine honor, the image MVST HAVE THE LIKE DIVINE HONOR.

*Fortalicium fidei Ibidem. Iacob. Nauclan an 1. cap. ad Roman.

Phil. We giue not this honor to the image, but rather to the original. Theop. Your church in plaine words giueth the same honor to the image, that is due to the originall, which in Christ must be diuine honor: and when you be charged with it, you say you giue it not to the image, but rather to the original: & so by your latter euasion you subuert your former assertion. For why dare you not giue diuine honor to ỹ image of Christ, but onely because it were manifest & apparant idolatry so to do: And if that be true, why then do you teach all men to giue the same honor to the image of Christ that is due to Christ himselfe? You conclude it must be done, and yet you confesse it can not be done without a sacrilegious iniury to Christ, if his diuine honor be giuẽ to an image made of earth, & framed by art.

They giue Christs honor to an image, and then they say they do it in respect of Christ.

Phil. You vnderstand vs not. When we giue diuine honor to the image in respect of Christ, we giue it to Christ and not to the image. Theoph. God grant you vnderstand your selues. You first dishonor the sonne of God, by exhibiting the heauenly seruice that is due to him, to an image made with hands: & then with a shift of words you think to delude him in telling that he may not chose but like of your doings, because you ment it vnto him, when you did it to a dumbe creature for his sake. But awake out of your frensie, God will not be thus mocked by your *relations or intentions. He is zealous of his honor, he will not resigne it to any other, & namely not to graue (or carued) images. If against his word, against his will,

The papists thinke to shift off the art of idolatry with a logical respect. Esa. 42. God respecteth the act, if it be against his law, and not the intentiõ.

will, against his truth and glory, you impart it to any other, or take vpon you to conuey it to him by creatures or images, as if he were not present in all places with might and maiestie to receiue the seruice that is done vnto him; you not onely make new gods, but you reiect him as no God, who alone is the true God, and will be serued without mate or meane of your deuising.

Phil. Our Lord shewing what account he maketh of such as represent his person, saith: In as much as you haue done it to one of the least, you haue done it vnto me. Theop. Did Christ speake that of images? Phil. No: but thereby you see, it passeth vnto Christ, whatsoeuer is done in his name or for his sake to others. Theop. If you meane such charitable reliefe as Christ hath commanded vs to yeeld to our brethren, in respect of his will, their need, and our duty: you say well, we haue for that the manifest precept and promise of our Sauior accepting it as done to himselfe whatsoeuer is done to any of his brethren or seruants: but if you leape from men to images, and from humane comfort to diuine honor, you leape too farre to haue the sequele good.

Mat. 25. Christ will haue charity shewed to others for his sake, but not diuine honor to any creature or image

Phil. If diuine adoration may not be giuen to images, yet humane reuerence may without any danger. Theop. Religious honor may not: and as for externall and ciuill reuerence, whether that may be giuen to images, can be no doubt of doctrine, nor point of faith. The one is impious to be defended, the other superfluous to be discussed. Phil. So you giue them either we care not. Theop. If you flie from adoration to salutation, and stand not on pietie but on ciuilitie, then is it a question for philosophers and not for diuines, and to be decided rather in the schooles than in the Church: neither can any man be praised or preiudiced for vsing or omitting that kind of curtesie, which neither the gospell nor good manners conuince to be necessary.

Whether ciuil reuerence may be giuen to images, can be no question of religion.

Phil. Should we not * honor Christ and his saints by all the meanes we can? Theop. Christ you must honor with all power, and all your strength, as being the sonne of the liuing God: but you may not fasten his honor to any image or creature, since he is alwaies present to behold and willing to receiue as well the religious submis-

Yes, but you honor not him when you honor an image.

sion

tion of knees, hands and eies, as the inward sighes and grones of the hart, neither can you bestow the least of these gestures on an image in your praiers without open and euident wrong to him to whome you should yeld them.

Phil. For adoring of images I am not so earnest, as for hauing them in the Church, that they may put vs in remembrance of the bitter pains and death, which it pleased our Lord to suffer for our sakes: and that I am sure is Catholike, though adoration be not. Theop. We do not gaine-say the remembring or honoring the death & blood-shedding of our Sauior: he is not onely dull but wicked, that intermitteth either: but this is the doubt betwixt vs, whether we should content our selues with such meanes as he hath deuised for vs and commended vnto vs; thereby daily to renue the memorie of our redemption, or else inuent others of our owne heads fit perhaps to prouoke vs to a naturall and humane affection, but not fit to instruct our faith. The hearing of his word and partaking of his mysteries, were appointed by him to lead vs and vse vs to the continuall meditation of his death and passion, a crucifix was not: he knowing that images, though they did intertaine the eies with some delight, yet might they snare the soules of many simple and silie persons: and preferring the least seed of sound faith beholding and adoring him in spirit and truth, before all the dumbe shewes and imagery that mans wit could furnish to win the eie and moue the hart with a carnall kind of commiseration and pitie, such as we find in our selues, when we behold the torments and pangs of anie miserable or malefactor punished amongst vs.

Christ hath appointed vs better meanes thā an image to remember his death, & those the papists despise and preferre their owne deuises before them.

Phil. All *meanes are good that bring vs in mind of his death. Theop. By sight you may learne the maner of his death, but neither the cause, nor the fruits, which are the chiefest things that the sonne of God would haue vs remember in his death: and you very peruersely and wickedly keeping the people from those meanes which Christ ordained, as the hearing of the word, and right vse of the sacraments (which you drowned in a strange tong that the people vnderstood not) set them to gaze on a rode, and taught them to giue all possible honor both bodilie

*If they be not dangerous, and withall superfluous.

bodily and ghostly to that which they saw with their eies, bearing them in hand it passed from the image, to the originall: that is from a dead and senseless stocke to the glorious and euerliuing sonne of God: which in effect Rom.1. was nothing else but to worship and serue the creature, before the creator which is blessed for euer.

Phil. You are now besides the matter. We speake of hauing images for remembrance, not of adoring them for religion, and that is catholike, if this be not. Theop. Since the hauing of images being neither deliuered nor allowed by Christ nor his Apostles, is superfluous, & the abusing of them is so dangerous, & yet so frequent and often, that in all ages and places it hath intrapped many Gentils, Iewes & Christians, I see no reason why for a curious delight of the eies, which the Apostles neglected and the primitiue Church of Christ wanted, we should scandalize the ignorant and exercise the learned, as for a necessary point of catholike doctrine.

Neither Christ nor his Apostles deliuered or allowed images.

Phil. Had the Apostles and their scholers no images? Theop. Had they thinke you? Phil. Remember you not the image which Nicodemus ꝑ came to Christ by night, made with his owne hands & left to Gamaliel S. Pauls master: & he to Iames, & Iames to Simeon & Zachæus. This report you shal find written by * Athanasius 1300. yeres since: & besides that it is amongst his workes at this day, it was repeated 800. yeres ago in the * second Nicene councel as Athanasius writing. Theop. By this let the world iudge both of your cause & cunning. A thing done by the confession of your owne stories aboue 760. yeres after Christ, vnder Constantine the sift not long before the second Nicene Councel, is coloured with Athanasius name, as written by him that was dead 400. yeres before the matter hapned, & not only published with his writings, but inserted into ꝑ second Nicene Councel as his worke, whereas the Bishops then assembled were all aliue when this outrage was attempted by the Iewes not 24. yeres before the calling of that Synod. Such fables & forgeries do wel become the quarell you haue in hand, but they will neuer proue your hauing of images to be Catholik or Apostolik. Phil. * In deed our stories do mention such an accident at ꝑ time which you name: but if it be true, though it be

*Libell. Athan. de passion. Imaginis Christi.
*Nicen. Synod. 2. actio 4.

* Sigebert. in anno 765.
* Fortalicium fidei, lib. 3. consid. 10. mirab. 5.
* Vincent. speculi histor. lib. 24. c. 1. 160.

* In deed they do; and therefore looke to

be not so old as Athanasius, we care not. Theo. He that will forge must not stick to ly: lying is the very ground of forging: & of a liar we looke for no truth. And yet this tale of Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Iames, Simon & Zacheus, deliuering an image frō hand to hand, is not the assertion of the author, but the rude report of a poore ignorant man fathering his image on them that neuer were Christians, as Gamaliel was not, and that 700. yeeres after their deaths without any proofe saue onely by hereſay. By such legends you may soon proue what you will: but he that hath any sparke of christian courage or wisedome, will vtterly abhor these lies as feeling the grosnesse of them with his fingers.

your 2. Nicene councell what grosse forgeries are in it.

Phi. Since you so much dislike our proofes that the Apostles and the primitiue Church had images, can you proue they had none? The. Both your discretiō serue you to put vs to proue the negatiue. Phil. You affirm they had none: our demand is how you know that. Th. You cannot proue they had: and that is cause sufficient for vs to auouch they had not. Phil. Is that al you can say? Theo. If it were, you cannot void it: but we haue euident proofs that the church of Christ succeeding the apostles had none, and thence we cōcinde the apostles deliuered none: otherwise the Church would not so soon haue reiected the traditiō of the apostles.

The apostles & the church succeding for 400. yeeres had no images, and all that was suffered in the Church for 600. yeeres, was the painting of stories.

Phil. You may be sure they would not. Theop. And since they did reiect images, *ergo* it was no apostlike tradition. Phil. How proue you they did reiect them? Theop. The Christians were charged by the pagans for hauing no images, and they not only confessed so much, but also defended it, as most agreeable with the law of God. In Arnobius the heathen say of the Christians, *Cur nullas aras habent, nulla templa, nulla nota simulachra*? Why haue they no altars, no temples, no (open or) knowen images? In Origen Celsus sayth, *Hij non patiuntur vel templa, vel aras, vel simulachra & statuas intueri.* The Christians can not abide to beholde temples, or altars, or images.

The gentils obiected this to the first Christians that they had no images. *Arnob aduer. gentes lib. 8. Origen. contra Celsum lib. 7.*

In making their answere the Christians agnised they had none, & alleaged the law of God to proue they should haue none. Clemens saith, *Nobis non est imago sensilis de materia sensili, sed quæ percipitur intelligentia.* We haue no image that is materiall and seene with eyes, but (onely) such as is conceiued with vnderstanding. And addeth this reason, * We are plainly

What the Christians answered. *Clemens Alexandr. oratio exhortatoria ad gentes.* * *Ibidem.*

 The Church next the apostles, reiected images.

plainly forbidden to vse that deceitfull art (of making images.) Thou shalt not make, saith the prophet, the likenes of any thing. The * Christians and Iewes, saith Origen, when they heare (the law of God) thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, nor the likenes of any thing: neither shalt thou bow downe to them nor serue them, not onely refuse these temples, altars and images of gods, but if neede be, choose rather to die. And extending this as well to the image of the true God, as of those that were no gods, he saith, * *Nec simulachra quidem nos veneramur, quippe qui Dei vt inuisibilis ita & incorporei formam nullam effigiamus.* We reuerence not images, as making no figure to God, who is inuisible and without all bodily shape. So Arnobius, What image shall I make to God, whose image, if you rightfully iudge, man himselfe is? And Lactantius as you heard before affirmed, There could be no religion, wheresoeuer there was an image.

*Origen. contra Celsum. lib. 7.

* *Ibidem.*

Arnob. contra gentes. lib. 8.

Lib. 2. cap. 19.

The woman that was cured of the bloodie flixe by Christ erected an image vnto him as vnto her benefactor, her selfe being an heathen.

Phil. These spake not of the christian images, but of the pagans: such as indeed we may neither worship, nor haue. Theop. They speake namely of themselues which were Christians: confessing they neither had nor might haue any image of God. Phil. Not of the Godhed, but of Christ and his saints they might notwithstanding these words; and it is euident by Eusebius they had. For the woman that was cured by Christ of the bloodie issue, erected an * image of brasse vnto him in Cesarea where she dwelt, vnder the feet of which image grew a strange herbe healing all diseases so soone as it touched the brasen skirt of his garment. This image remained togither with the herbe to the time of Eusebius, and after till Iulian the apostata in spite of Christ brake it in peeces, and set vp his own image in place therof, which God strake with fire from heauen in reuenge of his sonne so dishonored by Iulian, and threw the head of Iulians image from the bodie, and pitching it with the face downward into the earth, and blasting the rest with lightening for a terror to all that euer after should offer the image of his sonne any reproch or misuse: as you may read in Sozomene. And this example is a faire warning for you that haue beheaded and burned so many images of Christ and his saints within this realme.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 18.

Sozomen. li. 5. cap. 21.

Theop. This image the woman that was healed, erected

in

in the citie where she dwelt as a monument of the mighty power which our sauior had shewed on her: she being then an heathen and not instructed in religion, & thinking therby to prouoke others to harken after him and seeke for his helpe as she had done. And when many trusted not her wordes, it pleased god not only to ratifie her report as true, but to shew the Gentils by the wonderful euent of ꝑ herbe there growing what vertue was in his sonne to cure all their griefs thereby to lead them the rather to beleeue in him, that they might be saued by him. In this we dispraise not the womans purpose minding to celebrate the benefit which she receiued at our sauiors hands, the best way that she then knew: & we honor the goodnes of God in preparing the harts of vnbeleeuers by means of this miracle to be redy to imbrace his sonne: detesting the wickednes of Iulian that to discouer his contempt of Christ & malice against Christ (whose faith he had openly renoūced) amōgst other villanies which he offred, caused the pagans in a triumph to draw this image about the streetes, & breaking it in pieces to set vp the image of himself: which God ouerthrew with fire frō heaue, not in defence of ꝑ brasen shape; but of his holy name prophaned & illuded by this apostata.

Iulian ouerthrew this image in detestation of Christ his person and doctrine.

Phil. This image the apostles saw and suffred. Theo. A memorial of their masters act not abused by the people, and erected before they came to preach the gospel to that place, they might suffer: but they neuer taught men to make the like, nor allowed any to worship that. Phi. We thinke they learned the setting vp of this image from the apostles. Theo. Eusebius saith, they did it of an heathenish custome, and not of an apostolike instruction. His wordes are, And no maruel, that the heathens which were healed of our sauiour did him this (honour,) for so much as we haue seene the images of his apostles Paul and Peter and of Christ himselfe drawen in colours and kept in tables, which kind of honour, antiquitie of a custome which they vsed when they were heathens, was woont to yeeld to such as they counted (Benefactors &) sauiors. Phi. By that you see the images of Christ and his apostles were expressed in colours and reserued by the ancient christians long before Eusebius.

Eusebius iudgement of the womans making this Image.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 18.

This setting vp of an Image vnto Christ is counted by Eusebius an heathenish custome.

The. Eusebius doth not report it as a thing either openly receiued in churches, or generally vsed of all christians;

Images came first from heathens vnto Christ.

but as a secret and seldome matter, rising from the persuasion and affection of some which whiles they were heathen, had yelded that honour to other of their friends and fautors, to whom they were most beholding.

Images reiected in Spaine. *Concil. Eliber. canon. 36.*

If or had the apostles deliuered any such tradition, or the primitiue Church of Christ vsed any publike erection of images as you suppose, would the councell of Eliberis in Spaine assembled about the time of Constantine the great, in plaine words haue banished thē out of their Churches? *Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.* We haue decreed that pictures ought not to be in the Churches, least that which is worshipped or adored be painted on walles. Would S. Augustine

Aug. de consent. Euangel. lib. 1. cap. 20.

thinke you, haue pronounced them worthy to erre, which sought Christ and his apostles in pictures and paintings, if the people had been taught that way to seeke him? *Sic omnino errare meruerunt qui Christum & apostolos eius non in sanctis codicibus sed in pictis parietibus quæsierunt.* So they deserued to erre, which sought Christ & his apostles not in the sacred scriptures but in painted walles.

Images reiected in Africa.

Or would Epiphanius haue rent the image, which he found hanging in the Church by Ierusalem, and pronounced such painted imagery, notwithstanding it represented Christ or one of his saints, to be contrary to the scriptures, & to the religion of Christ. His words are, (When I entred the Church to pray,) I found hanging there in the entrance of the said Church, a stained and a painted cloth hauing the image as it were of Christ or one of the saints. When I sawe this, that against the authoritie of the scriptures the image of a man was hanged vp in the Church, I did teare it in sunder. And I pray you hereafter to commaund, that such clothes repugnant to our religion, be not hanged in the Church of Christ. It becommeth your fatherhood rather to haue this care to banish this superstition vnfit for Christes Church, and for the people committed to your charge. By this you may see that images were not receiued, much lesse adored in the Church of Christ, whiles these ancient fathers liued: and that to remoue them and keepe them out of the Church was then adiudged a seemely care for christian bishops, agreeable with the catholike profession, and publike vse of the Church of Christ in those daies.

Epiph. in epist. ad Iohan. Hierosolymitan.

Images erected as contrarie to the scriptures.

Phil.

Phi. Gregorie the first you know, was of another mind: that images should be suffred & not defaced in the Church. Theop. Gregorie liued 300. yeeres after the councell of Eliberis, and 200. after Epiphanius, in which time the painting of stories was crept into the Church, as an ornamēt for the naked walles, and a meane to set before the peoples eyes the liues and labours of the saints and martyrs: but that pictures or images in the Church should be worshipped or adored, Gregorie did in most manifest words abhorre, alleadging the law of God which we doe, that nothing made with hands should be adored (or serued.)

Gregorie disliked not painting of stories in the Church, but he condemned adoratiō of images. *Greg. lib. 9. ep. 9.*

Phi. Not with diuine honor. Theop. You meane with no part of that honor, which God requireth of vs. Phil. What else? They must not haue diuine honour in whole, or in part. Theop. Then must they haue none at all. For God requireth bodily honour no lesse than ghostly, as due to him: and by his law excludeth all things made with hands from hauing either, in saying, Thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor serue them. *Exod. 20.*

Phil. Bowing the knee, is not diuine honour, but such as we yeeld to parents and magistrates. Theop. Bowing the knee is a part of Gods honor, as also holding vp the hands, and lifting vp the eies: [a] To me, saith God, shall euery knee bow. [b] For this cause, saith Paul, do I bow my knees vnto the father of our Lord Iesus Christ: shewing that the bowing of our knees is an honour due to God, euen as the lifting vp of our hands and eies belongeth likewise vnto him. [c] As long as I liue, saith Dauid, I will magnifie thee on this maner, and lift vp my hands in thy name: [d] I wil saith the apostle, that men pray euery where, lifting vp pure hands. And so for the rest. [e] Vnto thee, saith Dauid, do I lift vp mine eies, thou that dwellest in the heauens. And againe, [f] Mine eies are euer vnto the Lord. And so of our sauiour when he prayed, S. Iohn reporteth, [g] He lift vp his eies to heauen and said. The outward honour therefore of eies, hands and knees, God requireth of vs as his due, though chiefly and principally the hart, which he will not suffer any man to haue besides himselfe, howsoeuer he allow those that present his goodnes & glory in blessing and iudging, as parents and magistrates, to haue some part of his corporal, but in no wise of his spiritual honour.

Submission of knees, hands, and eies are parts of Gods honor.
[a] Esai. 45.
[b] Ephes. 3.
[c] Psal. 63.
[d] 1. Tim. 2.
[e] Psal. 123.
[f] Psal. 25.
[g] Iohn. 17.

Magistrats & parents haue part of Gods externall honor, bicause they presente his person in iudging and blessing.

Phil. And so many images haue part of his externall, though not of his internall honor, which is the higher of the twaine, & meeter for the diuine maiestie. Theop. It is not in your hands to make allowance of Gods honor to whom you list; & againe, God himselfe hath made a plaine prohibition in this case that images shall haue no part of his externall honor. The words are as cleere as day light; thou shalt not bow downe to them. Phil. Not to the images of false Gods. Theop. It is but lost labor, to reason with such wranglers. Haue not I mainely proued that this precept expressely forbiddeth the image of the true God to be made or bowed vnto? Why then take you vp those shifts againe, which be false and refuted?

God hath prohibited that images should haue any part of his corporal honor.

Phil. If we may not bow to holie images as vnto things that be superior and better than man, yet we may imbrace & loue them, as things which we like, and that both by the vse of the Greeke tong and speech of the scripture is called adoration, as Tharasius the patriarche of Constantinople in his epistle to Irene the empresse & her son doth largely confirme. Theo. You put me in minde, what cunning was vsed in the second Nicene councell to saue your poppets vpright, and to set a colour on their vngodly decree that images should be worshipped. When they saw themselues not able to proue by scripture or father that images should be reuerenced and adored, and they had pronounced him* accursed that doubted of the adoration of images, your wise and worthy bishops thought it safest to shroud their wicked resolution vnder the doubtful and equiuocate sense of the word adoration: because προσκυνεῖν, in Greeke did signifie not onely to bowe for deuotion and religion, but also to imbrace for loue and affection, as friends and familiars when they happen to meete.

We must not bow but to that which is better than our selues. *Habetur Nicen. Synod. 2. act. 7.* What cunning was vsed in the second Nicene Councell to haue images adored. * *Tharasius Ibidem.*

So Tharasius and the whole synod defend the conclusion which they made in that councell. For shewing whose images they would haue to be receiued: they adde, *Sunt hæ adorandæ etiam, id est exosculandæ & amandæ. Idem enim hæc significant iuxta antiquam Græciæ dialectον. Nam προσκυνεῖν, & ἀσπάζεσθαι & φιλεῖν significat. quod quis φιλεῖ, id etiam προσκυνεῖ: & quod προσκυνεῖ, id omnino φιλεῖ.* These images (of Christ & his saints) are also to be adored, that is, to be kissed and loued. These words are all of one force. To adore doth signifie both to imbrace & to

Nicen. Synod. 2. act. 7. epist. Tharas. & totius Synodi ad Const. & Irenem.

to loue. For that which a man * loueth, that he adoreth: and that which he adoreth that he earnestly loueth. The naturall affection & loue which we beare toward our friends do witnes this. For so two (friends) when they meet (imbrace & salute each other.) And citing some places of the scripture where adoration is taken for a reuerence and louely salutation: as when * Iacob bowed himselfe before Esau, & Abraham before the people of Heth, & Dauid before * Ionathan & the Pharisies were noted by our sauior for * louing such magistrall obeisance, they infer; *Has quoq; adorandas & salutandas putamus.* We thinke images are (in like maner) to be adored and saluted: pretending it to be a matter of faith and christian pietie to adore images: & when they come to the vpshot, concluding nothing but an externall and ciuil kinde of imbracing or kissing, such as a man may giue to the coate which he weareth, to the meat which he eateth, to euery thing that he loueth, without respect of religion or thought of deuotion.

A man by this shift may adore his horse, and be no idolater.

* Gen. 33.
* Gen. 23.
* 1. Reg. 20.
* Luke 14.

Were not these bishops wel occupied to make this conclusion?

Phil. Then you should the sooner grant, that images may be adored, since they mean that kind of adoratiō which is without all danger of idolatry. Theo. Then you be wise diuines, to make adoration of images a point of catholike doctrine, since the bishops of Nice, whose actes you would seeme to follow, interprete adoration to be but a familiar and friendly kissing or saluting: such as men might yeeld to the manger where Christ lay swathed: to the houses which he entred: to the waters on which he walked: to the hils, deserts, highwaies, and cities where he praied, preached, iourneied or suffered: the adoration of which things and places I trust you will not make a part of the catholike faith.

A right stratagem of satan first to bring in adoration of images with an ambiguitie of words, then to set the people to adore them in plain deeds.

Phil. Compare you an image with a manger? Theo. It is the comparison of your owne councell in the verie same epistle: alleadging these words of Gregory the diuine, to iustifie their adoration of images: Worship *Bethleem*, adore the manger. If the stable and manger where Christ laie must haue the same adoration that images haue; yea that the crosse hath whereon Christ died: how shamefully is your Church fallen not onely from God, but euen from her owne councels, in allowing the very same honour to images, that is due to Christ himselfe?

* *Nicena synodi 2. act. 7. epist. Tharasij & totius Concilij.*

Phil. The crosse they did flatly adore: as their owne
Ibidem. wordes witnes, which presently insue. *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine.* We adore thy crosse O Lord. And that, as it should
Ibidem. seeme was a part of the Church seruice. For they say, *Cum viuificæ crucem, salutamus, conuenienter canimus:* when we salute the crosse that procured vs life, we do wel to sing; thy crosse Lord, we adore. Theo. So did they the speare which pierced
Ibidem. his side. The very wordes are. The spear, which opened thy sacred and life giuing side, we adore. But what they ment by that adoration they straightway expound: which ado-
Ibidem. ration is nothing else but a salutation, or an imbracing, if you
To kisse was a signe of fauor & loue: to bow a sign of subiection. so rather like to call it, as is heerby declared, for that we touch those things with our lips. Phil. Yet this is a kinde of adoration. Theo. But not such as your Church & schooles afterward defended & yeelded vnto material images, and crosses. For you in plaine wordes require λατρειαν, that is diuine honor for the wodden crosse and image of Christ, whereas the seconde Nicene councell in this epistle doth wholy renounce that, as a manifest & wicked erroz. And
The popish doctrine touching images agreeth not with the Councell which they would seeme to follow. therfore you do nothing lesse than accord with that councell which is so much in your mouths, they decreeing but a reuerent salutation, and you giuing diuine adoration to the image & crosse of Christ: which be doctrines mightilie repugning eth to other, if you can note them well, though the word adoration be vsed in both.

Two sensible changes in the adoration of images. And did you consent with them as you do not, neither their resolutiõ, nor yours is catholike: they entering farther than either scriptures or fathers before did lead them, & that vpon the doubtfull acception of the word adoring, & blind presumption that external reuerence (which they ment therby) might be giuen for loue, feare, fauor or curtesie without impairing the honor due to God: & you being deceiued by the heat of their speech, & taking adoration for a religious and deuout submission of body and soule, such
Christs crosse, that is, his death must be adored, but not the wood on which he hung. as belõged to the person himself represented by the image: and that in our sauior is diuine and heauenly honor.

Phil. Should not the crosse of Christ haue diuine honor?
Theo. The crosse being taken for his death & passion, as the scriptures vse the word, must be adored as the true & onely meane of our redemption & saluation: but the wood, on which he hung, may not, much lesse the figure of it, as you

now

nowe abuse it. You heard S. Ambrose say, that to adore the wood, on which the Lord died, was an heathenish error, & vanitie of the wicked: and before him Arnobius made this answere for al Christians: *Cruces nec colimus, nec optamus: vos planè, qui ligneos Deos consecratis, cruces ligneas vt Deorum vestrorum partes, forsitan adoratis:* Crosses we neither worship, nor wish for: you that dedicate woodden Gods, you happily adore wodden crosses as parts of your Gods. But what nede I farther refell that councell as not catholike which was presently reiected and pithily confuted by the bishops and churches of the west: whose labors are extant at this day, brought to light by men of your owne religion, and saued from the moths which you ment should consume them? Thither we send you, there you shall finde both your adoration of images disclaimed as vncatholike, & the reasons and authorities of your second Nicene councell, throughly scanned & scattered, almost 800. yeres before our time.

Ambro. de obitu Theodos.

Arnob. aduers. gentes, lib. 8.

Phi. That book we receiue not, as thinking it to be rather some late forgerie of yours than a monument of that antiquitie. Theo. If you receiue not the bookes that were safe in your own keeping, & published by your nearest friends, howe should we trust the corruptions that are framed to your purposes and no where found but in your owne libraries? Phi. Since you distrust our written records, why do you not beleeue the faithfull report of the Church, which is the pillour of truth, & cannot be corrupted? Theo. May since forgeries be so rife, that no father is free from them, and so grosse that euery childe may discerne them, why doe not you beleeue the report of God himselfe, the founder and builder of the Church; and that witnessed in his word, of which there is no suspition, and against the which there is no exception? Phi. As though we did not.

You reiect the bookes that were in your owne keeping, and will haue vs receiue what you list at your hands though it be neuer so false.

Theo. Then for adoration of images, which you defend, shew what president you haue in the word of God. Phi. We need not. Theo. We know you cannot. Phi. And I reply, we nede not. Theo. Doth it concerne the christian faith & catholike religiõ which the godly must professe, or no? Phi. It doth. Theo. Then must you shew some authoritie for it in the sacred scriptures, or else they must repell it as impious. Phi. We haue it by tradition from the apostles. Theo. You would haue wrested so much out of S. Basill

It can be no point of faith that may not be proued by the scriptures.

but that your cunning failed you. Phil. From them we had it. Theop. We say you had no such thing from them: and further we adde, that if it be a matter of doctrine and beliefe, as you make it, you must haue it testified in their writings, and not concealed among their traditions.

They may soone be catholik if they forge as fast as they haue done, & then measure catholicisme by those forgeries

Phil. No sir, we beleeue many things (whereof this is one) that are not written, but were deliuered vs by secret succession. Theo. The greater is your sinne, & the vnsounder is your Creede. In matters of faith you should beleeue nothing but that which is expressly warrãted by the scriptures. And therfore in this and other points of your Romish deuotion now brought to triall, if you want the foundation of true faith and religion, in vaine do you seeke to make a shew of catholicisme with such patches & pamflets, as monkes and friers haue forged and coloured with the names of fathers. The Catholike Church of Christ neuer receiued nor beleeued any point of faith vpon tradition without the scriptures.

The Rhemish Testament vpon the 2. Thes. 2. How largely the word tradition is taken amongst the fathers.

Phil. *We haue to the contrary plaine scriptures, all the fathers, most euident reasons, that we must either beleeue traditiõs, or nothing at all.* Theo. We know you can brag; but you haue neither scripture, father nor reason to impugne that which we affirme. Phi. For traditions we haue. The. Tradition is any thing that hath bene deliuered or taught, by word of mouth or by writing, touching the grounds of faith, or circumstances and ceremonies of christian religion. And therefore when you muster the fathers to disproue the scriptures, and to establish an vnwritten faith vnder the credit of traditions, you corrupt the writers, and abuse the readers. Phil. How can we doe that, when we bring you the very words of the authors themselues? Theop. How can you chose but do it, when you force the fathers to speake against themselues? Phi. Do we?

The Rhemish Test. fol. 559.

Theo. Your Rhemish translators, perceiuing the weight of their whole cause to lie on this, haue marshalled nine fathers in a ranke, namely: S. Chrysostome, S. Basill, S. Hierome, S. Augustine, S. Epiphanius, S. Irenæus, S. Tertullian, S. Cyprian, and Origen; but to what purpose, can you tell? Phil. To proue that we must either beleeue traditions or nothing. Theo. Beleeue them, as articles of our faith, or exercises of our profession? Phi. Why make you

that

that distinction? Theoph. Because the very same fathers, that say traditions must be receiued besides the scriptures, auouch likewise, as I before haue shewed, that no matter of faith or of any moment to saluation must be receiued or beleeued without scriptures. Now choose whether you will grant a flat contradiction in them, or conclude with vs, *ergo* the traditions which they meane, be no partes nor points of the christian faith. And so these nine fathers, on whose credits you thought to plant your late found faith, hold nothing with you, but rather against you.

This is their maner of alledging fathers throughout their Rhemish Testament.

Phil. How make you that appeare? Theop. View them once more. We haue their plaine confession that all things necessary to saluation are comprised in the scriptures. You produce them to witnes that your traditions be not comprised in the scriptures: *ergo* by your owne deponents we conclude that your traditions be neither necessary to saluation, nor points of the catholike faith, without which we cannot be saued. Looke wel to this issue they must either dissent from your religion, or from themselues.

Phil. Your *maior* is not yet proued. Theop. Yes, with firme & surer authorities, than those be which you bring; let the places be skanned, which I before rehearsed, & the matter left to the iudgement of the reader; or if you be loth to looke so farre backe, examine shortly these that follow.

[a] The holy scriptures inspired from heauen, are sufficient for all instruction of truth, saith Athanasius. [b] The gospell, saith Chrysostome, containeth all things: [c] whatsoeuer is requisite for saluation, all that is fully laid downe in the scriptures. In the two Testamēts, saith Cyril, [d] euery word (or thing) that pertaineth to God may be required and discussed. [e] Sufficient to vs for saluatiō is the truth of (Gods) precepts, saith Ambrose. And Augustine, [f] There were chosen to be written, such things as seemed (to the holy ghost) sufficient for the saluation of the faithfull. Vincentius Lirinensis; whom you greatly boast of, but without all cause, agreeth with the rest, that [g] The Canon of the scripture is perfect and sufficient and more than sufficient, to all things. And againe, Not that, saith he, [h] The Canon alone is not sufficiēt for al things; as it were taking great heed least he should seeme to denie the fulnes of the scriptures which you purposely impugne vnder a colour of catholicisme by his writings.

[a] *Athan. contra gentes.*
[b] *Chrysost. hom. 1 ad Tit.*
[c] *Idem opera imperfect. in Mat. hom. 41.*
[d] *Cyril. in Leuit. lib. 5.*
[e] *Ambrosi. Hexamer. li. 1. cap. 6.*
[f] *August. in Ioan. tract. 44.*
[g] *Vincent. aduersheret.*
[h] *Ibidem.*

Now

All that the Iesuits can infer out of these fathers is this, that their owne traditions be not necessary to saluation.

I owe cite not onely nine, but nine score fathers if you will, for traditions, and the more you stir, the worse you speede. For the traditions which they mention be either points of faith or not. If they be, then by the generall confession of all antiquitie, they must be warranted by the scriptures, or else we must reiect them. If they be no parts nor consequents of the christian faith, then do not those fathers weaken our assertion, when we say that al points of faith must be proued by the scriptures, & this we gaine besides, that the traditions which you make the groundworke of all your religion, as they be not written, so be they not necessary to saluation.

Tradition is good if it consent with the scriptures.

Phil. The faith it selfe is proued by tradition. Theo. That doctrine which the apostles deliuered by worde of mouth, the very same they put afterward in writing that it might be the touchstone and triall of truth in times to come: but this is nothing to such vnwritten verities as be different from the scriptures. Teach what you will by tradition, so it accord with the written word of God; we be not against it: but you may not build any point of faith vpon tradition, except the scriptures confirme the same.

The Iesuits doctrine dependeth on tradition of their owne making.

Phil. This is an error of yours, which you seeke to bolster against the Church. Theo. You giue vs words, we giue you proofes; this which you call an error of ours was taught and receiued in the primatiue Church for a catholike truth; and except you can shewe some points of faith which the fathers beleeued vpon tradition without scriptures, the world wil suspect that you make traditions but a cloake for your heresies.

The Rhemish Testament. 2. Thes. 2.

Phil. S. *Augustine often writeth that many of the articles of our religion & points of highest importance, are not so much to be prooued by scriptures, as by tradition.* Theo. You bely so many, that it is no newes for you to bely S. Austen. Where saith he so?

The Rhemish Test. *Ioidem.*

Phil. *Namely touching, that in no wise we could beleeue that children in their infancie should be baptized,* if it were not an apostolike tradition. *De gen. ad lit. lib. 10. cap. 23.* Theo. But where doth S. Austen write this *often*, and that of *many articles of religion & points of highest importance?* Of so many high points you should haue shewed two at least.

The Rhemish Test. *Ibidem.*

Phil. *Tradition caused him to beleeue, that the baptized of heretikes should not be rebaptized, notwithstanding S. Cyprians authoritie and the manifold scrip-*

tures

nes alleaged by him, though they seemed neuer so pregnant. de bapt. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Theo. Your heads be so ful of traditions, that you cannot report a father without corruptions. It is not true that *Traditions* (& nothing else) *caused him to beleeue* this against Cyprians authoritie: he was armed with scriptures & reasons inuincible as himselfe both sheweth and saith. Prouoking a Donatist to confer with him about this error, *Ratione agamus, diuinarum scripturarum authoritatibus agamus*, Let vs discusse this matter, saith he, by argument, by the authorities of the diuine scriptures. And repeating a reason that was expressed in the princes edict forbidding rebaptizatiõ, he maketh the rebaptizers this offer: *Faciant mille Concilia Episcopi vestri, huic vni sententiæ respondeant, & ad quod volueritis consensimus vobis.* Let your bishops assemble a thousand councels, & answer but this one sentence, we yeeld to you at your pleasures. And therefore he doubted not to say of Cyprian, though otherwise he did honor him very much, *Aliter sapuit quam veritas diligentius considerata patefecit.* He was of an other opinion than that which the truth vpon more diligent consideration reueiled. And when Cyprians epistle in this case was obiected, he replied: Cyprians epistles I esteeme not as canonical, but I consider them by the canonical (scriptures:) & that which in them agreeth with the authoritie of the diuine scriptures, I receiue with his praise: that which doth not agree, by his leaue, I refuse. The general custom of ꝑ church reuoked him from following Cyprians authoritie, though it were great, & brought him to the deeper debating of the question, but he which saith that S. Augustine in all his conferences, & writings aleadgeth nothing against rebaptization but tradition, may be rebaptized, if his christianitie be no more than his cunning.

S. Augustine refuteth rebaptization by scripture.

* *Aug. ep. 203*

Aug. ep. 166.

Contra Cresc. lib. 2. cap. 31.

Contra Cresc. lib. 2. cap. 32. Augustine refused Cyprians authoritie as dissident frõ the scriptures.

Phil. For baptizing of infants his words be plaine. It were not at all to be beleeued, if it were not an apostolike tradition. Theo. I see the words wel enough; but the meaning of the speaker in this place, and the likenesse of the same speech in other places, make me to thinke, that a letter to much is crept into these words, as through the iniuries of times, and varietie of scribes many thousand deprauations and diuers lections were and are yet in the works of S. Augustine, and other fathers not onely by the iudgement

Aug. de Gen. ad literam, lib. 10. cap. 23. Al the shew the Iesuits haue for this matter is one t, too much in S. Austen.

ment of the learned but by the very sight of their margins. Phi. A letter to much? Which is it? Theo. You read *Nec omnino credenda nisi Apostolica esset traditio*: I thinke it should be *Nec omnino credenda nisi Apostolica esse traditio*. *Esset* for *esse* is a scape in writing soone committed, but a matter of some moment in altering the sense. Phil. And therfore you may not correct it without apparant proofe. Theo. I may suspect it, though I take not vpon me to correct it, but leaue it to the indifferent reader. Phil. You must be led therunto with very good reason.

Esset for *Esse*.

Theo. First the very course of the sentence leadeth me so to thinke. S. Augustine in these three disiunctions, *Nequaquam spernenda, neque vllo modo superflua deputanda, nec omnino credenda*, The custome of (our) mother the Church in baptising (her) infants is neither to be despised, nor any way to be counted superfluous, nor at all to be beleeued, did not meane to contradict himselfe, but by steps to increase the credite of this custome: and the third part, *Nec omnino credenda*, Not at all to be beleeued doth rather exert all that went before, than giue you any farther commendation to that tradition. For Not at all to be beleeued, is as much as to be despised & counted superfluous, which is repugnant to the words precedent. But reading *Esse* for *Esset*, the parts are consequent ech after other in better order, and the last is the same that S. Augustine in other places doth often vtter in the very like maner and kind of speech that here is vsed. The custome of (our) mother the church in baptizing (her) infants, is neither to be despised, nor by any meanes to be accounted superfluous, *nec omnino credenda nisi Apostolica esse traditio*, nor at all to be thought to be any other than an apostolike tradition. So speaking else where of the very same matter, he saith, [a] *Non nisi authoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur*. It is most rightly beleeued to be none other than a tradition of the apostles. Where we finde not onely the same purpose but the very same phrase and force of speech that were vsed before. And so againe of that and such like: [b] Many things are not found in the (apostles) writings nor in the councels of those that came after them, and yet because they be obserued of the vniuersall Church, *Non nisi ab ipsis tradita & commendata creduntur*, they are thought to haue been deliuered and commended by none but by them.

Aug. de Gen. ad literam, lib. 10. cap. 23.

There is no gradation in these words except you read *Esse* which Saint Augustine ment to make.

[a] *De bapt. contra Don. lib. 4. cap. 24.* The very same phrase in the very same matter is here vsed.

[b] *De bap. contra Don. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

Phil.

Phil. This sense is not amisse, if the words would bear it, but the text is *Esse* as we translate it. Theo. The sense which you urge is first against your selues, next against S. Austen himselfe in other places, and lastly (which is it that you shoote at) it ouerthroweth not our assertion. Phi. It requireth some paines to proue all this. Theo. Not so much perhaps as you thinke. For will you confesse that no custome of the Church must be receiued or beleeued, except it be apostolike? Admit this, and see whether we will not presently cast off the most part of the precepts and customes of your Church, as not descending from the apostles, and therfore not at all to be beleeued by your owne verdict.

If the Iesuits read *Esse*, it is both against themselues, and also against S. Austen. The Iesuits traditions be not all apostolicall.

And as for S. Augustine, if you thinke he would saie that *The custome of the (vniuersall) Church is not at all to be beleeued, except it be apostolike*, read this resolution better and you will leaue that misconstructiō of his words. [a] Those things which we keepe, saith he, not written but deliuered by tradition, the which the whole world obserueth, must be conceiued to haue been commended and ordained, *vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenarijs concilijs quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima authoritas*, either by the apostles themselues, or else by general councels, whose authoritie in the Church is most wholesome. The custome of the Church he saith must be retained, though it be not apostolike, but decreed by others of later age & meaner credite than the apostles, if their assemblies & synods were generall. And againe, [b] *In hijs rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura diuina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta Maiorum pro lege tenenda sunt.* In those things where the diuine scripture appointeth no certaintie, the custome of the people of God & ordinances of forefathers must be held for a law. If the custome of Gods people and the ordinances of elders must be kept for a lawe, then the custome of the Church in baptizing her infants might not be reiected though it were not apostolike, and so S. Austen with your *Esse* cleane crosseth himselfe.

[a] *Augu. epist.* 118.

[b] *Aug. ep.* 86.

Esse, maketh S. Augustine contrarie to himselfe.

Lastly, where you thinke to giue vs the foile with pressing this place, we easily grant you that *The custome of the Church in baptizing her infants were not to be beleeued, if it were not in apostolike tradition.* You haue your owne reading, what are you the better? Phil. *Ergo* some points of faith are beleeued

This place maketh best of all against vs.

The fourth part. It may be a tradition, & yet grounded on the scriptures. without the scriptures and besides the scriptures. Theo. Sir, I deny your argument. Phil. This is beleeued by tradition, *ergo* not by scripture. Theop. A tradition it may be and yet written in the scriptures. Saint Paul calleth the Lordes supper a tradition, and yet it is written, *Ego accepi à Domino quod & tradidi vobis*, I receiued of the Lord, that which I deliuered vnto you. The death and resurrection of Christ he likewise called a traditiō confirmed by the scriptures. *Tradidi vobis inprimis, quod & accepi*: I deliuered vnto you first of all which I also receiued, that Christ died for our sinnes according to the scriptures, and was buried and rose the third day according to the scriptures. And in plainer words to the Thess. Hold fast, saith he, the traditions which you haue learned, either by speech or epistle of ours, calling those things that be written in his epistles, his traditions.

A tradition may be written. 1. Cor. 11. 1. Cor. 15. 2. Thes. 2.

Phil. But the fathers vse the word otherwise, for that which is not written. Theop. Sometimes they do, sometimes they do not. S. Cyprian saith, Whence is this tradition? Whether doth it descend from the Lordes authoritie & the gospel, or commeth it from the precepts and epistles of the apostles? If it be commanded in the gospel, or contained in the Epistles or Acts of the apostles, let this holy tradition be obserued. And so S. Basill, Our baptisme is according to the tradition of the Lord, in the name of the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hierome, Augustine and others, call the short rehearsal of the christian faith, which is our common Crede, an old and apostolike tradition, and yet no part of the Crede is without or besides the warrant of the scriptures.

Cypr. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephani. *Basil. contra Eunomium lib. 3.*

Phil. I know it may be a tradition, and yet reuokeable to the scriptures and prouocable by the scriptures, but the baptisme of infants saint Augustine saith hath no witnes in the scriptures. Theop. Where saith he so? Phil. In many places. Theoph. Name but one. Phil. There be many things which the vniuersall Church obserueth, and for that cause they be well thought to haue been commanded by the apostles, though they be not found written. Theoph. How proue you this to be one of those many? Phil. Because we find it not written, but onely deliuered by tradition. Theo. You say so: but where doth S. Augustine say so? Phi. In the words which we first alleaged: *It were not to be beleeued if*

Aug. de bapt. contra Donat. lib. 5. cap. 23.

Baptisme of infants prooued needful by the scriptures. *The fourth part.*

if it were not an apostolike tradition. If it were written it must be beleeued though it were no tradition. Theo. You deale with the fathers, as you do with the scriptures. S. Austen doth not say the baptisme of infants were not to be beleeued, but, The custome of the Church in (a matter of so great weight as) the baptizing of infants were not to be trusted if the tradition were not apostolike. The Church might not haue presumed to baptize infants if the apostles had not begun it: what gaine you by that? Thereby you may prooue that the apostles did it, & that the Church of hir selfe & her owne authoritie might not do it, more you can not proue. Phil. But doth S. Austen any where say that the baptisme of children is contained in the scriptures? Theoph. What if he went not so far in words, because the matter was not in question whiles he liued, is that any ground for you to conclude that it is not allowed by the scriptures? Phil. If he keepe silence, it is a shrewd signe that it is not. Theop. So long as no man did impugne it, there was no need he should defend it; the question in his time was not whether it were lawful for infants to be baptized, but whether it were needful for them or no. The Pelagians held it to be superfluous, for that infants were void of original sinne: which was their error. That he mightily reproueth by manifest scriptures and sheweth that infants as well as others be excluded from the kingdom of God, if they be not baptized. Farther he waded not, as being not farther vrged, & troubled enough besides with refuting other heresies; and yet as occasion serued, he brought more than tradition for the baptizing of children.

The custome of the church in baptizing her infants were not sufficient if the tradition were not apostolike.

S. Augustine prooueth it needfull for infants to be baptized: whether it were lawfull was neuer doubted in his time.

* If any man, saith he, seeke for diuine authoritie in this matter, we may truly coniecture by circumcision, what effect the sacrament of baptisme hath in infants, vsing a very forcible argument in this case, that if children might receiue the seale of the former couenant vnder Moses, why not of the latter established in the blood of Christ?

* *Aug. de bap. contra Donat. lib. 4. cap. 24.*

Phil. He saith we may coniecture it, but he doth not say we may proue it. Theo. He repeateth the reason with *Veraciter conijcere possumus*, We may very truly coniecture, and a true coniecture is no vntrue persuasion: but as I sayd it was not then in doubt, and therefore no marueil if that learned father labored not that question to the depth. Had

it

it bene denied, as in our dayes it is, he would haue found the same scriptures to confirme it that we do. And to say the truth his euident illations out of the scriptures that baptisme is needfull for infants, make sufficiēt demonstration that baptisme is lawfull for infants, els it would follow that no child might be saued; which is an hainous & mōstrous error, directly fighting with the manifest scriptures. For where without baptisme they cannot be saued, by reason original sinne is not remitted but in baptisme, as S. Austen concludeth out of the words of our sauiour; * Except a man be borne of water and of the spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God. If children be excluded from baptism, they be consequently excluded frō the kingdom of God; which is flatly repugnant to ỹ word of God.

S. Augustine vrgeth baptisme to be needfull against the Pelagians, who thought it superfluous not against those that were preuented with ineuitable necessitie.

* Iohn. 3.

Phil. It is no meaning of ours to exclude children from baptisme, but to let you vnderstand that you cannot shew by the scriptures that children were baptized. Theop. I grant we cannot, & adde, we need not. The scriptures we say containe all matters of faith, not of fact. That children were baptized we proue by ỹ practise of Christes Church and not by the scriptures. That children may be baptized we proue not onely by the tradition of the apostles, but also by the sequele of the scriptures themselues.

The fact is not expressed in the scriptures, the cause is.

Our sauiour saith of children, [a] It is not the will of your father which is in heauen, that one of these litle ones should perish. Now choose you whether they shall be saued without baptisme, or perish for lacke of baptisme. Againe the Lord saith, [b] Suffer the litle children and forbid them not to come vnto me: for the kingdome of heauen belongeth vnto such. They must enter the kingdome of God before they can possesse it, and [c] enter it they cannot vntill they be new borne of water and of the holy Ghost. Now say, will you exclude them from that which God hath prouided for them: or wil admit them to be heires with Christ before they be engrafted into Christ by baptisme? The apostle saith to the great comfort of all christian parents, The [d] vnbeleeuing husband is sanctified by the wife (that beleeueth,) and the vnbeleeuing wife is sanctified by the husband (that beleeueth:) els were your children vncleane, but now are they holy. This is spoken not of the secret election of the faithful, which is neither common to al, nor knowen

[a] Matth. 18.

[b] Matth. 19.

[c] Iohn. 3.

[d] 1. Cor. 7.

to

to any, but of their christian profession, whereby they be [e] called to be saints, that is an [f] holy and peculiar people vnto God. For all things be holy that be dedicated to his vse, and this kind of holines S. Paule deriueth from the root to the branches, [g] If the root be holy so are the branches. If then infants be partakers of the same vocation and holines with their parents, and without baptisme (which is the seale of Gods couenant with vs, in the blood of his son) neither we nor our children can be holy, surely the children of saints if they be excluded from baptisme, are as vnholy and vncleane as the children of infidels which vtterly subuerteth S. Pauls doctrine. If to auoid this place you suppose holines to be meant of the inward sanctification of Gods spirit; besides that children draw inward corruption, not holines from their christian parents, yet this way we also conclude that children must be baptized: for where the spirit of God is precedent, the seruice of man must be consequent, as S. Peter teacheth. [h] Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized, which haue receiued the holy Ghost? So that, take which you will and say what you can, our conclusion is vnmoueable. And since children be defiled by Adam, if they may not be washed by Christ, the disobedience of man shall be mightier vnto condemnation, than the grace of God and obedience of Christ vnto iustification, which the [i] scriptures reiect as a wicked absurditie.

[e] 1.Cor.1. 2 Tim.1. [f] 1.Pet.2.

[g] Rom.11. If children be holy because their parents are holy, then they haue no better holines than their parents: and in all christian parents there is not inward sanctificatiō.

[h] Act.8.

[i] Rom.5.vers. 15.17.21.

Wherefore the Church absolutely and flatly may not assure saluation to children vnbaptized, least they seeme naturally innocent or generally sanctified without baptisme: albeit their parents desiring and seeking it, if they be preuented by mortall necessitie we must leaue them to the goodnes, and secret election of God not without hope: because in their parents [a] there wanted no will, but an extremitie disappointed them: and in the children the let was [b] weakenes of age, not wickednes of hart: and so the sacrament omitted, not for [c] any contempt of religion, but by strictnes of time: in which cases Saint Augustine confesseth the want of baptisme may be supplied, if it so please God: mary they may not chalenge it, nor we promise it.

Augustin. de baptis. lib. 4. ca. [a] 22. [b] 23. [c] 24.

Much more might be said, but I content my self with

the former reasons till you refute them. And hauing the certaine practise of the Apostles in baptizing infants, witnessed by the Church of Christ, and deliuered vnto the Church for the confirmation of those things which we alleadge, we count them irrefutable. Phil. Neither do I mislike the thing, but I muse why S. Augustine claimed wholy by tradition, if so much scripture might be brought for the matter. Theo. Expresse precept to baptize infants, or plaine example where they were baptized, the scripture hath none: and therefore S. Augustine did well to reuerence the tradition which he saw was Apostolike, and if any man vrge vs to proue that children were baptized, we must flee to the same tradition with him: but if it be impugned as a thing vnlawfull and dissonant from the scriptures, we must then sift the ground of that tradition by the scriptures, because it toucheth the saluation or condemnation of christian infants. And so would S. Austen haue exactly & learnedly done, we doubt not, if that point had beene controuersed in his time.

The scripture proueth that children may be baptized & must be, if we will haue them to be saued, tradition prooueth they were baptized.

Phil. He would you say, but he did not we know, and that causeth vs to take it for an vnwritten tradition. Theop. A tradition we grant, but agreeable to the scriptures. And though S. Austen do not say so, that is no reason for you to conclude it is not so; silence is no proofe. May if he had called it an vnwritten tradition, as he doth not, that were no let but it might be confirmed by the scriptures, as it is: for the precept is not written, though the causes & consequents may be iustified by that which is written. And this is not strange with S. Austen, to call that an vnwritten tradition, which himselfe confesseth may be warranted by the scriptures. Phil. What haue we here? One and the same tradition confessed by S. Augustine, to be both written and vnwritten? Theop. One and the same tradition, I say, confessed to be written, and yet warranted by the scriptures. Phil. That were newes. Theop. None at all. Go no farther than your second example of rebaptizing, and you shall see it to be true.

One and the same tradition both vnwritten, and yet warranted by the scriptures.

S. Augustine calleth it an vnwritten tradition or custome of the Church, in many places. He saith expressly of it, *Quam consuetudinem credo ex Apostolica traditione venientem,*

sicut

sicut multa non inueniuntur in literis eorum, &c. Which custome I thinke came from the Apostles, as many (other) things (that) are not found in their writings. And againe of the very same, *Apostoli nihil quidem exinde præceperunt.* The Apostles in deed commanded nothing in that case, as also there be many things which the whole Church obserueth, though they be not found written. Phil. That we know to be true, neuer spend more time about it, but let vs heare where S. Austen saith this custome is also warranted by the scriptures. Theop. You can not misse it, if you read the very same bookes where the other is witnessed.

De baptis. contra Donat. li. 2. cap. 7.

De baptis. contra Donat. lib. 5. cap. 23.

* Now, saith he, least I seeme to dispute this matter by humane reasons, because the darknes of this question draue great men, and men endued with great charity, the bishops that were in former ages of the Church before the schisme of Donatus to doubt and striue, but without breach of vnitie, *ex euangelio profero certa documenta quibus Domino adiuuante demonstro.* Out of the gospell I bring sure grounds by Gods helpe to make proofe (therof.) And hauing disputed it a while, We * follow that, saith he, which the custome of the Church hath alwaies obserued, and a plenarie councell confirmed. And the reasons and testimonies of scriptures on both sides being throughly weighed, I may say, we follow that which truth hath declared. And repeating the euidence of his ide, he saith, it may be vnderstood by the former custome of he Church, by the strength of a generall councell that followed, by so many & so weighty testimonies of the holy scriptures, by manifold instructions out of Cyprians owne works nd very plaine arguments of truth. And therefore drawing o an end, he saith, It might perhaps suffice that (our) reaons being so oft repeated and diuersly debated and handled n disputing, and the documents of the holy scriptures being dded, and so many testimonies of Cyprian himselfe concuring, *iam etiam corde tardiores quantum existimo intelligunt,* by this ime the weaker and duller sort of men, as I thinke, vnderand that the baptisme of Christ can not be violated, by no eruerseneſſe of the partie that giueth it or taketh it, and herefore must not be iterated. Thus in one and the selfe ame worke you see Saint Austen auouching it to be a radition not written, and yet confirmed by manifest criptures.

**De baptis. li. 1. cap. 7.* Rebaptization againſt the ſcriptures

**De baptis. lib. 4. cap. 7.*

De baptis. lib. 5. cap. 4.

De baptis. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Phil. I heare him say so, but I see not how it can be.
Theop. You will not, for feare you should see your selues conuinced of an error, it is otherwise plaine enough. The thing it selfe is not written, but receiued by tradition, mary the grounds of it be so laid in the scriptures, that it may thence be rightly concluded. The like we say for the baptisme of infants, the precept it selfe is not written, nor any example of it in the scriptures, but it was deliuered vnto the Church by tradition from the Apostles: mary it so dependeth on those principles of faith, which be written, that it may be fairely deduced from them and fully proued by them.

How the same thing may be written and yet vnwritten.

The Rhemish Testament. 2. Thes. 2.

Phil. *By tradition onely, he and other condemned Heluidius the heretike for denying the perpetuall virginitie of our Lady.* Theo. Your store faileth you when you flee from faith and hope in God to examine Ioseph and Marie, that you may picke out somewhat betweene them to impeach the perfection of the scriptures. That Christ was borne of a virgin vndefiled, is an high point of faith, and plainly testified in the scriptures. That after the birth of his son she was not knowen of her husband, is a reuerend and seemely truth preserued in the Church by witnesses worthy to be trusted, but no part of faith needfull to be recorded in the scriptures. Phil. S. Augustine saith it is * *Integra fide credendum est*, With an vpright faith we must beleeue that blessed Mary the mother of God and Christ, was a virgin in conceiuing, a virgin when she was deliuered, and remained a virgin after the birth of her sonne. And we must beware the blasphemie of Heluidius which said, she was a virgin before, but not after the birth (of Christ.)

That Marie was not knowen of her husband after the birth of our Sauior, is a reuerend truth but no point of faith

De Eccl. dogmatibus ca. 69.

Theop. Grate not on these things which were better to be honored with silence, than discussed with diligence. The booke which you bring is not S. Augustines. It was found * vnder Tertullians name as well as vnder Augustines, though Tertullian himselfe be * twise there noted for an heretike, and chalenged the first time for that very error which S. Augustine in his true booke of heresies doth acquite him from. And yet these words, *Credendum est Mariam virginem concepisse, virginem genuisse, & post partum virginem permansisse.* We must beleeue that the mother of Christ was a pure virgine when she conceiued, when she brought foorth

*Vide Erasmi censuram in eundem librū.
*Cap. 4.
Ibidem, ca. 69.

forth his sonne & after she was deliuered, do not touch your question as they are defended by S. Augustine in his vndoubted workes to be part of our faith, but onely that she was a pure virgine after his birth, notwithstanding his birth. And therfore he saith, *Qui si vel per nascentem corrumperetur eius integritas, iam non ille de virgine nasceretur.* If Christs birth euen when he was borne should haue violated the virginity of his mother, then had he not beene borne of a virgin. So that as she conceiued the Lord, & was still a virgin, so she was deliuered of him, & her selfe yet a virgin, that is, not onely without the knowledge of man, but also without all hurt of her body: she remaining after she was deliuered of her child as perfect a virgin in body, as she was before she cõceiued him. And this to be the right meaning of those words, *Post partum virgo permansit*, she remained a virgin after the birth of her child, when her virginity must be vrged for a point of faith, the sermons extant vnder the name of S. Augustine do clerely confesse.* *Nec dubites Mariam virginem mansisse post partum, quia qualiter hoc factum sit, non humanus sermo, neque sensus potest comprehendere.* Neuer doubt but Mary remained a virgin after the birth of her child, although neither mans speech nor wit can comprehend how it was done. And againe, *Virgo cum parturit, virgo post partum. Vacuatur vterus, infans excipitur, nec tamen virginitas violatur.* She was a virgin when she was deliuered, and a virgin after. She was deliuered, her child borne, and she for all that a virgin. The like we find in sundry other of those sermons.

Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 34. Christs mother was a virgin as well after his birth as after his conception.

* *De tempore sermo. 123.* How she forbare the cõpany of her husband is no matter incomprehensible.

Ibidem serm. 10. 15. 17. 18. 25.

* If you list to conclude and so remained to her death, you may for vs; but that is no point of faith, whatsoeuer the former be.

Phil. But Heluidius was noted as an heretike by S. Augustine & others for saying that our lady was knowne of Ioseph her husband after the birth of our sauior. Theop. The fathers might reiect him as an heretike for his impudent abusing the scriptures to build a falshood vpon them which was not contained in them; and if they detested it as a rash and wicked slaunder for him against manifest truth to blemish that chosen vessell which the holy Ghost had ouershadowed, and the sonne of God sanctified with his presence, we neither blame them nor mislike their doings. But yet they neuer charged the scriptures with imperfection as you do.

S. Hierome purposely writing against Heluidius vseth the fulnes of the scriptures as his best argument to de-

Hier. aduers. Heluidium.

fend her virginity: *Vt hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus. Natum esse Deum de virgine, credimus, quia legimus. Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus, quia non legimus.* As we deny not those things which are written, so we reiect those things which are not written. That God was borne of a virgin, we beleeue, because we read. That (the same virgin) Marie became a wife after the birth of her sonne, we beleeue it not, because we read it not. S. Augustine alleageth scripture for it, with what successe I will not iudge. If neither of these quiet your contentious spirits; our answer shall be that when you make iust proofe that this is a point, not of truth, which we grant; but of faith, which you vrge; then will we not faile to shew it consequent to that which is written.

August. de S. Virg. cap. 4.

The papists would haue the holy Ghost hold his diuinity by tradition.

You were wont to obiect other points of religion as proued by tradition and not by scripture: amongest which you set the Godhead of the holy Ghost and his proceeding from the father and the sonne: but I trust by this time you be either stilled in them or ashamed of them. Phil. Not so neither. For * As we acknowledge this article to be most true, so we are sure you haue no expresse scripture for it. Theop. Are you well aduised, when to spite vs, you teach the people, that the highest mysteries of their faith can not be warranted by the scriptures? Perceiue you not what a wrong it is to the spirit of God to hold his diuinitie by tradition, and not by the word of God? What ignorance is this, if it be no worse, to say that * Athanasius, Dydimus, Basil, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Cyrill and Augustine in their speciall treaties of this verie point haue alleaged no scriptures to confirme the Godhead of the holy Ghost? Phil. We speak not of them but of you. Theop. As if in a common case of faith the scriptures were not common to vs with them? If they had scriptures for it, we haue; if we haue none then had they none.

* *Athanas. de cõmuni essẽtia Patris, Filij & Spiritus sancti. Dydimus de spiritu sancto. Basil. contra Eunomium & de spiritu sancto. Nazianzen. orat. 5. de Theolog. Ambros. de spiritu sancto. Cyril. de trinitate, lib. 7. & lib. de spiritu sancto. August. de trinitate.*

The fathers assured thẽselues they had expresse scripture for the godhead of the holy Ghost.

Phil. Expresse scripture they had none. Theoph. Do you play with idle words in so weighty matters of christian faith? Euident and plaine scriptures they had where the holy Ghost was called God: what is expresse scripture if that be not? Phil. They had no such scripture. Theop. Had they not? Turne your booke a little better

you shall find they had. [a] *Glorificate Deum & portate in corpore vestro. Quem Deum nisi spiritum sanctum cuius corpora nostra dixerat esse templum?* Glorifie God, saith the Apostle, and beare him in your body. What God but the holy Ghost whose temple before he called our bodies? And againe, [b] When (Peter) had said, durst thou make a lie to the holy Ghost? (Ananias) thinking he had lied vnto men, Peter sheweth the holie Ghost to be God by and by adding, thou hast not lied vnto men but vnto God. These two places the same father vrgeth against the Arians as very plaine scriptures. [c] *Glorificate ergo Deum in corpore vestro. Vbi* dilucidè ostendit Deum esse spiritum sanctum, glorificandum scilicet in corpore nostro. Et quod Ananiæ dixit Petrus Apostolus: ausus es mentiri spiritui sancto? Atque ostendens Deum esse spiritum sanctum, non es, inquit, hominibus mentitus, sed Deo.* Glorifie therfore God in your body, saith Paul. Where very manifestly he sheweth the holy Ghost to be God which must be glorified in our body as in his temple. And that which Peter the Apostle said to Ananias: Durst thou lie vnto the holy Ghost? And declaring the holy Ghost to be God, thou hast not lied vnto men, saith he, but vnto God.

[a] *August. epist. 66.*

[b] *Idem quæst. supr. Exod. lib. 2. quæs. 59.*

[c] *Cõtra Max. lib. 3. cap. 21.* What is *Dilucide*, but plaine scripture?

Ambrose taketh them for euident scriptures. *Quod præmiserit spiritum & addiderit, non es mentitus hominibus sed Deo, necesse est in spiritu sancto vt vnitatem diuinitatis esse intelligas.* * *Nec solum in hoc loco euidenter sancti spiritus θεότητα, id est, diuinitatem scriptura testatur, sed etiam ipse Dominus dixit in Euangelio quod Deus spiritus est.* In that (Peter) first named the spirit, and presently said, thou hast lied not vnto men but vnto God, we can not choose but vnderstand the holy Ghost to be God. Neither in this place onely doth the scripture euidently witnesse the Godhead of the holy Ghost, but also in the gospell the Lord himselfe saith that the spirit is God.

Ambros. de spiritu sancto, lib. 3. cap. 10. * *Ibidem lib. 3. cap. 11.* Is not *Euidenter* euidẽt scripture?

Nazianzen saith these & such like be expresse scriptures, and that if you doubt thereof, you be very grosse headed. They which knew the onely blasphemie which is vttered against the spirit to be irremissible, and gaue Ananias and Saphira that horrible reproche for lying vnto the holie Ghost, what do they seeme to thee, openly to professe the spirit to be God or no? How dull headed art thou, and without all sense of the spirit, if thou doubt thereof or needest farther teaching? By so manie names, so forcible and expressely recorded in the scriptures the holy Ghost

Nazian. de Theolog. orat. 5.

The spirit openly professed in the scriptures to be God, and expressely so recorded.

The fourth part. His proceeding from the father and the sonne is called: amongst those expresse names numbring this for one of the chiefest and clearest, that the holy Ghost was called God, as the words before directly witnesse.

Phil. His proceeding from the father and the sonne cannot be proued by scripture, though his Godhead may. Theop. How then came it first to be beleeued, by tradition or by scripture? Phil. Certeinly not by scripture. Theop. Your tongues be so vsed to vntruths, that your certainties be little worth: the Church of Christ receiued her faith concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost from the father & the son, not by tradition, but by scripture. S. Augustine saith,* Firmely beleeue & no whit doubt the same holy Ghost which is one spirit of the father and the sonne, to proceed both from the father and the sonne. For the sonne saith, when the spirit of truth commeth which proceedeth from the father. Where he teacheth vs the spirit to be his also because himselfe is truth. And that the holy Ghost proceedeth likewise from the sonne, the * doctrine of the prophets & Apostles doth deliuer vnto vs. For Esay saith of the sonne, He shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the spirit of his lips, he shall slay the wicked. Of whom the Apostle also saith, Whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth. Whom the onely son of God declaring to be the spirit of his mouth, breathing on his disciples after his resurrection saith; receiue ye the holy Ghost. And Iohn in his Reuelation saith that out of the mouth of the Lord Iesu himselfe there proceeded a sharpe two edged sword. He therefore is the spirit of his mouth, he is the sword which proceedeth out of his mouth.

* *De fide ad Petrum, cap. 11.*

* Is this no scripture?

Idē de Trinit. lib. 15. cap. 26. And againe: By many testimonies of the diuine scriptures it is prooued that he is the spirit of the father and the sonne, which is properly called in the trinity the holy Ghost. And that he proceedeth from both it is thus prooued: because the sonne himselfe saith (the spirit of truth) proceedeth from the father. And when he was risen from death and appeared to his disciples, he breathed on them and said, Receiue ye the holy Ghost, to shew that the spirit proceeded frō him also. And that (spirit) is the vertue which came from him, as we read in the gospell, and healed all men. What you thinke of the places we know not, but sure we are S. Augustine himselfe saith of these & the like, *Cum per scripturarum sanctarum*

sanctarum testimonia docuissem, de vtroque procedere spiritū sanctum: When I had shewed by the testimonies of the holie scriptures that the holie Ghost proceedeth from both, (the father and the sonne.) And if it be the naturall and distinct proprietie of the Spirit to proceed, as it is of the Sonne to be begotten, which I weene you will not denie, then is it as euident by the scriptures that the holie Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, as it is that the Sonne was begotten of the Father. For as the second person in Trinitie was begotten of him whose sonne he is, so the third person proceeded from them whose spirit he is, but he is the spirit of them both as the scriptures expressely witnes, *Ergo* he proceeded from them both. *Idem de Trinit. lib. 15. cap. 27.*

This reason may suffice any christian man.

Phil. The doctrine is true, but the scripture is not expresse. Theop. What meane you by your expresse scripture? Phil. Those very words, He proceedeth from them both are not found in the scriptures. Theop. Alas good sirs, is that your quarrell? Do the scriptures, I pray you, consist in spelling, or in vnderstanding? Neuer read you what S. Hierom saith? [a] *Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum Euangelium esse, sed in sensu: non in superficie, sed in medulla: non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis.* Let vs not thinke the Gospell to lie in the words of the scriptures, but in the sense: not in the rind, but in the pith: not in the leaues of speech, but in the ground of reason (and truth.) If by expresse scripture you meane the plaine and assured sense of the word of God, we haue euident and infallible proofes thence for the proceeding of the holie Ghost from the Father and the Sonne: but if you sticke on the syllables and letters which we speake, you do but wrangle with vs, as the Arians did with the Nicene fathers, [b] Expostulating why the bishops that met at Nice, vsed these words, substance and consubstantiall, which were no where found in the scriptures: and our answere to you shall be the same that theirs was to them. [c] These words though they be not found in the scriptures, yet haue they the same meaning and sense which the scriptures containe. And that we count to be expresse scripture. For otherwise, as Hilarie saith, [d] All (heretikes) speake scriptures without sense & [e] the diuell himself, as Hierom noteth, hath spoken some things out of the scriptures, but that as they both witnes in the very next words,

[a] *Hierom. in epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.* The sense and consequents are scriptures as well as the words.

[b] *Athanas. in tract. quod Nicen. Synod. congruis & pijs verbis vsa sit.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Hilar. ad Constant.*

[e] *Hierom aduer. Luciferianos.*

[f] The

The fourth part. Expresse scripture is the sense, and not the sillables.

[f] *Ibidem.* [f] The scriptures consist, not in reading, but in vnderstanding. And yet I see no cause why this point should be denied to be expresse scripture, for so much as S. Iohn describing the sonne of God with a sharp two edged sword [g] proceeding out of his mouth (which is the [h] rod of his mouth wherewith he shall smite the earth, and the spirit of his lips wherewith he shall slea the wicked as Esay prophesied he should, and Paul declareth he would) vseth the verie same word [i] ἐκπορεύεται twise, which our Sauior before spake of his father ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, the spirit, which proceedeth from the father. So ỹ you were foulie ouerseene, whē you obiected this point of our christian faith, as wanting expresse scripture. Phil. If you take not only the words, but also the sense for scripture, we will not greatly gainesay, but all points of faith may be derived out of these words, or out of the sense of that which is written. Theo. Derived as you do pardons, pilgrimages, penances and purgatorie? But we say that all points of faith must be plainly concluded, or necessarily collected by that which is written. And for our so saying, we haue not only ỹ scriptures & fathers, but also your selues, which being so often required & vrged to shew what one point of faith the primatiue Church of Christ beleeued without ỹ scriptures, could neuer shew any. Phil. We could shew many if that needed & we were disposed. Theop. I know not what accompt you make of it; but to our simple conceiuing it is the ground-worke of all religion, & crazeth ỹ very heart of your vnwritten verities. And if to satisfie the people of God and disburden your selues of an error, you be not all this while disposed to do what you can, we must leaue you for curious and daintie men, and thinke you can not.

[g] Reuel. 1. [h] See Esa. 11. & 2. Thes. 2.

[i] Reuel. 1. and 19. The spirit proceedeth from the Sonne.

The Iesuits can shew no point of faith that the fathers beleeued without scripture.

Phil. Tertullian was of that mind that we are, when he willed the christians not to appeale to the scriptures for the trial of their faith. His words are, *Ergo non est ad scripturas prouocandum nec in ijs constituendum certamen, in quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est.* We must therefore not appeale to the scriptures, nor place the triall of our cause in those (writings) in which the victorie is either none or not sure. Theo. You do both the truth & Tertullian wrong. Tertullia doth not say that in matters of faith some things should be beleeued without the scriptures; no man is flatter against that

Tertul. de præscript. aduersus hæret.

Fathers wrested to speake against the scriptures. *The fourth part.*

that than Tertullian in this very booke which you bring: but he would not haue the heretiks of his time challenged nor brought to the scriptures, because they receiued not the bookes as they lay, but with such additions, alterations & expositions as they listed. And this he maketh to be the very reason of his rule, in þ words that go next before it. The cõference with thẽ in the scriptures can do no good: but either to stirre a mans stomack, or disquiet his braine. This brood (of heretikes) receiue not certaine scriptures, and if they receiue any, they frame them to their purpose, with adding & taking from them: & those that they receiue, they receiue them not whole, and if they suffer them to stand whole, they mar them with their forged expositions. Their adulterating of the sense hurteth the truth as much as their maiming of the sentences. Diuers presumptions hold them from acknowledging the (places) by which they be conuinced: they rest on those which they haue falsely corrupted, and ambiguously wrested. Thou shalt loose nothing but thy voice in striuing with them, thou shalt gaine nothing but the mouing of thy choler to heare them blaspheme. And shewing that the hearers get lesse by such contentions, he inferreth, *Ergo non ad scripturas prouocandum est*, we must therefore not prouoke (them) to the scriptures, nor appoint there the conflict (with them) where the victorie is none, or not sure, or skant sure enough.

In vaine to conuince them by the scriptures, which receiue not the scriptures.

Tertull. de præscriptio. aduer. hæreticos.

Tertullian speaketh of those sects which were in his time, as Valentinus, Martion and others, who either denied the scriptures or turned them all to monsterous allegories.

Ireneus not long before him gaue the like report of them, for they both had to do with the selfesame sorts and routs of heretiks. When they are reproued by the scriptures, they find fault with the scriptures themselues, as though manie things were amisse in them, & the books of no autoritie and doubtfully written, and truth could not be had out of them if a man be ignorant of tradition. And againe, when we vrge them to come to that tradition which is kept in the Churches downe from the Apostles by the successions of Bishops, they vse to saie, that they, as wiser not only than the priests, but also than the Apostles, haue found out the sincere truth, and that the Apostles did mingle certaine points of the law with the words of our Sauiour, and not the Apostles alone, but Christ him-selfe speake (sometimes earthlie, sometimes heauenlie, sometimes mixtlie) but they vndoubtedlie, indefiledlie, and sincerely know the hidden mysterie.

Iren. li. 3. ca. 2.

Of these men spake Tertullian.

The fourth part. Fathers wrested to speake against the scriptures.

mysterie. The which is nothing else but most impudently to blaspheme their maker. And so it commeth to passe that they acknowledge neither the scriptures, nor tradition. Such they be with whome we deale.

The reasons of Tertullians speech.

What maruell then if Tertullian gaue counsell that such heretikes should not be prouoked to the scriptures, not that the scriptures be defectiue in matters of faith, but for that the sectaries of his time denied, corrupted and maimed the scriptures: and in deede no victorie can be hoped out of scriptures where they be neither receiued, nor reuerenced as scriptures. And therefore Tertullian had good cause to speake these words, in respect of the persons that were thus impudent, not in respect of the scriptures, as if they were vnsufficient. That error of all others Tertullian was fartheſt from, and no where farther than in this very place which you quote. *Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei nisi ex literis fidei.* As though they could speake touching matters of faith out of any other than out of the books of faith. And obiecting to them this verie point which we now striue for: *Sed credant sine scripturis, vt credant aduersus scripturas,* Let (heretiks) saith he, beleeue without scriptures, that they may beleeue against the scriptures. To beleeue without scriptures, is hereticall, as well as to beleeue against the scriptures, and the next step vnto it, as Tertullian heere placeth them: and therefore defend not the first least you fall to the second, which is the ruine of all religion. Phil. S. Basil is plaine with vs if Tertul. be not: Of the doctrines which are taught in the Church, we haue some laid down in writing, some againe we haue receiued by tradition from the Apostles in a mysterie, that is in secret. Whereof either hath like force to godlines, neither doth any man contradict them that is but meanely acquainted with the lawes of the Church. For if we go about to reiect those customes which are not written as of no moment, before we be ware we shall condemne those things which * are in the Gospell necessarie to saluation, yea rather we shall bring the preaching of faith to a naked name. And not long after in the same booke, If nothing else hath been receiued without scriptures, neither let this be receiued: but if we haue receiued manie secrets without writing, let vs also receiue this amongst those manie. I thinke it Apostolike to

Tertull. de præscriptio. aduers. Hæreticos. Ibidem.

Basil. de spiritu sanct. cap. 27.

Basils place for traditions examined.

* This verie place graunteth things necessarie to saluation to be in the Gospell.

Ibidem, ca. 29.

* Manie things receiued without scriptures, but no matters of faith.

cleaue

cleaue to traditions not written.

Theoph. The booke which you alleage hath S. Basils name to it, but the later part therof whence those patches are taken, haue neither S. Basils stile, learning, spirit, nor age; which Erasmus perceiued & confessed when he translated the booke. After I was past halfe the worke, saith he, without wearines, the phrase seemed to declare an other writer & to sauor of an other spirit: sometimes the stile swelled as vnto the loftines of a tragedie, sometimes it calmed euen vnto a common kind of speech. Many times there appeared some vanity in the author, as it were shewing that he had learned Aristotles predicaments and porphyries 5. predicables. Besides he digressed verie often from the purpose and returned vnhandsomely. Last of all many things seemed to be here and there added, which made little to the matter in question. And some things, such as by their face shew their father, to wit, the same that hath interlaced the most learned books of Athanasius concerning the holy ghost, with his babling but trifling conceits. Phil. We care not for Erasmus iudgement. Theo. You must care for Erasmus reasons, vnlesse you can disproue them. Phil. How proue you these places to be those that Erasmus meaneth? Theop. If Erasmus had said nothing these places betray themselues. Looke to ỹ beginning & ending of your first allegation, & you shal see that the middle sitteth them as well as oatmeale doth oisters. The words next before are these, It remaineth that we speake of the syllable, with, whence it came, what force it hath, and how far it agreeth with the scriptures. Then your forger as a man suddainly rauished and vtterlie forgetting what he purposed, entereth a vaine discourse of three score and fifténe lines cleane besides the matter, not so much as once mentioning that which he first promised; and endeth in a worse maze than he began, with a conclusion more dissident from the middle, than the middle was from the preface: *Dictum est igitur eandem esse vim vtriusque proloquij.* So then we haue shewed that both propositions haue the same sense: whereof he spake not one word in all that large discourse that went before. And so he solemnly proposeth one thing, digresseth abruptly to an other, and concludeth absurdly with a third, which ouersight in anie boie were not sufferable.

The booke shamefully corrupted.

Erasmus censure vpon this booke. *Epist. Erasm. dedicatoria ad epist. Culmens. præfixa. cap. 17.*

Erasmus calleth them patches and dregs.

This place of all others crieth corruption. *Basil. de spiritu sancto. cap. 27.*

Marke the coherēce of this place.

Ibidem, ca. 27.

A verie learned and wittie discourse forsooth.

* Your

*Cap.29. * Your latter allegation is grounded on the former, & conuinceth your author to be but a yong father in respect of S. Basil. For where S. Basill died before Meletius, your bastard Basill rehearseth Meletius as a bishop of ancient memory, dead long before his time. *Insuper & Meletium illum admirandum in eadem fuisse sententia narrant qui cum illo vixerunt. Sed quid opus est vetera commemorare? Immò nunc qui sunt orientales.* Moreouer Meletius that admirable (bishop) was of the same opinion, as they that liued with him, report. But what need I repeate ancient times? The East bishops which are at this day, &c. Now the true S. Basill not onely liued at the same time with Meletius, but was [a] made deacon by him, and wrate [b] many letters to him, and departed this life before him, as the Church storie witnesseth, affirming that Helladius, S. Basils successor and Meletius were both present at the second generall councell at Constantinople vnder Theodosius, and that must needs be when S. Basil was dead.

Basil. de spirit. sancto, cap.29. This place maketh Basill aliue some ages after he was dead.

[a] *Socrat. lib. 4. cap.26.*
[b] *Basilij epist. 56.57.58.89.*
[c] *Socrat. lib.5. cap.8.*

Phil. You did well to discredit the place: it were otherwise able to ouerthrow all your new doctrine. Theo. Then you do not wel to build the antiquitie of your religion on this and such other apparant forgeries; but were the places not forged, they could do you no such seruice as you spake of, in the question which we now handle: yea rather they confirme that which we affirme, that things necessary to saluation are (comprised) in the gospel. Phil. Many traditions were receiued from the Apostles without writing which are not in the gospell. Theop. You must also proue those traditions to be necessarie to saluation before you can conclude out of this place any thing against our assertion. Phil. As though the Apostles deliuered things which were not necessary to saluation. Theop. The christian faith they deliuered in writing: the rest they left vnwritte, bicause those things which were no parts of faith, were deliuered to the church of Christ for decency, not for necessity. Phil. For decency? What a cauill that is? Theop. The traditions which your counterfet Basill heere rehearseth as descending frō the Apostles, are no such deep mysteries of religiō as he pretēdeth. That ỹ people should euery sunday, & likewise betweene Easter & Whitsuntide pray stāding, is that any point of faith or help to saue their soules?

This place, if it were Basils, doth the Iesuits no good.

Their forged Basill speaketh of the ceremonies, not of doctrine. I hope these traditions be no points of faith.

The popish faith is their tradition against scriptures. *The fourth part.*

soules? The words of inuocation at the Lords supper, & the prayers before and after, which ỹ Greek Church vsed, haue you not long since left them, or to say the truth, did you euer accept them for catholike? singing with the crosse, turning to the east, thrise dipping him that is baptized, and annointing him after with oyle, be these essentiall parts of baptisme, or rather externall rites declaring the power and vertue of that sacrament? Your author himselfe wil tell you, they be not within the compasse of that faith which is common to all Christians, and must be rightly beleeued of all that will be saued. For shewing the cause why they might not be written, What things, saith he, such as were not baptized might not behold, how could it be fit they should be publikely caried about in writing? And againe, The Apostles and fathers which prescribed certaine rites in the first beginning of the Church reserued to these mysteries their dignitie by silence and secrecie. For it is *no mysterie, which is open to the eares of the people and vulgar sort. Now things necessary to saluation must openly be preached to the people and be fully conceiued of them, and stedfastly professed by them before they can be saued. These things therfore be not of that sort, but are rather excluded from necessitie, because they were deliuered vnder secrecie.

Basil. de spirit. sanct. cap. 27.

Ibidem.

This *ergo* was no doctrine nor point of faith, which must be open to all the people.

Phil. But S. Basil or whosoeuer he be that wrote that booke, saith, *vtraque parem vim habent ad pietatem*: Things vnwritten haue equal force to godlines with things written. Theop. He saith not that all things vnwritten, but, *vtraque* both sortes haue like force to godlines, not that dumb ceremonies or outward gestures haue equal force with the word of god to lighten the mind, conuert the soule, and cleanse the hart, it were arrogant blasphemie so to say: but amongst things vnwritten he numbreth the prayers of the Church proportioned by the word: and hauing in them the very contents of the word, and also the creede and profession of the faith it selfe, whereby we beleeue in the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, in truth & godlines equiualent with the scriptures & in substance the very same that is witnessed by the scriptures: both these your author in that place counteth for things vnwritten, and these we grant haue equall force to godlines with those things that are written. Phil. In effect they be all one with those things that

Ibidem cap. 27.

And prayers of the Church and the creed haue force to godlines: which are here reckoned amongst traditions.

The fourth part. The popish faith is their tradition against scripture.

that are written. Theop. That maketh his speech the truer, which otherwise were absurd and vngodly.

The papists when they want scripture to proue any point of their doctrine, run by and by to tradition: & traditiō they proove by certaine forgeries of their owne. Our faith must depend on no mans word, but onely on Gods.

Phil. Is it not a wilie shift, that sometimes you will admit no traditions, and at other times when you be hardly pressed, faith, scriptures and all shall be traditions with you? Theo. Is it not a wilier, that hauing framed to your selues a religion without the scriptures, you would now fortifie the same by tradition against the scriptures? But, you may not so preuaile. We haue the warrant of S. Paul and the catholik consent of Christs Church, that our faith should depend on the word of God: & since God speaketh not now but in his scriptures, it is euident that our faith in all points must be directed and ruled by the scriptures. Stand not brabling with vs about the word Tradition, which is very doubtfull, and diuersly taken amongst the fathers: bring some faire and true demonstration for that which you hold, as reason is you should, to counterpoize so many proofes in a matter of such importance, or else admit our assertion to be true.

If they could not boldly call themselues Catholiks, they could doe little.

Phil. That we can do, and yet not hurt our cause. Theo. We know you can doe much. You can boldly call your selues Catholikes, though you be vnshamefast heretiks: and tell the people you teach nothing but antiquitie, when the chiefest points of your religion be meere nouelties and barbarous absurdities. Phil. You can exemplifie a lie the best that euer I heard. Theop. Keepe that praise as proper to your selfe, I will not disturbe your profession. Touching the matter in question, whether I speake ought that is vntrue, let the reader iudge.

You will haue your religion and doctrine to be catholike: that is, confirmed by the scriptures, and professed in all places, of all persons, at all times, euen from the first beginning whersoeuer the Church of Christ hath been receiued. And when we come to see the specialities, we find you to swarue not onely from the sacred scriptures and ancient fathers, but euen from those later ages and Churches, which you would seeme to follow; and to haue gotten you a religion of your owne without councell, canon, antiquitie, or authoritie to witnes the same.

Their adoration of images neuer

For example; the worshipping and adoring of Christs image with diuine honor, concluded in your schooles, and practised

practised in your churches, is it not a wicked and blasphe- taught in the Church, but by themselues.
mous inuention of your owne, against all synodes and fathers, Greeke and Latine, old and new, that euer assembled or taught in the Church of God, besides your selues? The second Nicene councell, which first began that pernicious pastime of saluting and kissing images, did they not in plaine words condemne this error of yours, when they said: *λατρειαν vni Deo tribuimus:* diuine honor we giue to God alone, and not to images? And againe, * I receiue and imbrace reuerent images: but the adoration which is done with diuine honor, called λατρεία, I reserue to the supersubstantiall & quickening Trinitie only, and to no image. Ionas bishop of Orleans that wrote against Claudius bishop of Turin in the defence of images 50. yeares after the second Nicene councell, did he not mightily detest your adoration of images, as a most heinous errour, and was not the whole Church of France by his report, of the same mind with him? Suffer, saith he, the images of the saints, & the histories of holy actions to be painted in the Church, not that they should be worshipped, but that they may be an ornament (to the place) and bring the simple to the remembrance of things past. *Creaturam verò adorari, eique aliquid diuinæ seruitutis impendi, pro nefas ducimus, huiúsque sceleris patratorem detestandum & anathematizandum libera voce proclamamus.* But that any creature (or image) should be adored, or haue any part of diuine honor we count it a wickednes, and with open voice proclaime the committer of that impietie (worthy) to be detested and accursed.

* *Epist. Tharasij & Concilij ad Const. act. 7.*
* *Eiusdem Concil. act. 3.*
Constantinus Constans. Epist.
Ionas Aurelianensis epis. de cultu imaginum, lib. 1.
Adoration of images openly detested in the west Church by such as toke vpon them the defence of images.

And proouing by manifold authorities of scriptures and fathers that neither image neither any thing made with hands should be adored, he addeth: That which you say the worshippers of images answered you for the maintenance of their error; (we thinke no diuinitie to be in the image which we adore, but only in honor of the person whose image it is, we worship it with such veneration:) that (answer of theirs) we reproue and detest as well as you: and because they do know, there is no diuine thing in the image, they be the more blame-woorthie for bestowing diuine honour on a weake and beggarly image, the selfe same answere many of the east (Church) entangled with this hainous errour, giue to such as rebuke them: the Lord of his mercy

Ibidem.

Infirmo & egeno simulachro.

grant, that yet at length both these and those may be drawen from this superstition (of theirs.) France *hath images and suffreth them to stand for the causes which I before rehearsed: but they count it a * great detestation and abomination to haue them adored.

*Sceleratissimo mancipantur errori.
*Ibidem.
*This was after your Nicene Councell 50. yeers.

In this opinion stood the west Churches a long time, till your schoolemen started vp, and ouer-ruled religiō with their sophisticall distinctions and solutions: and they keeping the words of the later Nicene councell, and not marking their drift, controlled that which they concluded and brought in a lewder and wickeder kind of adoring of images with the same honor that is due to the principall.

The schoolemen kept the words of the 2. Nicene Councel, and refelled their mening with a far wickeder resolution than the former.

The chiefe actor in this was your *glorious saint & clarke*, as you call him, Thomas Aquin, who reiecting all that was decreed at Nice inferred against them, that no reuerence could be exhibited to the image of Christ, in that it was a thing grauen or painted, because reuerence is due to none but to a reasonable creature: and alleaging Aristotles authoritie, that the motion to the image and originall is all one, he resoluеth in these words, *Cum Christus adoretur adoratione latriæ, consequens est quod eius imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda.* Since then Christ is adored with diuine honour, it followeth that his image must likewise be adored with the selfe-same * diuine honour.

Thomas part. 3 quæst. 25. art. 3

*Heere the diuel shewed himselfe in his likenes.

Bonauenture another of your Romish saints, canonized by Sixtus the fourth, goeth after Thomas with full saile. *Quia imago Christi introducta est ad repræsentandum eum, qui pro nobis crucifixus est, nec offert se nobis pro se sed pro illo, ideo omnis reuerentia, quæ ei offertur exhibetur Christo: & propterea imagini Christi debet cultus latriæ exhiberi.* Whereas the image of Christ representeth him that was crucified for vs, and offereth it selfe vnto vs, not for it selfe, but for him; in that respect all the reuerence which is giuen to it, is done to Christ: & therefore the image of Christ must be honoured with diuine adoration. * Holcote and * Gerson somewhat disliked this assertion, and disputed against it, but the proneues of the people to follow such fancies, and the grædines of priests and other religious persons to keepe and increase their offrings, and the credite of Thomas, his learning, saintship, and sectaries, bare such a sway in the Church of Rome, that the rest could not be regarded nor heard; and so the common

Bonauen. in 3. lib. senten. dist. 9. quæst. 2.

*Holcot. in lib. Sap. lect. 58.
Gerson. de probatione spirit. parte operum 1.

common opinion and resolution of your Churches and schooles, as the fortresse of your faith confesseth, was that the image of Christ should be worshipped with diuine honour, which you would faine shrinke from in our dayes, the doctrine being both strange and wicked, if you could tell how, but that the words are so plaine that no pretence can colour them.

They say they make not images their gods: but to whatsoeuer they giue diuine honor, that they make their God.

Your schoole doctrine therefore of adoring images with diuine honour, not onely prohibited by the law of God, and abhorred of all ancient and catholike fathers; but euen renounced in the second Nicene councell, as repugnant to truth, & shunned in the west Church for a thousand yeres after Christ & vpward as a most wicked error; how could it on the sudden with a silly distinction of sundry respects become catholike? What greater wickednes can there be than to giue the honor of God to stocks and stones, and to say you do it not in regard of the matter, but of the resemblance which the image hath to the originall? as though it could be an image vnlesse it had some resemblance, either in deed or in our opinion, to the thing it selfe? or mã were not a truer and better image of God, and yet in no respect to be adored with diuine honor? or as if God prohibiting all images made with hands to be adored, has not included as well their resemblance as their matter? Why may not any pagan by this euasion worship what creature he will, and say he beholdeth and honoreth in it not the matter, but the wisedome and power of the creator? And what other conceit is this, than that which the Iewish and heathenish idolaters, when they were reproued, answered; that they adored not the things, which they saw, but conueied their adoration by the image to him that was inuisible? If such prophane speculations may be suffred in gods cause, we may soone delude all that God hath commanded with one respect or other.

To giue Christs honor to an image in respect of the original is a seely shift.

To adore the image in respect of the originall, is in summe the very same answer that al the pagans gaue, when they were reprooued for their idolatrie.

The determination of the second Nicene councell that images were louingly to be saluted, imbraced and kissed (for so themselues expound the word Adoration which they vse) was lesse pernicious than the former, as tending rather to superstitious follie, than to that sacrilegious impietie which after raigned in your schooles: and yet that decision of theirs was nothing lesse than catholike; no

Adoration of images neuer heard of in the Church before the 2. Nicene

Councell, which was 790. yeeres after Christ.

councell or father before them for the space of 790. yeeres euer decreeing or defending any such thing in the Church of God: and the bishops of England, Germanie, France and Spaine forthwith contradicting and confuting their presumption as vncatholike: and your owne schooles reuersing their assertion as voide of all truth, for that no reasonlesse creature is capable of reuerence, which yet that councell had allowed vnto images.

Painting of stories in the Church is somwhat ancient, but neither apostolike, nor catholike.

Painting of stories in the Church is somwhat ancient, but neither apostolike, nor catholike. It was receiued in some places, vpon priuate mens affections, as an ornament for their churches, but vsed as altogither indifferent, that is, vrged on no man as a matter of religion: and not onely the whole Church some hundreth yeeres after Christ (which yet was catholike) wanted all such pictures: but learned and godly bishops without any suspition of error or innouation traduced and repelled such painting, as things either superfluous or dangerous, or both.

These fathers were catholike, & yet repelled painting in Churches. *Nicenæ Synod. 2. act. 6.*

What accompt the councell of Eliberis, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Augustine made of pictures, you heard before: how Chrysostom, Amphilochius, Asterius, and others esteemed them, you may read in your owne bookes of councels: where the wicked and superstitious vpholders of images refute the councell of Constantinople, but with shifting and lying most fit for the cause they tooke in hand.

The second Councell of Nice deluded the fathers that were alledged against them.

To Epiphanius exhorting the emperor not to bring images into the Church, no nor to tolerate them in priuate houses, and adding this reason, *non enim fas est Christianum per oculos suspensum teneri, sed per occupationem mentis*, it is not lawful for a christian to stand gazing with his eies, but to haue his mind occupied; they answere that this epistle was forged in Epiphanius name, and that Epiphanius himselfe woulde neuer haue been so bitter against images. The first is easilie said, & the second is falsly supposed without any proofe; this epistle was auouched to be his in a synod of 330. bishops not long before: and Epiphanius is sharper against images in his epistle to Iohn of Hierusalem which Saint Hierom translated, than he was in this, which they disliked.

Epiphanius pretended to be forged, but without all cause.

Ibidem. Eusebius dissuading the empresse from regarding the painted image of Christ with these words, *Quis igitur gloriæ*

eiusmodi

eiusmodi & dignitatis splendores lucentes & fulgurantes, effigiare mortuis & inanimatis coloribus & vmbratili pictura posset? who can resemble in dead & lifeless colours, & with the shadowe of a picture the shining & glittering brightnes (of Christs) glorie and dignitie, is reiected as an heretike & condemned by those that liued many hundred yeeres after him, & were in credite or learning no way comparable to him.

Eusebius condemned by them for an heretike, but falsely. *Nicene Synodi 2. act. 6.*

Chrysostomes assertion, *Nos per scripta sanctorum fruimur præsentia, non sane corporum ipsorum sed animarum imagines habemus*; we by writing enioy the presence of the saints, not hauing any images of their bodies, but of their minds: *Amphilochius* protestation, *Non enim nobis sanctorum corporales vultus in tabulis coloribus effigiare curæ est, quoniam hijs opus non habemus*: we haue no care to resemble in colours the bodily visages of the saints, bicause we haue no need of them: and Asterius admonition, *Ne pingas Christum in vestibus, sed magis sumptus illo & impensis pauperibus subueni*: paint not Christ in clothes (or colours) but rather relieue the poore with that expence and charge: they auoide as spoken by way of comparison, and not of illation, as if men in their cõparisons did not speake truth, and affirme both parts as well as in their conclusions. This was the skill and cunning of your late Nicene synod to crie corruption on others when they themselues were most corrupt, & with a shift of words to decree that as catholike which was repugnant to the plaine precepts of God and generall iudgement of their forefathers in all ages and places before them.

Ibidem. *Ibidem.* Chrysostom. Amphilochius, and Asterius plainly shifted off by the Councell of Nice.

For our parts we say with Origen, *Non igitur fieri id poterit vt & Deum quis nouerit, & simulachris vt supplicet.* It cannot be that a man should know God & bow himselfe to images: & with Austen, * Let it be no religion of ours to worship the works of mens hands; bicause the workmen that make them are the better (of the twaine) whom yet we may not worship. The law of God is so direct, forbidding vs to bow to any image, similitude or likenes of any thing, that no distinction can help you. *Notanda proprietas: Deos coli, Imaginem adorari; quorum vtrumque, seruis Dei non conuenit.* Note saith S. Hierom the proprietie (of the speech,) Gods are worshipped, images are adored (or bowed vnto:) wherof neither is fit for the seruants of God.

Contra Celsium lib. 7. Bowing to images condemned. * *August. de vera relig. cap. 55.* *Hierom in 6. cap. Daniel.*

If you trust not the ancient fathers, one of your owne

friends will tell you the same. *Non adorabis, neque coles. Inter quæ distingue. Non adorabis scilicet veneratione corporis, vt inclinando eis, vel genuflectendo. Non coles, scilicet affectione mentis. Ad adorandum igitur & colendum prohibetur imagines fieri.* Thou shalt not adore them, nor worship them. Which are thus to be distinguished. Thou shalt not adore them, that is with any bodilie reuerence, as bowing or kneeling to them. Thou shalt not worship them with any deuotion of minde. Images therfore are prohibited to be either adored or worshiped. Thus your owne fellowes were not so blind but they perceiued the strength and force of Gods commandement to be such as we defend at this present against you.

Gerson. in compendio Theolog. de 10. præceptis. Som of their own Church haue cõdemned bowing to images, as contrarie to the law of God.

And though he labor to shift off the matter with a rule of Saint Augustine, that the honour passeth from the signe to the thing signified: yet he both misled himselfe, and misconstrued his authour. For Saint Augustine in that place putteth a manifest barre against images, and precisely and purposely excludeth them out of the number of signes which he ment to treat of, when he gaue this rule. His words are, *Qui veneratur vtile signum diuinitus institutum, cuius vim significationémque intelligit, non hoc veneratur quod videtur, sed illud potius quo talia cuncta referenda sunt.* He that reuerenceth a profitable signe ordained by God, the force and signification whereof he well vnderstandeth, doth not reuerence that which he seeth but rather that to which all such signes are to be referred.

S. Augustine abused to make for images. *August. de doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 9.*

This rule reacheth to no signes, but to such as are ordained by Gods owne institution, which images are not, and therfore are cleane without the compasse of S. Augustines speech. Againe the veneration here touched, is not any worshipping or adoring of the creatures which God vseth for signes, but a reuerent estimation and regarde of them that they be not despised or abused although they be but signes. So that water in baptisme and the creatures of bread and wine in the Lords supper (which are the two examples here mentioned) are to be reuerenced as things that be sacred by the word and ordinance of God, but not to be adored and honored for the things thẽselues, whose signes they are; that were a miserable seruitude, or rather the right death of the soule, as Austen noteth. And that the first teachers of truth remooued all images as vnprofitable

Things ordained by God must haue their reuerence, though they be but creatures, mary adoration they must not haue.

signes

signes to serue God with, the wordes before doe plainly shewe. For speaking of the difference betweene the Iewes & the gentils when they should be conuerted vnto Christ, he saith,* Christian libertie finding the Iewes vnder profitable signes (to wit the rites and ceremonies of the law) did interprete the meaning of them, and so by directing the people to the things themselues, deliuered them from the seruitude of the signes; but finding the Gentiles vnder *vnprofitable signes (for that they * worshipped images either as gods, or as the signes and resemblances of Gods) *ipsa signa frustrauit remouitque omnia*, she wholy remooued and frustrated the signes themselues, that is she would not suffer them to serue the true God with any such signes as bodily shapes and images were.

*August. lib. eodem, ca. 9. de doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 5.

* cap. 8. Images vnprofitable signes, and not ordeined of God.

* cap. 7.
* cap. 8.

Your honoring of images is reproued as you see and not releeued by S. Augustines rule. And since the law of God expressely and streitly chargeth you not so much as to bowe your bodies or knees to the likenes of any thing in heauen or earth, which is made with hands, consult your owne consciences, whether you may with your respects frustrate, or with your routes ouerbeare the distinct and direct voice of God himselfe in his owne Church. And if you be not giuen ouer into a reprobate sense, you will say no. Now that which is against the lawe of God can neither be christian, nor catholike. Your doctrine therfore of bowing & knéeling to images is repugnant both to the precepts of God, & to the generall and ancient resolution of Christs Church: your adoring them with diuine honor is a sacrilegious and flagitious, as well noueltie as impietie.

The law of God cõdemneth bowing vnto images, which precept the Church must obey without all shifts or other respects.

Phil. You must not looke that we should defend the sayings & doings of al that haue taken part with the Church of Rome. If Thomas waded too far in worshipping images, if Gerson mistooke S. Augustine, if the later councell of Nice denied or strained some of the ancient fathers, you must not chalenge vs for their ouersights. Theo. We chalenge you for vaunting your selues to be catholikes, when in deede you do nothing but smooth and sleeke the corruptions and inuentions of later ages against the right and ancient faith of Christs Church.

The diuersitie of images with their adoration, how late it began, how often it varied, how far at length it swarued

The fourth part. Custome without truth is but the antiquitie of error. from the primatiue and originall profession of the Christian & Catholike faith; we haue spent some time to examine.

Praying in a strange toong. Let vs now approch to your prayers in a strange toong, which haue a great deale lesse shew of catholicisme than images had, and yet are as egerly defended by you as images were.

Phil. In the latine toong we haue prayers, in a strange toong we haue none: you rather that haue turned scriptures, Church seruice & secrets for your pleasure into the English toong, make your prayers in a strange & vnwonted speech to Catholike eares. Theop. To Englishmen the English toong is not strange. Phil. I know they vnderstand it, but I call it strange because they were not wont to haue the publike prayers of the Church in their mother toong. The. In cases of religion, we must respect, not what men haue, but what they should haue been vsed to. Cyprian saith well, * *Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est.* Custome without truth, is but the long continuance of errour, and so Terrullian, * *Quodcunque aduersus veritatem sapit hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo.* Whatsoeuer is against the truth, it must be counted heresie, though it be an old custome. The councel of Carthage where Cyprian was, resolued thus: *The Lord saith in the gospel, I am truth, he said not I am custome. Truth therfore appearing, let custome yeeld to truth.

Custome without truth is the rottennes of error.
* *Cyp. ad Pompei. contra ep. Stephan.*
* *Tertul. de virgin. veland.*
* *Ex sentent. Concil. Carthag. inter opera Cyprian.*

Phil. That councel erred in neglecting the old custome which the Church obserued. Theop. But yet their general assertion, which I alleage, was so strong, that S. Augustine saith to those very words: * *Plane respondeo, quis dubitet veritati manifestæ debere consuetudinem cedere?* I plainly answer, who doubteth but that custome must yeeld to the truth appearing? Phil. Neither do we doubt of that, but how proue you this to be a manifest truth, that the people of this land must haue their diuine seruice in the English toong?

* *August. de bap. cont. Donat. lib. 3. ca. 6.*

Theo. It is the manifest precept of him that sayd, I am truth and witnessed in the scripture which is the word of truth. Phil. In what place there? Theop. Make not your selfe so great a stranger in the scriptures, as if you knew not the place. Phil. You meane the 14. chapter of the first epistle which S. Paul wrote to the Church of Corinth. Theo. I do; what say you to it? Phi. Mary this we say, *The reader may take a taste in this one point of your deceitfull dea-*

Iohn. 14. Ephes. 1.

The Rhemish Test. vpon the 1. Cor. 14.

ling

ling, abusing the simplicitie of the popular by peruerse application of Gods holy word, vpon some small similitude, and equiuocation of certaine termes, against the approoued godly vse and truth of the vniuersal Church, for the seruice in the Latin or Greeke toong: which you ignorantly or rather wilfully pretend to be against this discourse of S. Paul touching strange toongs. Theo. And he that marketh your shifting and facing in this one point, shall need no farther taste of your dealing. Phil. If you like not that which we say, refel it. Theo. Can your selues tell what you say? Phil. You shall well find that when we come to the matter. Theoph. First then heare what the apostle saith, and after you shal haue leaue to say what you will.

Instructing the Church of Corinth, thus he saith, And now brethré if I come to you speaking with (strange) toongs what shal I profite you? If a trumpet giue an vncertain sound, who will prepare himselfe to the battell? So likewise you by the toong except you vtter wordes of easie vnderstanding, how shall it be knowen what is spoken? For you shall speake in the aire. There are for example so many kinds of toongs in the world, and none of them is without sound. Except I know the power (and signification) of the speach, I shall be to him that speaketh barbarous, and he that speaketh shall be barbarous to me. Wherefore let him that speaketh a (strange) toong pray that he may interprete. For if I pray in a toong (not vnderstood) my spirit prayeth, but mine vnderstanding is without fruit. What is it then? I wil pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the vnderstanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the vnderstanding also. Els when thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the roume of the vnlearned, say Amen, at thy giuing of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou saiest? Thou verily giuest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I had rather in the Church to speake fiue wordes with mine vnderstanding that I might also instruct others, than ten thousand words in an vnknowen toong. When ye come together, let all things be done to edification. If any man speake in an (vnknowen) toong, let one interprete: but if there be no interpreter, let him keepe silence in the Church: God is not the author of confusion but of peace: so (I teach) in all the Churches of the saintes. If any man seeme to be a prophet or to be spirituall, let him vnderstand that the

1.Cor.14. The place of S.Paul to the Corinthians against praying in a strange toong.

the things which I write vnto you are the commandements of the Lord. Thus far S. Paul: which I rehearse at large, that it may lie for the ground of the whole dispute that shall follow. What answere you to this commandement of God and doctrine of his apostle?

The Iesuits labor tooth and naile to shift off this place.

Phil. No one place of scripture, is more diuersly or easilie answered than this. First, you and your translations corrupt this chapter by putting your owne words to the apostles text. For where he saith toong, you ad (strange, vnknown, not vnderstood) which are not in S. Paul. Secondly, you* misconster the whole passage of S. Paul: for by edifying the Church, and vnderstanding the power of the voice, he meaneth not the bare signification of the words onely, but *the* increase of faith, true knowledge and good life:* and in that sense we say, *Our forefathers were* as much edified with the latine seruice, that is, *as wise, as faithfull, as deuout, as fearfull to breake Gods laws, and as likely to be saued as we are* (with) *all our toongs, translations and english praiers.* Thirdly, *by strange toongs the apostle meaneth not the Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew.* Fourthly, *that he speaketh not of the Churches seruice is prooued by inuincible arguments.* Fiftly, *the catholike people are taught the contents of their praiers, and vnderstand euery ceremonie, and can behaue themselues accordingly.* Sixtly, *it is not necessary to vnderstand our praiers.* Lastly, *the seruice hath been alwaies in Latin throughout the west Church. And to dispute thereof, as though it were not to be done, since the whole Church doth practise and obserue it throughout the world, is most insolent madnes,* as S. Augustine saith in 118. epistle. I saw by your lookes, you thought we could not answere it.

* This is the summe of all their declaration vpon the 1. Cor. 14. in their Rhemish Testament.

Theo. I knew you had store of answeres, such as they be: but from such interpreters God defend vs and all that be his. Phil. Speak to the matter, let the men alone. Theo. Then to the matter; this is a right paterne of your Rhemish annotations stuffed with* impertinent allegations and* impudent sophistications, of purpose to defeate and frustrate the scriptures that are against you. Phil. You fall to railing, when you faint in reasoning. Theo. How can we but kindle when we see you fray the people of God from the sweete and wholesome foode of their soules, and delude them with your huskes and hogwash?

The two vertues of their Rhemish annotations.

Phil. First discharge your selues of your shamful adding to

to the scriptures, and then you may the better examine our answers. Theo. To the text of the holie Ghost we ad not: onely for the better conceauing of the sense, in an other print we enterpose that speciall limitation of the word, toong, which the drift of the whole chapter necessarily enforceth, which the apostle himselfe directly expresseth, and the learned and ancient fathers expounding this place do euery where insert as the right construction of the scripture.

The words, strange or vnknowne, put into the text in another print for the opening of S. Pauls mind.

S. Paul did not speake either of toongs in generall, or of such toongs as were knowen and well vnderstode of the Corinthians; nothing can be more absurd nor more against sense and nature than so to apply the apostles reasons, but of such toongs as were vnknowen & not vnderstod of the hearers, and in that case his assertions are very true and his illations very strong, which otherwise are ridiculous, if not monsterous. For who well in his wits will make the apostle speake so fallsly and absurdly as to say; He that speaketh a (knowne) toong, speaketh not vnto men, but vnto God: If I come to you, speaking with (knowne) toongs, what shall I profite you? He that speaketh a (knowen) language edifieth (but) himself: when thou blessest with the spirit (and in a knowen toong) how shall he that is vnlearned say, *Amen?* These speeches haue neither rime nor reason in them; but turn them to the contrary and limit them to an vnknown toong, and then they be very substantiall and sensible assertions.

Saint Pauls words are most absurd, if they be vnderstood of knowne toongs.

The text can not stand, except you add the word (vnknown) to it. S. paul so expoundeth himselfe. * Vers. 9. * 11. * 16.

And so S. Paul in that chapter very often expoundeth himselfe. For these be his owne additions, How shall it be vnderstood what is spoken? Except I knowe the power of the speach I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh. *He knoweth not what thou saiest. And citing a place of the prophet Esay to confirme his intent, he saith, by men of other toongs and of other languages will I speake to this people. What is an other toong & another language but in manifest termes, a strange tong and a strange language?

An other toong is a strange tong, which is all one with an vnknowne toong. *Chrysost. in* 1. *Cor.* 14.

Chrysostom & Ambrose commenting vpon this chapter, deliuer S. Pauls mind in those brey words which we do. *Si peregrina lingua gratias agas*: If thou giue thanks in a STRANGE toong, saith Chrysostome, the common man can not answere *Amen.* And speaking in S. Pauls person, * *Linguas inutiles*

The fathers interpreting S. Paul, adde those words which we doe. * *Ibidem.*

inutiles esse dico, quantisper sunt ignotæ: I say toongs are vnprofitable so long as they are VNKNOWNE. * *Nam quæ vtilitas ex voce non intellecta poterit esse?* For what profit can there come by a speech that is NOT VNDERSTOOD? Ambrose likewise, *Hoc est quod dicit, qui loquitur incognita lingua, Deo loquitur.* This is it the apostle saith, he that speaketh in AN VNKNOWNE TOONG, speaketh vnto God & not vnto men. And again,* *Docere nemo poterit, nisi intelligatur.* No man can instruct except he be vnderstood. And therfore the apostle* warneth, saith he, that they should not seeme barbarous ech to other by AN VNKNOWNE TOONG. **Non competit fidelibus audire linguas quas non intelligunt, sed infidelibus.* It is not for the faithfull to hear toongs which they vnderstand not, but for infidels. *Qui loquitur lingua*] *subaudis incognita & peregrina.* He that speaketh with a toong) thou must vnderstand, saith Haymo, an vnknowne and strange toong. And againe,* *Si orem lingua*] *subaudis incognita.* If I pray with a toong) to wit, an vnknown tong, the vnderstanding of my soule is without any profit, because I vnderstand not what I speake. And so S. Augustin disputing of this place saith.* *Quia lingua, id est membro corporis quod mouemus in ore cum loquimur, signa vtique rerum dantur, non res ipsæ proferuntur, propterea translato verbo linguam appellauit quælibet signorum prolationem priusquam intelligantur.* Because by the toong I mean that part of the body which we mooue in our mouths when we speake, the signes of things are deliuered and not the things themselues, therfore (the apostle to the Corinthes) by a kind of translation calleth any vttering of signes (or words)* before they be vnderstood, a toong.

Phil. Indeed S. Paul speaketh of toongs not vnderstood when he saith they neither profite nor edifie: but he that thinketh S. Paul speaking of edification of mans mind or vnderstanding, meaneth the vnderstanding of the words onely, is foully deceiued. For what is a childe of fiue or sixe yeeres old edified or increased in knowledge by his Pater noster in english? It is the sense therfore which euery man can not haue neither in english nor latin, the knowledge wherof properly and rightly edifieth to instruction: and the knowledge of the words onely often edifieth neuer a whit, and sometimes buildeth to error and destruction: as it is plaine in all heretikes and many curious persons besides.

Theo. As we should shewe our selues to be mad, if we should say that english prayers do edifie children before they

* *Ibidem.*

Ambr. in 1. Cor. 14.

* *Ibidem.*
* *Ibidem.*

* *Ibidem.*

Haymo in 1. Cor. 14.
* *Ibidem.*

August. de Gen. ad lit. lib. 12. cap. 8.

Marke what a toong is by S. Augustines interpretation.

The Rhemish Test. 1. Cor. 14.

they come to the yeres of discretion, or that the very hearing of their mother toong doth sufficiently instruct English men, though the sense of that which is spoken be neuer so darke, obscure, parabolicall, and mysticall: for then we should crosse the very principles of nature & the whole discourse of the apostle (who mainely teacheth, that no man is edified, except he vnderstand: and meaneth by vnderstanding both the knowledge of the words that enter our eares, and of the sense that affecteth our harts: so are you wrong than mad to defend that men may be edified by speech wherof they vnderstand not so much as one word, to confute so shamefull an absurditie, we neede neither scriptures nor fathers: children of six yeers old wil tel you they be no whit the better for all your paines, if they vnderstand not your words. What will you not say, that will say this? And when you that be masters in Israel, are so blind, how great must the blindnesse of others be, that take their light from you? You resist not onely God, and his truth, but you force your owne toongs to speake against your owne harts. For say your selues; if a man speake Welch or Irish to you, that vnderstand it not, what will it profite you, or which way can you be edified by it?

He that knoweth not the sense, is not edified, but he that knoweth not one word, as in a strange toong is a thousand times lesse edified. Speake to children in a strange toong, and they will either fly from you for feare or laugh you to scorne.

Phil. Welch or Irish would do vs no good, but Greeke or Hebrewe would. Theo. What difference betweene Hebrew and Irish to him that vnderstandeth a word of neither? When the hart concerneth not the sense of the words, nor so much as distinguisheth the toong, whether it be Hebrew or Irish, for lack of knowledge, how can the Hebrew or Greeke toong, though the one be sacred & the other learned, instruct the hearer, or helpe his vnderstanding more than Welch or Irish can?

Hebrew doth edifie no more thā Irish if a man vnderstand neither.

The apostles rule, If I come to you speaking with toongs (not vnderstood) what shall I profite you? is generally true of all toongs. *Nemo edificatur audiendo quod non intelligit:* No man, saith Augustine, is edified with hearing that which he vnderstandeth not. **Linguas loquens seipsum edificat, quod quidem fieri non potest, nisi quæ loquatur norit.* He that speaketh with toongs edifieth himselfe: which is not possible, except he know what he saith, as Chrysostom noteth. And Ambrose, *Si vtique ad edificandum Ecclesiam conuenitis, ea dici debent, quæ intelligant audientes:* If you come togither to edifie the Church,

De Gen. ad liter. li. 12. ca. 8. Chrysost. in 1. Cor. 14. Ambros. in 1. Cor. 14.

Church, those things must be spoken which the hearers may vnderstand. If then there be no edification, where nothing is vnderstood; a strāge toong, be it Hebrew, Greeke, Welch or Irish, cannot edifie the hearer that is ignorant of them; by reason the heart perceiueth not the words, much lesse the sense of that which is spoken.

Nothing doth edifie except it be vnderstood.

Phil. *We say, the simple people, and many one that thinke themselues some body, vnderstand as litle of the sense of diuers psalmes, lessons and oraisons in the vulgar toong as if they were in Latine.* Theo. And we say you do nothing now but cauil, which in matters of truth is not tolerable. For what if the vulgar sort vnderstand not the perfect sense of euery verse or word that is read in the Church, will you thence inferre; that the diuine seruice in a knowen toong doth not edifie? Your selues, step out the proudest of you, vnderstand not euery line and letter that is written in the olde and new Testament; do the scriptures therefore not edifie; or blame you the holy Ghost for writting them, bicause you do not euery where reach to the depth of them? What teacher can be so plaine; but in debating matters of faith and saluation he shal be many times forced to passe the capacitie of rude and ignorant men? Will you therefore conclude against saint Paul, that neither prophets, nor preachers edifie? In the epistles (& so no doubt sermons) of Paul himselfe there are (& were) some things hard to be vnderstood. Were the preachings & writings therefore of the apostle vnprofitable?

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Cor. 14. A wretched cauill of the Iesuits bicause the people vnderstand not euery mysterie of the psalmes or lessons, to say they were as good not vnderstand a word.

2. Pet. 3.

Phil. We reason against your seruice, not against the scriptures. Theop. As though the psalms and lessons in our seruice were not partes of the sacred scriptures. If therefore our diuine seruice do not edifie in respect of the psalmes and lessons there sung and read, then the scriptures themselues do not edifie, and consequently S. Paul was ouershot when he said, whatsoeuer things are written, were written for * our instruction; and the holy Ghost deceiued when he witnessed, that the whole scripture is * profitable to teach, correct and instruct. Or if the spirit of God be truth, as there is no question he is, then are you voide both of his spirit & of truth also, to say that diuers psalms and lessons do not edifie.

If the psalmes and lessons doe not edifie, the word of God doth not edifie.

*Rom. 15.
*2. Tim. 3.

Phil. You be very snappish: We speake of your praiers, as well as of the psalms and lessons: neither doe we say

the

the psalms and lessons do not edifie, but that the simple vnderstand not diuers of them no more then if they were in Latine. Theop. They must be very simple that vnderstand not our prayers. They containe nothing besides the confession of our sinnes to God, the rendring of thanks for his graces & mercies bestowed on vs in Christ his sonne, and the asking of such things at his hands as his wisdom seeth to be needfull and his goodnes thinketh expedient for vs and all mankind. And these things if any man vnderstand not, being distinctly and daily pronounced in his mother tong, you may beg him for a naturall and do him no wrong.

The rest of our prayers are so plaine, that no man can pretend lacke of vnderstanding them, except he be a naturall. They be mad Christians & of your making, that vnderstand not these things.

As for the psalms and lessons, since they be Gods not ours, the question must not be whether euery lad or lasse, prentise and ploughman exactly vnderstand euery word that is written, but whether they edifie the Church of Christ or no; that is, whether they haue in them many things fruitful to be knowen, and easie to be learned if the hearers will be diligent and delight in the law of God as they ought, & are bound to do. And in this case masters, you be not onely snappish, but very saucie with God himself, that will not suffer him to speake in his Church by the mouthes of his prophets & apostles, if you find any sot or simple idiote in the company that happily vnderstandeth not euery word which the holy Ghost vttereth.

Were you Surgions of the body, and had some in cure, that could not see with one eie, to remedy that imperfection, would you put out both, and make them starke blind? Phil. A wise similitude. Theo. As wise as your illation against our diuine seruice. For where some be so dull and ignorant, that they conceiue not diuers things in the psalms, lessons and prayers, to helpe that, you would take from them the rest which they do vnderstand, and so fill their eares with the strangenesse of an vnknowen tong, that their hearts perceiue iust as much of your prayers as blind men do of colours.

Compare this similitude with the Iesuits obiection, and tel me what they differ.

And see you not that your assertion strangleth it selfe, and cleerely conuinceth the vnfruitfulnes of your latine prayers? For if the people be so simple that they vnderstand not the sense of many things in their mother tong, how many thinke you among them vnderstand the same or any thing

If seruice in a knowne tong do not edifie, what doth seruice in an vnknowne?

thing else in the latine toong? If the scriptures must be inioined silence in the Church because they speake some things which the ruder sort cannot easily attaine, what place can be left for your latine masse, mattins and seruice, of which the people vnderstand not one word: and the knowledge of so much, as one sentence hereof, before they can get, they must be not onely Diuines, which you say they are not, but good Grammarians, which in their education is not possible? What else is this but to put out both their eies, and where before they vnderstood many things that were both fruitfull and needfull for them, so to mure vp their eares & choke vp their harts with a barbarous sound of vnknowen speech, that neither the simpler, nor wiser sort of them perceiued any line or letter of your seruice?

The Iesuits way to edifie is to let the people not vnderstand a word of their praiers.

Phil. Call you the latin toong barbarous? Theop. Not in it self, but in respect of the hearer, which is not acquainted with it. And so S. Paul calleth any language that is not vnderstood, barbarous to him that vnderstandeth it not. * If I know not the power (or significatiō) of the speech, I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh, and he that speaketh shall be barbarous to me (that vnderstand him not.)

Euery toong barbarous to him that vnderstandeth it not.

* 1.Cor.14.

The Rhemish Testament, 1.Cor.14.

Phil. You are deceiued. *There is here no word written or ment of any other toongs but such as men spake in the primitiue Church by miracle.* Theop. Did not the twelue apostles, that were Hebrews borne, speake Greeke and Latine by the miraculous gift of the holy Ghost, descending on them in the likenes of clouen and firie toongs, as it is specified in the second of the Actes? Phil. I thinke they did: because the Romanes are there named amongst those that heard, euery man their own language at the apostles mouthes: marie *though the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine might be giuen by miracle and without study, it being knowen to the Iewes, Romanes or Greekes, in euery place, they be not counted among the differences of barbarous and strange toongs here spoken of.*

Acts. 2.

The Rhemish Testament.

Theop. S. Paul doth not here like a rhetorician, as you would haue him, distinguish the toongs which be most eloquent and ozat oztall in themselues: that was farre from the apostles mind or purpose: but onely sheweth that euery toong not vnderstood, be it Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, Persike, Arabike, or what language you list, seemeth not

1.Cor.14. Barbarous, that is, which is not vnderstood, what toong soeuer it be.

without iust cause to be barbarous to him that knoweth not the force and signification of the speech. And so he limiteth the word barbarous; when he saith: If I know not the power of the voice, I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh (and he likewise to me.) * *Omnis sermo qui non intelligitur barbarus iudicatur.* Euerie toong that is not vnderstood, is deemed, saith Hierom, to be barbarous. And Chrysostom, * He shall be barbarous to me, and I to him. *Non vtique ob naturam vocis sed ob imperitiam,* not by the nature of the toong, but by the vnskilfulnes (of the hearer.) * *Non enim barbarus, inquit, ero: sed loquenti barbarus. Et rursus, non qui loquitur barbarus est, inquit: sed mihi barbarus.* For (S. Paul) saith not, I shall (simplie) be a barbarian, but barbarous to him that speaketh. And againe, he that speaketh, shall not be (absolutelie) a barbarian, but barbarous vnto me, saith the Apostle.

1. *Cor.* 14. * *Hieron. in*

1. *Cor.* 14. * *Chrysost. in* 1. *Cor.* 14. *hom.* 35 * *Ibidem.*

Phil. This we say was not meant of any of the three learned toongs, namely, not of the Latine, Greeke, nor Hebrew. Theop. That is one of your oracles in your Rhemish obseruations, but we would heare your reasons and not your fancies, why the Latine toong, if it be not vnderstood, may not be counted barbarous to the hearer.

Phil. *Know you that nothing (in this chapter) is meant of those toongs which were the common languages of the world, or of the faithfull, vnderstood of the learned and ciuill people in euerie great citie, and in which the scriptures of the old and new Testament were written.*

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Corin. 14.

Theop. This is pride, to affirme what you will your selues: it is no reason to confirme that which is now in question betwixt vs: and yet that which you affirme is either not true, or not much to the matter. For first in Latine no scriptures were written; but the Apostle writing to the Romanes, wrote in the Greek toong & not in Latin, which argueth that the Latin toong was nothing so much esteemed, or so generally dispersed as the Greeke. Next, that the learned & ciuill people in euery great citie had the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, & Latine, is another of your Iesuitical truths, auouched by no man but by your selues, & no way possible to be proued, but by your magistrall surmises. The Hebrew was hard & neglected of all men sauing of the Iewes, whose peculiar toong it was; the greater cities despising as well the nation as their

Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, were not vnderstood of the ciuill people in euerie great citie.

language, till Christ was ascended; and betweene that & the preaching of the Gospell in ꝑ greater cities the people though they were ciuill, had neither time, capacitie, nor meanes to learne a new tong, & so difficult a tong both to pronounce & vnderstand as the Hebrew is. The Greeke tong was in high price & farther spred, before the birth of our Sauiour, not only by reason of the monarchie which was amõgst the Grecians before it came to the Romans, but speciallie for that all liberall studies, artes & exercises were handled and perfited either wholy or chiefely by the Grecians, the Romanes affecting rather the enlarging of their empire with armes and triumphes, than the furnishing of their citie with scholasticall & academicall ornaments. The Latine tong came in last, and though in the West parts betweene this and Rome it some-what preuailed by reason of the empire, and no better tong neerer; yet in the East it was little regarded, and seldome vsed, yea the Grecians in comparison of their tong neglected it as barbarous.

The Greciãs accounteth the Latin toong to be barbarous in respect of their owne.

Phil. Barbarous? Who euer called the Romanes Barbarians, or the Latine tong barbarous? Theop. The Grecians disdained the Romane tong as barbarous in respect of their owne, and did not stick to number the Romanes amongst the barbarians. Plautus the father of the Latin tong translating a Comedie out of the Greeke into Latin, saieth: Marcus *vertit barbarè: Plautus* translated it into the barbarous toong (of the Romanes.) Strabo confesseth that many dividing the whole world into Greekes and Barbarians, put the Romanes in the second ranke amongst the Barbarians; which partition dured to the Apostles time, and is inserted in the first beginning of his Epistle to the Romanes. I am debter to the Greekes and to the Barbarians, and therefore am readie to preach the Gospell to you also, that are at Rome. He is a debter to both and by that meanes to the Romanes: the Romanes therefore by S. Pauls owne mouth (since they were not Grecians) are numbred amongst the Barbarians. Marie this is not materiall to our purpose, the Grecians in their proud conceit thought euerie nation barbarous that wanted any thing of the daintinesse of their speech, and delicatenesse of their life; where in deed no nation may iustly be

Plautus in prolog. Asinariæ.

Strabo Geographiæ lib. 1. Rom. 1.

We despise not these toongs as barbarous in

be counted barbarous, except it be voide of all humane ciuilitie and societie, which the Romanes then were not, & infinit nations now are not. But S. Paul in this place, which we reason of, vseth barbarous for that which is not vnderstood of the hearer, though the toong in it selfe be neuer so learned, or eloquent. Those are his verie words in this chapter vttered for the better declaration of his meaning: and the word beareth this sense euen among prophane writers: as when the poet that was a Romane, and banished into Pontus, said, *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor vlli.* I am heere a barbarian, because no man vnderstandeth what I speake. Euen so the Grecians and Hebritians by S. Pauls resolution are barbarians to him that knoweth not what they say.

themselues; but shew what S. Paul meaneth by this word.

*Triſtium lib. 5. elegia 11.

Phil. You shall neuer induce me to thinke that S. Paul spake of any of those three toongs, which were after a sort sanctified in our Sauiours crosse. Theop. What you will be led to we greatly passe not, the scriptures depend not on your dreames, we search for the sense of S. Pauls words, which being generall, may not be restrained to what you list without some surer authoritie than your owne. There are, saith the Apostle, for example sake, so manie kinds of toongs * in the world, and * none of them is without sound (or signification.) Yet if I know not the vertue of the voice, I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh (in any of them:) and he that speaketh shall be barbarous to me. * There are so manie kinds of voices in the world. That is, saith Chrysostome, so manie toongs and languages; to wit, the Scythian, Thracian, Romane, Persian, Mauritanian, Indian, Egyptian, and of thousand other nations besides these. Therefore if I know not the power of the voice, I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh. Neither would I haue you thinke it to come to passe in vs onely, you may see the like in * all. And concluding him that praied in Latine, if he vnderstood not his owne speech, to be barbarous to himselfe by this verie rule of the scripture, he saith: If a man should presentlie speake in the Persian toong, or in anie other strange toong, and not vnderstand what he speaketh, he shall be barbarous euen to himselfe, not onlie to another that knew not the power of the language. There were at the first manie that praied and gaue a

* And you shall neuer proue he spake not of them; in the meane time the Apostles words lie indifferently for all toongs in the world, and none of them be generall speeches extending to all the toongs that are.

**Chryſoſt. in 1. Corinth. 14.*

* In al toongs he that is not vnderstood, is barbarous to the heare.

The fourth part. S. Pauls words cõprise both church seruice & sermons.

Chry. Ibidem. Chrysostome exemplifieth Saint Paules words twise together by the latine toong. Though we praie in latin or what toong whatsoeuer.

Ambros. in 1. Corinth. 14.

* *Ibidem.* By S. Ambrose iudgement, the Apostles spake principally of those that vsed the Hebrew toong in their sermõs and praiers, when the people vnderstood them not.

Haymo. in 1. Corinth. 14.

Haymo. Ibidẽ.

sound with the voice, vsing the Persian or Romane toong, which vnderstood not what they said. The Apostle therefore hence teacheth, that our toong ought to speake, and our mind withall vnderstand the words. Which except we do, there must of * necessitie follow a confusion.

S. Ambrose **exemplifieth the Apostles discourse in none other toongs but in the Greeke and Hebrew.** If I praie with the toong, my spirit praieth, but mine vnderstanding is without fruite. It is manifest that the mind of man is ignorant, when he speaketh with a toong which he vnderstandeth not, as latine men vse tõ sing Greeke, delighted with the sound of the words, but not knowing what they say. **And shewing who they were that the Apostle reproueth in this whole chapter, he saith:** * *Hij ex Hebræis erant, qui aliquando Syra lingua, plerumque Hebræa in tractatibus aut oblationibus vtebantur ad commendationem:* They were Hebrewes who to commend themselues vsed sometimes the Syrike, most times the Hebrew toong in their sermons and (praiers) at the oblation.

Haymo **likewise bringeth the Greeke and Hebrew toongs to declare the Apostles meaning.** If I know not the power] or vnderstãding, [of the voice] which I heare [I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh: and he that speaketh shall be barbarous to me.] For example, I am a Grecian, thou an Hebrew: if I speake to thee in Greeke, I shall seeme barbarous: likewise if thou speake to me in Hebrew, thou shalt seeme barbarous. **And, that as well in praying as preaching.** * An idiot is he that knoweth that onely toong wherein he was borne and bred. If such an one therefore stand by thee, whiles thou dost solemnly celebrate the mysterie of the Masse, or make a sermon, or giue a blessing, how shall he say Amen at thy blessing, whẽ he knoweth not what thou saiest? for so much as he vnderstanding none but his mother toong, can not tell what thou speakest in that (straunge and) barbarous toong (**barbarous not in it selfe, but in respect of him that vnderstandeth it not.**

You say *the Apostle by strange toongs meaneth not the latine, Greeke or Hebrue.*

S. Chrysostome **and** S. Ambrose **do verifie the Apostles words of those toongs, namelie and chieflie: yea,** S. Ambrose **saith the occasion of all this offence,**

were

were certaine Iewes that in their prayers at the Lords table, & exhortations to the people, (to shew them selues) vsed for the most part the Hebrew tong. They affirme that which you deny, and they deny that which you affirme. Surely you or they must needs be fowly deceiued.

Phil. That S. *Paul speaketh not of the Church seruice, is prooued by inuincible arguments. It is euident that the Corinthians had their seruice in Greeke at this same time, and it was not done in these miraculous toongs. Nothing is meant then of the Church seruice. Againe, the publike seruice had but one language: in this exercise they spake in many toongs. In the publike seruice euery man had not his owne speciall toong, his speciall interpretation, speciall reuelation, proper psalmes, but in this they had. Againe, the publike seruice had in it the ministration of the holy sacrament principally, which was not done in this time of conference. For into this exercise were admitted Catechumens and Infidels, and whosoeuer would: in this women, before S. Pauls order, did speake and prophesie, so did they neuer in the ministration of the sacrament. With many other plaine differences, that by no meanes the Apostles words can be rightly and truely applied to the Corinthians seruice then, or ours now. Therefore it is either great ignorance of the protestants, or great guilefulnes, so vntruly and peruersly to apply them.*

The Rhemish Testament, 1.Cor. 14.

That he speaketh not of Church seruice, is prooued by inuincible arguments.

Theop. Before I reply, let me aske you a question. Phil. With a good will. Theop. Are you not a priest? Phil. I am, or I should be. Theop. I will not oppose you after what order, Aarons being abolished, and Melchizedecks not imparted to any mortall man: but by vertue of your priesthood are you not bound to catechize as well as to baptize, that is, to preach the word as well as to minister the sacraments? Phil. So we do, as time and place require. Theop. If I should vrge you, that you and your fellowes neuer preach, because euery holy day and sunday you say masse, and massing is apparantly no preaching, what would you answer? Phil. I would answer that you made a very childish & foolish argument. For though the one be not the other, yet we may do both at one time and in one place successiuely before we depart. And if you doubt of this, the meanest parish clarke in Christendome may be your maister.

Theop. You pull not me, but your selfe by the nose, Philander, and marke it not. Your *inuincible arguments*, whereby you would proue that S. Paul in this whole chapter

S.Paul by preaching doth not exclude pray-

ing, but seuerally mentioneth them both.

spake nothing of the Church seruice in Cozinth, are such ridiculous toies of all the world, as this, which I brought for example to try your patience with. Phil. You shall not defeate the force of our reasons with such a iest. Theop. Neither shall you delude the Apostles doctrine with such a shift.

The Church in her diuine seruice must haue both preaching and praying. Rom. 10.

The Church of Cozinth had then, as all other Churches now haue, (or should haue) both praying and preaching annexed & adioined to the ministration of the Lords supper. Both these yet are, & euer were the meanes which God ordained to prepare vs to be fit ghests for that table. How shall they, saith the Apostle, call on him in whome they haue not beleeued? and how shall they beleeue in him of whom they haue not heard? and how shall they heare without a preacher? Hearing is the nource of faith, and faith is the fountaine of praier, and without praier we may not approch to God, nor to the sacrament of thanks-giuing, which by the very name it beareth, putteth vs in mind what duty we must yeeld to God when we are partakers of it.

The word ingendreth faith, & faith produceth praier.

By this it is euident, that teaching in the Church of God doth not exclude praying, but is rather the meane that God hath appointed to direct and incite the minds of the faithfull, to make their praiers vnto him in such sort as they ought, when they are gathered together in Christes name, to serue God the father in the spirit of his son. And so the holy Ghost describeth the Church that was at Ierusalem vpon the first spredding of the Gospell: from whence we must take the forme of Apostolike Churches. They continued, saith the scripture, in the Apostles doctrine, and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and praiers; noting * doctrine, praiers, and brotherly communion at the Lords table, to be the publike exercises of Christians in their assemblies where the Apostles themselus were present in their persons to guide & gouerne those meetings.

Act. 2. *These three were the publike exercises of Christes Church vnder the Apostles. If the church seruice consisted of these three, then were they all three parts of the Church seruice.

Phil. You come not yet to the point. Theop. I will not long be from it. These praiers, exhortations and instructions which the faithfull had in their assemblies, were they not parts of the seruice which they yeelded to God? Phil. Yes, but not of the Church seruice. Theop. What seruice was there in the Church besides this that I men-

tion?

tion? Phil. The ministration of the sacrament. Theop. If you meane the order and fashion of administring the sacrament, S. Paul receiued that of the Lord and deliuered it to the Church of Corinth in such manner and forme as we find expressed not many leaues before in the 11. of this epistle. But there is no Church seruice prescribed or named; onely the elements & actions of the Lords supper are particularly remembred & committed to y Church as her chiefest iewell in her husbands absence, vntil he come.

Phil. Thinke you they had no set rites, collects, nor prayers deliuered them from the Apostles for that holy action? Theop. You presume they had: and vpon that false imagination you ground the most part of your headlesse arguments, that *the Apostle speaketh not of the Church seruice*. Phil. Had they no speciall forme of prayer prescribed in their Churches whiles the Apostles liued? Theop. Had they say you? Phil. Else they had nothing but confusion in their Churches. Theop. Blaspheme not so fast. The power of the holy Ghost miraculously supplying all wants, and inspiring the pastors & elders in euery church how to pray, was no confusion. Phil. Do you thinke they changed their prayers in euery place and at euery meeting, as pleased the minister? Theop. You may well perceiue by the Apostles words that they had neither sermons nor seruice prefixed nor limited in his time: but when the Church came together, the elders and ministers instructed the people and made their prayers by inspiration. Phil. I know they did so, but this was not the Church seruice. Theop. This was all the Church seruice they had: to which they added the celebration of the Lords supper, but without any setled or prefined order of prayer, except it were the Lords prayer which they obserued in all places as comming from the mouth of Christ himselfe, their soueraigne lord and maister.

The Church in the Apostles time had no set order of publike prayer as the Iesuits dreame.

In the primitiue Church the pastors & ministers prayed and gaue thanks as the spirit directed their harts and lips.

Phil. Mary sir that were euen such seruice as you haue at this day, where euery blind minister babieth what he listeth. Theop. Iest not at God, except you will be Iulian. Phil. I iest at your disorder, which you would seeme to deriue from the primatiue church of the Apostles. Theo. Indeed we haue not so many turnes and couches, bowtes & becks as you haue in your masses: other disorder in our

*God regardeth not these solemnities of the Iesuits, which they suppose to be the highest points of godlines.

seruice I know none, vnlesse it be that we do not *swing the censers, rince the chalice, tosse the masse-booke, play with the host, & sleepe at *Memento*, as you do, with a number of like toies throughout your seruice. Phil. Do not you now iest at our seruice? Theop. At your stagelike gestures I may without offence, but you iested at the miraculous gift of the holy Ghost guiding the pastors and prophets of the primitiue Church in their publike praiers and exhortations, and called it a confusion, and resembled it to our babling in the Church at this day, which you thinke to be very disordered.

All things were done in the first Church by the miraculous working of the holy Ghost.

1.Cor.12. The gifts of Gods spirit at the first erection of the Church.

Phil. I see no proofe that the pastors of the Church in the Apostles time made their publike praiers as you say, by miraculous instinct of the spirit. Theop. Do but open your eies when you read this chapter, and you can not choose but see it. Both this and the twelfth chapter treat wholy of the gifts of the spirit. Where you find that to one (was) giuen by the spirit the word of wisedome, to an other the word of knowledge, to an other faith, to an other gifts of healing by the same spirit, to an other operation of wonders, to another prophesie, to another discerning of spirits, to an other diuersities of toongs, to an other interpretation of toongs. Phil. Here is not the gift of praier numbred amongest them. Theop. But in the fouretœnth it is, where shewing them how they should behaue themselues in the church, when the congregation was assembled, he laieth this downe as a rule for them to follow. I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the vnderstanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the vnderstanding also. Else when thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the roome of the simple (or common) person say Amen at the giuing of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou saiest?

1.Cor.14.

With the spirit] is with the miraculous gift of the spirit.

The presence and consent of the people

To pray, sing and blesse,* with the spirit in this place, can be nothing else but to be guided and led by the spirit in their praiers, psalmes, and thanks, as they were in their doctrines, interpretations, and exhortations, which was by miracle on the sudden, not by learning or study. This was done in the church when all the faithfull were present, & to these praiers, psalmes & thanks-giuings, the people were to say Amen, as the Apostle sheweth, which is ẏ end,

end, signe and proofe of publike prayer, among Christians. What is Church seruice, if this be not? Or what other seruice could the Church haue beside hearing the word and offering their common supplications vnto God by the mouth of one man, the rest vnderstanding what he said, and confirming his prayer with saying Amen? maketh the prayer publike.

Phil. The Apostle speaketh of one man (supplying the place of the vulgar) and you stretch it to the whole people. How shall the simple man say Amen, that is, any simple man?

Theop. If the prayers of the church concerned some of the people, and not all, you might make that obiection with some shew: but now it hath no colour, when S. Paul asketh *How shall the simple man say Amen: he meaneth not this or that man, but any or euery. And so the indefinite signifieth generally, throughout the scripture. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sinne: that is, Blessed is euery man to whom the Lord imputeth no sinne. *Cursed be the man that obserueth not all the works of the law, to do them, that is, by S. Paules owne exposition. Cursed is *euery man that continueth not in all things which are written in the booke of the law, to do them. The whole scripture is full of the like. And therefore Chrysostome noteth, *Indoctum, promiscuam plebem vocat, monstratque non leue incommodum esse, si Amen dicere non possit.* The vnlearned he calleth the vulgar people, and declareth it to be no small inconuenience if they can not say Amen. * 1. Cor. 14. Rom. 4. * Deut. 27. * Galat. 3. *Chrysost. in. 1. Corinth. 14.* By the common or vulgar person S. Paul meaneth the people.

Phil. I see they did pray, sing and blesse with the spirit, & that the people said Amen; but had they no speciall nor vsuall prayers reserued for ỹ ministration of the sacramẽt, which might not be varied? Theoph. You thinke belike they had your Introite, Grail, Tract, Sequence, Offertorie, Secrets, Postcommunion, Pax, and *Ite missa est*. Phil. Sure they had some precise forme of seruice, though we know it not. Theop. And since you know it not, why should you make it the anchor hold of your exposition vpon S. Paul? Phil. Had they no order of their seruice? Theop. What a stirre here is for that which the Apostles neuer did? Had they set an order for the seruice of the Church, durst any man after haue broken it? The forme of the Lords institution was certaine, but the prayers made and thanks giuen at the Lords table, were left to the discretion of the minister.

Phil. S. Iames masse is yet extant. Theop. And so are a number of other foolish forgeries as well as that. Phil. Do you thinke it forged? Theo. Which of S. Iames masses do you Masse forged in the Apostles names. *Iacobi Missa.*

you meane? Phil. There are not so many that you should aske which. Theop. Two there are vnder his name, the one nothing like the other, & yet both fathered vpon him. Phil. We haue but one, and that set in order of Church seruice, with mutual prayers and answers for priest & people very perfectly. Theop. And the other you shall find in the * eight booke of Clemens apostolike constitutions, where * the fourteene apostles (for so you haue increased their number as well as their constitutions) take precise order what prayers, answer & actions shall be vsed at the mysticall sacrifice; their first prescription being this, That two deacons shall be on both sides of the altar, with tuffes of pecoks tailes in their hands to driue away gnats, least the light in the chalice: a graue consideration for Christs Apostles to meete together to make flaps to catch flies.

* Constitut. Apost. lib. 8. à cap. 15. ad cap. 24.
* Vide constit. Apost. lib. 6. cap. 14. Lib. 8. cap. 15.

Phil. That I grant, is a matter of small respect, but yet not enough to refute the booke. Theop. It is sufficiently refuted in that neither the Church of Christ nor your selues euer esteemed it. Had this booke beene authentike it must needs haue beene taken into the canon of the scriptures. For if that which any one Apostle wrate be canonicall, much more that which all the Apostles, with common consent decreed & ordered. Againe had the Apostles prescribed an exact forme of diuine seruice for the Lords table, what man would haue altered it, or what church refused it? How would either Basil or Chrysostom haue presumed to make new formes of Church seruice, if those liturgies be theirs, & not rather forced on thē, as this is on the first & chiefe Apostles of Christ? Why did the Latine church & the church of Rome her selfe neglect that seruice if it were apostolike, & prefer the prayers of one * Scholasticus as worthier to be said ouer the diuine mysteries, the maker being so obscure a man, that his name is not knowne in the church of God? Why were the bishops of Rome 600. yeeres & vpward patching & piecing the masse before they brought it to any setled forme, as your owne fellows * confesse, & yet then Rome had one forme of seruice, * Millan an other which they keepe at this day, France a third? Why did Gregorie when he was consulted by Augustine the monke, what forme of diuine seruice he should commend to the Saxons, will him to bind himselfe neither * to

Clemens booke of apostolike constitutions neuer receiued in the Church.

* Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 63.

* Polydor. de inuent. rerum. lib. 5. cap. 10.
* Gregorij responsio ad 3. interrogat. Augustini.

Rome

Rome nor to any Church else, but to take from euery place that which he liked best & deliuer that vnto the English?

To cut off all ambiguities we haue the plaine testimony of Gregorie the great, that the Church of Rome 600. yeeres after Christ knew nothing of those constitutions and Church seruices which are now obtruded vnder the Apostles names. *Mos Apostolorum fuit, vt ad ipsam solummodo orationem (Dominicam) oblationis hostiam consecraret.* This was, saith he, the maner of the Apostles to consecrat the sacrifice, with saying no mo praiers but the Lords praier. In vaine therfore do you dreame of a setled forme of praier for the Lords supper, where as the Apostles haue none, but left that to the direction & disposition of the holy Ghost inspiring the ministers and elders in euery Church, when the faithfull were assembled, to make their praiers vnto God with the people; and to render him thanks for all his mercies, as the spirit gaue them vtterance. This Chrysostome calleth * *Precandi donum*, the (miraculous) gift of praiers wherof S. Paul speaketh in this place, and Tertullian seemeth to mētion the same in his Apology for the Christians as during in the Church vnto his time. We, saith he, looking vp to heauen with out hands stretched out as being innocent, bareheaded, as not ashamed, *sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus*, make our praiers without any prompter as comming from the (free) motion of our owne harts.

Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 63. No praiers vsed by the Apostles at the Lords table but only the Lords praier.

In 1. Cor. 14. Tertul. in apologet. To pray by hart dured a while amongst the Christians.

Phil. Our arguments conuince that S. Paul spake not of the Churches seruice: and till those be answered, we can not change our minds. Theop. That which I haue already said, openeth your error, in mistaking or else peruerting these words of S. Paul, choose you whether: if that content you not, repeate your reasons as they stand in rew, that we may see their force.

The Iesuits will haue the ordering of S. Pauls words whether he will or no.

Phil. *It is euident the Corinthians had their seruice in Greeke at this same time, & it was not done in these miraculous tongues. Nothing is meant then of the Church seruice.*

Theo. To vs it is out of question that the Corinthians had their publike praiers and exhortations in the Greeke tongue: because the cōmon people of that city vnderstood none other: & the tongue which they vnderstood not, might not be vsed in the Church by S. Pauls rule: but you that deny S. Paul to speake of the church seruice in this place, how

If S. Paul in this place did not speake of the Church seruice how can the

Iesuits proue the Corinthians had their seruice at this time in Greeke.

how proue you the Corinthians had their seruice in the Greeke tongue? Phil. Do you thinke they had not? Theop. For our parts, as I told you, we are resolued: because S. Paul would neither haue preaching nor praying in the Church but such as might edifie: and addeth, that an vnknowne tongue profiteth nothing to edification: marry you are otherwise minded, and therefore I see not how you can proue that they had their seruice in the Greeke tongue, which you affirme to be euident.

The Iesuits thwarted with their owne principles.

Phil. Had they their seruice, trow you, in an vnknowne tongue? The. In your opinion, that is no such absurdity. Phi. They could not vnderstād it, except it were in Greek. Theo. This is contrary to your owne principles. For the Hebrew, Greeke & Latine as you told vs euen now were *vnderstood of the ciuill people in euery city:* and were that vntrue, as I know it is, though you auouched it for an aduātage, yet *is it not necessary to vnderstand our praiers,* as your selues defend in this your declaration vpon S. Paul, and following the path that you lead vs in your Rhemish obseruations, we say you can not proue the Corinthians had their seruice in the Greeke tongue. Phi. In what tongue else could they haue it? Theo. Rather in Hebrew than in Greeke, for that tongue was sacred, and naturall to the Iewes who first spred the gospell, and planted the Churches.

Except they take hold of S. Paules reasons here vsed in this chapter, they shall neuer proue their seruice at Corinth in S. Paules time was in Greeke.

Phil. The Apostle requireth the people should vnderstand the praiers of the Church, otherwise they reape no profit by them; and to speake Hebrew in the Church to them that vnderstood nothing but Greeke, were no reason. Theo. Are you there at host now? Can you play thus on both sides when you be urged? You are making inuincible argumēts, that the Apostle speaketh nothing in this place of the Churches seruice, and before you can iustifie the first proposition which you bring, you be faine to take hold of this verie place to proue, the Corinthians had their Church seruice in Greeke.

It is true they had their seruice in Greeke, but the Iesuits can not proue it but by ouer-

Phil. Nay without this place *it is euident they had their seruice in Greeke.* Theop. Set this chapter aside, & if you proue the Corinthians had their seruice in Greeke at this very time when the Apostle wrate, we giue you the cause. Phi. You be resolued they had, & yet you put vs to proue it, as if it were in doubt. The. I tell ẏ reason. It is euident they had

had their seruice in a known tong by that which the Apostle here writeth, otherwise it is not euident by any other proofe that you can make. And since you will haue the Apostle to speake nothing of the Church seruice in this chapter, why should we not put you to proue that which you lay for ỹ ground of your misconstring S. Pauls text?

throwing their owne conclusion which they would inferr and so their antecedent chooketh their consequent.

Phil. Truth it is, what proofe soeuer may, or may not be brought for it. Theop. Let it stand for truth, what will you conclude? Phil. *Nothing is meant then of their Church seruice.* Theop. Why so? Phil. That was in Greeke, & well vnderstood of all the people. Theop. A worthy sequele. Is it not possible for some vaine men to disturbe the Church of Corinth notwithstanding the Apostle had left generall direction that all things should be done in ỹ Church vnto edification. The Lords supper was rightly deliuered them: was it therfore not abused by som amongst them? The like say we for their prayers in the church. No doubt Paul ordained at Corinth as he did in al other churches of the saints, that the people should say Amen to euery blessing & thankesgiuing that was vsed in the church. Might not therefore some of their elders & ministers, to venditate themselues and the gift which they had of God, sometimes blesse and make their prayers at the Lords table in a tongue not vnderstood of the whole multitude?

Their antecedent being granted their consequent doth not follow.

A wise reason because S. Paule had set an order to haue their seruice in the tongue which they knew, therefore some might not inuert that order.

Phil. Were they strangers or inhabitants? The. It skilleth not whether; they might be either. Phil. Inhabitants there would vse none other tongue than their owne, and strangers might not minister the sacramẽts in other mẽs churches. Theo. Some of their owne might be so bainglorious, as in making their prayers at ỹ lords table, (which was then done by hart, & not after any prescribed order or forme) to shew the gift of tongs, which they receiued of the holy Ghost, to another end, and not to commend themselues without edifieng ỹ hearer. Strangers also if they were in place, were suffered both to teach and blesse in the Church, as wel as others that were tied to their cures by reason that many were sent by the Apostles & by the holie Ghost to visit the Churches, & comfort the Christiãs as they trauelled, & such were, according to their knowledge and gift, not only permitted, but also desired to exhort the people and giue thanks to God in other mens charges.

This disorder might come either by strangers, or by such as were fastned to their cures.

Phil.

Yet was it some cunning to set a good face on the matter.

Phil. This might be: but how proue you this was the fault which the Apostle reproued? Theop. I need not proue that. If this which I speake might easily come to passe, then your *inuincible arguments* be sensible follies, and conclude vtterly * no such thing as you imagine. Your argument can not be impregnable till your consequent be ineuitable: and since so many cases may be put, though your antecedent be admitted to repell your consequent, what wisedome was it to make such vaunt of your forces not onely before the victory, but when you see your selues so void of all good artillerie?

The Rhemish Testament, 1. Cor. 14.

Phil. *Againe the publike seruice had but one language: in this exercise they speake with many toongs.*

Neither antecedent nor consequent true.

Theop. Againe you can neither verifie your antecedent, nor iustifie your consequent. Set order of publike seruice they had none in the apostles time; the pastors & ministers praied by hart, as the spirit of God guided them: this gift of praier some turned to their owne praise & ostentation, when they were admitted to giue thanks to God in the congregation of the faithfull, & made their praiers in such tongues as they preferred, or would seeme indued with, though the people vnderstood them not, for which attempt the Apostle controlleth them. Phil. These are conceiuements. Theop. Were they no mans but mine, your reasons are weake & euen contemptible, which you proclaimed for inuincible: but as you heard, S. Ambrose did informe you, that these men, whom S. Paul here toucheth, vsed sometimes the Syrian, and most times the Hebrew tongue, *in tractatibus aut oblationibus*, in their discourses (to the people) or ministration of the Sacrament, as they pleased.

Ambros. in 1. Cor. 14.

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Corin. 14.

Phil. *In the publike seruice euerie man had not his owne speciall toong, his speciall interpretation, speciall reuelation, proper psalmes: but in this they had.*

Theop. In the publike seruice of the Church, the ministers and elders which were many both trauellers and there dwellers, had euery man his psalme, his instruction, his toong, reuelation, or interpretation as the spirit of grace thought it most expedient, for the setting forth of Gods glorie, & the edifieng of their faiths that were present, and other order of diuine seruice in the apostolike & primitiue Church, we read for certaintie of none, besides

And why might not euerie pastour and minister haue his

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the action of the Lords supper, which the Apostles, and so no doubt their Churches alwaies vsed in the end of their publike meetings, but with no set prayers, saue onely the Lords prayer as Gregorie confesseth; the rest of their prayers, blessinges and thanksgiuinges were in euery place made by the gift of the holy Ghost inspiring such, as were set to teach and gouerne the Church. And though you haue long since their time framed a liturgie in Iames name, whereon you seeme to ground all the cauils, that here are vrged as inuincible arguments: yet for so much as the Church of Christ did not acknowledge it, and the wordes of Gregorie directly impugne it: we returne that home to the forge whence it came, and your arguments back to you as wanting both truth & strength to beare out your cause.

Psalmes, his thankes giuing as wel in praying as in preaching.

Phil. *The publike seruice had in it the administration of the holy sacrament principally, which was not done in the time of this conference.*

The Rhemish Testament, 1. Corinth. 14.

Theop. Though the Lords supper was not ministred at that instant when the pastors & people were intending for doctrine, yet did it follow immediatly vpon this exercise finished, and due thankes offered to God by the whole Church for the redemption of the world in the blood of his sonne: neither beside your bold and bare negatiue doo we see any cause why the singing, blessing, and thanksgiuing which S. Paul speaketh of, should not be vnderstood, to be the prayers and psalmes that were vsed before, after, and at the Lords table: this I am sure, S. Paul willeth *all thinges to be done to edification, and all must containe the Church seruice and ministration of the sacrament, as well as psalmes or any other exercises of the Church. So that if the special discourse did not touch the ministration of the Lords supper, the general direction doth comprise it: and so much the more, because the whole Church as wel the people as the preachers, as wel women as men haue equal interest in the Lords supper, to be thereat fed, & therby stirred to giue thankes to God for the riches of his mercie in the death of Christ. And if you thinke that vnderstanding & cõsenting is more needfull for the people in any other prayers than in those, that are made at the Lords table, you erre not of ignorance, but of wilfulnes; and care not what you say, so you may entertaine the simple with somewhat for the saueing of your credite.

Why may not doctrine, prayer, and the Lords supper follow each other in one continual action though they be thinges different in themselues? *1. Cor. 14. All must be done to edification, *ergo* Church seruice.

Phil.

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Corinth. 14.

Phil. *Into this exercise were admitted the Catechumens and infidels, and whosoeuer would: in this women, before S. Pauls order, did speake and propheſie: so did they neuer in the ministration of the sacrament. With manie other plaine differences, that by no meanes the apostles words can be rightly and truly applied to the Corinthians seruice then, or ours now.*

Saint Paul in this chapter speaketh both of the sermons where infidels might be, and of the praiers and blessings where they might not be.

Theo. You should close vp the matter with the strongest argument you haue; and this is the weakest. At their propheſies that was at their sermons and exhortations infidels and nouices not yet baptized might be; at their mysteries they might not be, but were sent away, & the doores shut, when the faithfull approached to the Lordes table. Hence you may conclude that euery hearer of the worde may not be partaker of the diuine mysteries; but that the one did not presently follow the other in the seruice of the Church, or that S. Paul did not meane them both, you shall neuer conclud: yea rather the sending them away that might not be present, argueth that the rest which were left did forthwith addresse them-selues to the participation of the Lordes Table, and that all which was doone in the Church before, both exhorting and praying, was referred to this end, to make them meete commers to that heauenlie banket.

The Iesuits inuincible arguments are grounded vpon nothing but their owne false surmises.

Phil. That may be: but S. Paul speaketh of the one, & not of the other. Theop. That you should proue, if you could tell howe. Phil. We haue alreadie proued it by *inuincible argumentes*. Theop. Marie that you haue; if blinde surmises and loose sequeles may stand for argumentes; otherwise what haue you saide, that hath any shewe of proofe, I will not saie, of inuincible proofe.

Your name foundation is a dreame of your owne, that the Church of Corinth had a prescribed number and order of praiers pronounced by some one Chaplin, that said his lesson within booke, and might not go one line beſides his missale for any good. This you imagine was their Church seruice; all other praiers, psalmes, blessings, and thankesgiuings though they were vsed openly in the congregation, and the whole people bound to say Amen, you will not haue to be called Church seruice. And where Saint Paul by precept from God commaunded all things in the Church, both praying and preaching to be doone in such sort

S. Paul to the Corinthians speaketh of Church seruice. *The fourth part.*
sort as the people might vnderstand, say Amen, and be edified thereby: you confesse that of certaine voluntarie praiers which some priuat men made in the church without commission; & of the publike and necessary praiers of the church you hold opinion, the people nede not vnderstand them, nor say Amen, nor looke to be edified by them. And because S. Paule speaketh of preaching as well as of praying, you vse the one as an argument to exclude the other, which is very bad logicke, and worse diuinity. You were as good make this for a reason as I warned you in the beginning; christians in their churches haue sermõs, *ergo* they haue neither praiers, nor sacraments, which your selfe censured for a very childish and foolish argument.

Phil. That is no conclusion of ours. Theop. Weigh it well & you shall find it the very same that you make. For where the Christians vnder the Apostles had in their assemblies, first prophesying, that is the declaring of Gods will & reuealing of his word, at the which infidels, & new cõuerts not yet baptized might be present, & next praiers & psalmes to celebrate the goodnes & kindnes of God, and to prepare their minds for the Lords table, to the which all the faithfull came with one consent of hart and voice, giuing thanks to God for their redemption in Christ, & blessing his holy name for all the rest of his graces, mercies and compassions on them; and this was done by the mouths of such pastors & ministers as it pleased the holy Ghost to direct and inspire for that function & action: the people hearing, vnderstanding & confirming their praiers and thanks with saying Amen, and other diuine seruice than this they had none. You take one part of the Churches exercise whereat infidels might be, which was preaching and declaring the word of God; as a strong inference that S. Paul in that whole chapter, though he expressely name the publike praiers, psalmes, blessings and thankesgiuings of the Church, meaneth no part of the Church seruice: which if you well consider, you shall perceiue to be captious, if not ridiculous sophistry.

The loosenes of their last argument.

One part of the churches exercise doth not exclude but rather implie the other.

Church praier is Church seruice; & that S. Paul speaketh of.

Phil. Though S. Paul speake of many things, yet he speaketh not one word of *Church seruice*, which is the point that we stand on. Theop. I pray you what is *Church seruice* but *Church praiers, psalmes and lessons*: which because Saint

The fourth part. S. Paul to the Corinthians speaketh of Church seruice.

Paul so distinctly reciteth, he can not chose we say, but meane the *Church seruice*, vnlesse you can shew, what seruice the church had or hath, besides these which he nameth.

Phil. The ministration of the sacramēts is none of these which you specifie, & yet the chiefest part of the church seruice: & so are other rites which you omit. Theop. In the church seruice actions may be necessarie, and rites may be seemely: of which S. Paul speaketh not, because the abuse, which he reproued, was in their tongues & not in their hands: but the church seruice is properly that which is done with the mouth; for God is not serued with mouing or bowing the hands, but our lippes shew forth his praise, & with our voices we call vpon him, & this is more rightly termed diuine seruice, which is al one with church seruice, than any corporall actions or outward gestures though they be lawful, and some of them needfull, as those for example which Christ commanded.

S. Paul speaketh of all the words that were to be vsed in the Church, either at the Lords table or otherwise, but not of the actions because they are not performed with the tongue. Diuine seruice is properly that which is don with the mouth, & not hands or gestures.

And euen in the ministration of the Lords supper, words are essentiall as well as elements or actions, and without words it is both a dumbe action, & a dead elemēt. In al sacraments the word that is spoken, is far superior to the creature that is seene: and in this sacrament by the first institution of our sauior, thankesgiuing is as requisit, as eating or drinking. Wherefore if S. Paul toke order for the praiers, psalmes, blessings and thankesgiuing vsed in the Church, that they should be vnderstood of the people, as well as the doctrines, reuelations, and expositions of scriptures, which were an other & a necessary part of the Churches exercise. S. Paul, we conclude, required that all Church seruice should be pronounced in such sort and with such speech, as the hearers might be edified and say Amen, which they can not to a tongue that they know not. Or if that illation seeme not strong enough, S. Paul in plaine words commandeth as authorized from God, that all things, and therefore Church seruice, should be done to edification: and no man is edified by that he vnderstādeth not, which is the fault that we find with your Latine seruice in our Churches, where the people vnderstand no tongue but English.

Words in the Lords supper as essentiall as elements, or actions; and those the people must vnderstand. All things must come to edificatiō and therfore Church seruice.

The Rhemish Test. 1. Cor. 14.

Phil. Yes sir, the people in euery country vnderstandeth our seruice. For *by the diligence of parents, maisters and curats, euery*

S. Paul to the Corinthians speaketh of Church seruice. *The fourth part.*

euery Catholike of age almost, can tell the sense of euery ceremony of the masse, what to answer, when to say Amen at the priests benediction, when to confesse, when to adore, when to stand, when to kneele, when to receiue, what to receiue, when to come, when to depart, and all other duties of praying and seruing, sufficient to saluation.

O miserable vnderstanding.

Theop. He that hath no better stay must leane to a broken staffe, or lie in the ground. You feared to be conuinced as withstanders of S. Pauls doctrine, and therefore you be thought your selues of another shift, which is as bad as the former. The apostle prouveth the praiers of the Church must be vnderstood of the people, because they must say Amen: thereby teaching vs, that no man may say Amen, except he both perceiue what is said, and also confesse it to be true: for otherwise Amen is both a mocke and a lie, to no worse person than to God himselfe. He that sweareth or affirmeth any mans speech to be true, when he knoweth not what he said, is a liar. And he that giueth a sound with his mouth, his hart not knowing what he asketh, maketh a iest of praier, and forgetteth himselfe to be a man. And for that cause S. Paul vrgeth it as a manifest absurditie for the people to say Amen to that, which they vnderstand not, though the ministers speech in it selfe be neuer so good and godly.

The Iesuits as men in a maze defend sometimes that the people need not vnderstand their praiers: sometimes that they do vnderstand them though they can neither spell nor speake one word of Latine.

This you saw was so apparent, that though you cauilled about Church seruice, & craked of your *inuincible arguments*: yet the clearenes of S. Paules words would reach home to the vnfruitfulnes of your Latine seruice in this realme. For his words are, How shall (the vulgar man) say, Amen, at thy thankesgiuing (in the Church,) seeing he knoweth not what thou saist? And therefore you resolued since you were ouer the shoes in absurdities, to go vp to the shoulders, & southfastly to say that in *euery country euery Catholike, of age (almost) can tell the sense of euery ceremony of the masse, what to answer, where to say Amen at the priests benediction, and all other duties of praying and seruing sufficient to saluation.*

1. Cor. 14.

Nothing so absurd which the Iesuits will not defend.

Your memory did not serue you to come matting, euensong and dirges to your masse, (which you might haue done with as good reason and as much truth:) otherwise, we had had all the papists in Christendome promoted by one sentence of your Testament, to so sudden and perfect knowledge, that they were able to vnderstand all your

A new kind of grammar for the simple to vnderstād the Latine tongue in one halfe houre.

 No man may say Amen to that he vnderstandeth not.

Latine seruice. That you found would seeme a wonder in the eies of all men learned and vnlearned: & therefore you restraine the vnderstanding, first to the masse, then to the ceremonies of the masse, then to the sense of these ceremonies,* *as when to stand, when to kneele, when to confesse, when to adore, when to come, when to depart*; and all this no farther than may suffice for saluation, & not in al of them, but almost, in euery catholike; or to say the truth, you know not in whom.

* This is perfect ware.

Surely this is a deepe insight that all your Catholiks (if they be not learned) haue in your masse: *to confesse* (if they could tell what) when they see the clerke kneele by the priests side; *to adore*, when they see the host and chalice ouer the priests head; *to stand*, when the priest changeth his deske from the one end of the altar to an other (if they chance to see him;) *to kneele*, when the sance bell ringeth; once a yeere to come to receiue, when masse is done & the priest in his albe: & at other times *to depart*, when he whippeth off his vestimēt. This is the best cunning that your formallest and forwardest Catholiks haue, if they be not learned in the Latine tongue: the rude and simple people of your side, they do as they see their neighbours, and that is all the skill they haue in your ceremonies; as for answering and saying Amen, they must pray for those that can, your parish clearke can keepe his kew by often vse, otherwise neither he, nor the most of your priests vnderstand what they say. This is all the edification, your masse bringeth to the vnlearned hearers, and if this suffice for saluation, S. Paul was out of the way to prefer fiue words spoken in the Church with vnderstanding before ten thousand in a (strange and vnknowne) language.

A noble kind of vnderstanding how vnwise was S. Paule not to foresee this method to edifie with all.

Is this all the vnderstanding that priest or clearke for the most part hads 1.Cor.14.

Phil. If the people say Amen, it is enough. Theop. If they know not what is said, they may not say Amen. Phi. That is your error, The. We are cōtent to hold that error, so long as we haue the precise words of S. Paule for it. How shall he that supplieth the roome of the vnlearned, say Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou saist? It is not enough to make the gestures of him that saith masse, nor to heare the sance bell ring, nor to follow the quire whē they sing Amen, the people must know what is said, before they may giue their consents; and therefore, except they vnderstand the praiers of the church, well they may kneele, and

1.Cor.14. Amen to the sance bell, is euen as good as to that they vnderstand not.

stand,

stand, come and go as often as they list, but Amen by S. Pauls rule they may not answere.

Phil. They could not in those daies answere Amen so well as our hearers can, for that they had no such rites to direct them, when to say Amen; as we haue. Theop. As though it had beene an hard matter for the Apostle to haue willed the speaker to hold vp his finger, or giue some other signe at the end of his praier, and all the people to say Amen; saue that the holy Ghost would prescribe not gestures for men to gaze at, as on stages; but words for them to heare, and vnderstand, that the heart might be ioined with the lips in praying vnto God, & perceiue the truth of that which was spoken afore the tong pronounced Amen. Phil. I tell you, * it is not necessarie to vnderstand our praiers. Theop. I tell you, that if Satan himselfe were clothed in a friers weed, he could not laie a fairer foundation for impietie and apostasie than this is. Phil. Neuer thinke to frate vs with words, we be no children, nor fooles. Theop. If you were, your sinne were the lesse, but now you are without excuse. It is the commaundement of God, it is the Apostles doctrine, it is our christian dutie; without it, the praiers, which we make, be fruitlesse, vaine and barbarous; and yet you say, it is not necessarie. S. Paul hauing prescribed this rule to the Churches of Corinth, that nothing should be done at their meetings, neither in preaching, nor praying, but that which might profit & edifie euen the vulgar & simpler sort, addeth, If any man thinke himself to be spirituall, let him acknowledge, that the things which I write vnto you, are the commandements of the Lord. The Ephesians he teacheth to be filled with the spirit, and to sing and tune psalmes in (*their*) harts to the Lord. Now the heart doth not sing, except it vnderstand. For the sound (*or voice*) of the heart is vnderstanding as S. Augustine verie well obserueth commenting vpon the Psalmes of Dauid. *Beatus populus qui intelligit iubilationem. Curramus ergo ad hanc beatitudinem, intelligamus iubilationem, non eam sine intellectu fundamus.* Blessed is the people that vnderstand what they sing. Let vs hasten to this blessednes, let vs vnderstand what we sing, let vs not poure foorth songs that we vnderstand not. To * what purpose is it, to sing and not to vnderstand what we sing; that our voice

The heart must vnderstand and consent before the lips say Amen.

* A position of the Iesuits which I thinke the Turks themselues would be ashamed to defend.

The heart doth not pray without vnderstanding. 1. Cor. 14. Ephes. 5.

Aug. in Psal. 99.

* To great purpose the Iesuits say.

ſhould chant it, and not our heart? *Sonus enim cordis eſt intellectus.* The ſound *(or tune)* of the heart is vnderſtanding.

And ſhewing that this is not only a chriſtian dutie, which is a ſufficient neceſſitie, but euen the plaine condition of our creation, that we be not like the beaſts which ſing they know not what, he ſaith: Hauing beſought the Lord *(by this Pſalme)* that he would cleanſe vs from our ſecret *(faults,)* We ought to vnderſtand what this meaneth, *Vt humana ratione, non quaſi animum voce cantemus*; that we may ſing with reaſon as men, and not chatter, like birds. For Owſels, Parrets, Crowes, Pies, and ſuch other birds, are often taught by men to ſound that they know not: marie to know what they ſing, is by Gods will giuen not to birds but vnto men. Therefore deere brethren that which we haue ſung with one conſent of voice, we ought to know and perceiue with a cleare heart. So Chryſoſtome. I will praie with the ſpirit ſaith *(Paul)* but I will praie alſo with vnderſtanding; I will ſing with the ſpirit, but I will ſing alſo with vnderſtanding. Heereby the Apoſtle * teacheth that we ought *(in our praiers)* to ſpeake with our toong, and with all, to haue our minds vnderſtand what is ſpoken. And Ambroſe, If *(the end of)* your meaning be to edifie the Church, ſuch things * ought to be ſpoken *(in your praiers and bleſſings)* as the hearers may vnderſtand. For what profite commeth by this, that any man ſhould ſpeake in a language which he alone vnderſtandeth, and he that heareth, is no whit the better for it? Therefore ſuch an one muſt keepe ſilence in the Church, and let them ſpeake, that may profit the hearers.

Aug. in Pſal. 18. expoſit. 2.

* And therefore dutie. The Ieſuits praier is like the chattering of birds in S. Auſtens iudgement.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Corinth. 14.

* Is that neceſſarie or no?

Ambroſ. in 1. Corinth. 14.

* Ought and muſt, do not ſet vs at libertie.

Idlely is that ſpoken, which is not vnderſtood, ſaith Caſſiodorus. *Non ſolum cantantes, ſed etiam intelligentes Pſallere debemus. Nemo enim ſapienter quicquam facit quod non intelligit.* We ought to ſing the pſalmes not onlie with tune of voice, but alſo with vnderſtanding (of heart.) For no man doth anie thing wiſely, which he vnderſtandeth not. The Biſhops of France and Germanie aſſembled in Councell at Aquiſgraine 816. yeeres after Chriſt vnder Ludouike the godlie, confeſſe the words of S. Paul bind vs to vnderſtand the pſalmes which we ſing in the Church. Thoſe that ſing to the Lord in *(his)* Church, ought to haue their vnderſtanding go with their voice, that the words of the Apoſtle may be

Caſſiodor. in Pſal. 46.

Concil. Aquiſgranenſ. ſub Ludouico pio. cap. 123.

be verified, I will sing with the spirit, but I will also sing with vnderstanding. And,* Let such be appointed in the Church to reade and sing, that with the sweetnes of their reading and singing, can affect the learned, and instruct the vnlearned; and let them seeke rather the edification of the people, than the popular and vaine ostentation *(of their voices.)*

**Ibid. ca. 133.*

These Catholike fathers affirme the people ought to vnderstand the psalmes & praiers of the Church, you say they need not. Betweene these two doctrines there is as much difference as betweene day light and darknes, and yet you will be Catholiks whosoeuer say nay: yea God himselfe commandeth that neither exhortation nor supplication be made in the Church, but such as may edifie the hearers, and be vnderstood of the people: you both do and teach the contrarie, and yet you would be christians.

If they ought then had they need so to do.

Phil. *The simple sort can not vnderstand all psalmes, nor scarce the learned, no though they be translated or read in knowne toongs: men must not cease to vse them for all that, when they are knowne to containe Gods holie praises.* Theop. Are you hired to betraie your owne folly, or is the force of truth so great, that minding to conuince vs, you confute your selues? *The simple vnderstand not all Psalmes, nor scarce the learned:* we thinke you speake right: *yet must not men cease to vse them, since they containe the praises of God;* as true as the Gospell; but now sirs, if the learned must vse them, when they scarce vnderstand them, why may not the simple heare them, though they conceiue not all the mysteries of them?

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Cor. 14.

The Iesuits ouerthrow their owne positions.

Phil. As good not heare them, as not vnderstand them. Theop. All parts of the psalmes they do not vnderstand; yet some they do. Why then do you bar them from all, since you dare not auouch them to be ignorant of all? Againe, by continuall hearing them read, alleaged and expounded in the Church, they that are willing may easilie increase their knowledge: why then do you cut the people not only from that they know, but also from that they might know, and from the meanes whereby to learne, which is the high way to keepe them in ignorance, the mother of all errors?

The people barred by the Iesuits from that they know, and from the meanes to learne more.

Phil. They will learne but little, God knoweth. Theop. Graunt they would learne nothing; yet are you bound to

Were they not better let the fault be in others, and not in thēselues as now it is?

follow that meanes which God hath left to instruct them: if their dulnes and peruersenes of heart be such that they will not learne, the fault is theirs, not yours, their bloud shall be on their owne heads, you are discharged: where now by taking the comfort & instruction of their praiers from them, you force them to neglect all as neuer likely to come by the knowledge of any one word, & confirme them in their blindnes to your owne destruction, and their imminent danger, if God be not the more gratious to them.

The Rhemish Testament. 1.Cor. 14. How do our mouths offer our hearts to God whē we vnderstand not what we say? Praiers are very needful instructions especially for the simple that can not direct themselues in making their praiers to God.

Phil. *Praiers are not made to teach, or increase knowledge, but their speciall vse is to offer our hearts, desires and wants to God: and this euerie Catholike doth for his condition, whether he vnderstand the words of his praiers or no.* Theop. Who told you that praiers are not made to teach, or increase our knowledge? The psalmes of Dauid, what are they but praiers and praises offered vnto God, and yet what Christian was euer so bold of sense as to saie, they do not teach nor increase knowledge, or that they were not left vs to this end and purpose, that they should teach and instruct vs in things pertaining to our saluation? The praiers of the godlie throughout the scriptures, though they were vttered in their wants and necessities, yet were they * written for our instruction. And if you were not as destitute of grace, as you be of truth, you would soone perceiue that religious and godlie praiers do mightilie teach both learned and vnlearned their duties to GOD, and his mercies to them.

* Rom. 15. Do not the Fathers oftē draw their argumēts to persuade the people from the verie praiers of the Church; see *S. Aug. ad Boni. l. 4. c. 9.*

Phil. In our praiers we speake to God and not to men: and that leadeth vs to say they were not made to teach or increase knowledge. Theop. The end of praier in him that maketh it, is to aske at Gods hands that he lacketh, and to render thanks vnto God, for that he hath receiued; but that the publike praiers of the Church do not first teach vs how to pray, and next instruct vs in many and most points of truth, what to beleeue & cōfesse vnto God, were meeter for turks & infidels to defend, than for such as you would seeme to be, I meane both learned & christian men.

They be no praiers when the toong speaketh

Howbeit, the pitch of our question is this, whether they may be called praiers which we make with our mouthes & not with our harts: and if they may not, whether our harts can pray without vnderstāding. These be

the

the matters that here we striue for; and of these, the first is proued by the whole course of the scriptures: the second as well by the nature of man, as by ꝑ word of God.

That God reiecteth the mouth without the hart, as hypocrisie and no pietie, our sauior telleth you when he saith: * O hypocrits, Esay prophecied well of you in saying, this people draweth neere to me with their mouth, & honoreth me with the lips, but their hart is farre from me.

That our hart ioineth not with our mouth, when our vnderstanding wanteth, is euident, not onely by ꝑ scriptures which take the hart of man for his vnderstanding, but by the education of our nature. Dauid resembling those men that haue not vnderstanding, (what they say or do) to the * horse and mule: and Austen allowing them, when they pray they know not what, no better place than among * parrets and pies, which is no place for men, much lesse for those that would seeme to serue and honor God. And what can be plainer than that vnderstanding is the proper action and first motion of mans hart, which wanting in any thing that he doth or saith, his hart is also wanting, since not an hart, but an vnderstanding hart doth make the difference betwixt man and best.

without the hart, and the voice of the hart is vnderstanding.

*Mat. 25. Mark. 7.

*Psal. 31.

* *August. in psal. 18.*

Where vnderstanding wanteth, man differeth not from a beast.

Phil. That is if they vnderstand not their owne words when they pray; but they may be ignorant of the priests words, and not be parrets. Theop. You defend both; as wel the priuate praiers of rude and simple men in the Latine tong, as the publike praiers of the Church in the same language, though the people vnderstand not a word either what themselues, or what the priest speaketh.

Phil. *The west Church hath alwaies had her seruice in the Latine toong.* Theop. It forceth not in what tong she had or haue her seruice, so the people vnderstand it. Phil. In Latine, we be sure she had it. Theop. Then may you be sure, the people vnderstood it. Phil. The one we can proue, and so can not you the other. Theop. Proue you the one, and we will not misse much of the other.

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Cor. 14. It skilleth not in what toong the seruice of the Church was, so the people vnderstood it.

Phil. *It is well neere a thousand yeeres, that our people which could nothing else, but barbarum frendere, did sing Alleluia, and not Praise ye the Lord. And longer ago since the poore husbandman sang the same to the plough in other countries. Hieron. tom. 1. epist. 58. And sursum corda, and kyrie eleyson, and the psalmes of Dauid sung in Latine in the*

The Rhemish Testament. 1. Cor. 14.

Gregor. moral. lib. 27. cap. 6.

the seruice of the primitiue Church, haue the ancient and flat testimonies of S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, S. Hierome, and others. Georg. lib. 7. cap. 63. Cyprian exposit. oratio. Dominicæ, num. 13. August. cap. 13. de bono perseuerant. & de bono viduitat. cap. 16. and epistola 178. Hieron. præfat. in psalm. ad Sophron. August. de catechiz. rud. cap. 9. de doctrin. Christian. lib. 2. cap. 13. See epist. 10. August. of S. Hieroms Latine translation read in the Churches of africa.

Theop. Are you not out of breath with alleadging so much? Phil. Not a whit. You buzze in the peoples eares that our seruice in Latine is not ancient: and that in the primatiue Church the people alwaies vnderstood the tong, wherein the priest spake: looke here to your vtter shame, how we reprowe you, and convince you for liars. Theop. Wil you not sit downe with vs, and take such part as you bring? Phil. Keepe your courtesie till we need it. Theop. You well deserue it, though you will not haue it, as shall appeere before you depart.

Eleuen fathers abused by the Iesuits at one clap.

You bring vs eleuen fathers to prowe that diuine *seruice hath beene alwaies in the Latine tong* throughout *the west Church:* if not one of them all prowe any such thing, are you not worthy to haue the whetstone? Phil. I say they do. Theop. I say they do not: and did they prowe it, as they do not, the greatest doubt is yet behind, and that is, the people might vnderstand the Latine tong, and if that were true, you are farther off for al these allegations, than euer you were. Phil. To saue your selues you will imagine any thing, be it neuer so vnlikely or incredible. For trow you that all the west parts vnderstood the Latine tong? Theop. In those places, where the fathers whom you name, liued and preached, the people vnderstood the Latine tong very well. Phil. Some perhaps that were trauellers or merchants. Theop. The common people of those countries I say vnderstood it. Phil. The ciuiler sort might haue a taste of it. Theop. The basest and rudest that were amongst them vnderstood the Latine tong as well as their owne, if not better.

Nine of those fathers speak of such countries as vnderstood the Latine toong and the other two speake not one word of the Latine seruice.

Phil. I thought you would haue some such miraculous if not monstrous refuge. Theop. It is neither miracle nor monster, but a plaine and certaine truth. In Italy where Hierom and Gregory were, you doubt not but the vulgar people spake Latine, as we do English. Phil. It was

their

their mother toong. Theop. Then might plough-men, crafts-men, yea women & children well sing the psalmes, and heare the scriptures read in the Latine toong, because it was their natiue toong, which they could not chose but vnderstand.

Phil. But Africa, where S. Cyprian and S. Augustine were, had an other toong of their owne, and therfore they could not do the like. Theop. It was the Romane policie to bring the barbarous countries which they subdued, & were neere them, as much as was possible to vse the same lawes and speake the same toong which themselues did, that they might the better like of their regiment. And so had they done in Africa before S. Austen was borne: and the people of those parts about Carthage & Hippo, where Cyprian and Augustine were bishops, though they were not so exquisite in accents, declinations & constructions, as the Italians were, yet vnderstod they the Latin toong better than they did their owne, by reason their owne was litle vsed, and the other wholy taken vp to be spoken, as well as vnderstood, by the meanest and yongest amongest them, yea to be taught their infants euen in the nources armes.

The Latine tongue was vnderstood in Africa where Cyprian and Augustine preached.

Of himselfe, S. Augustine confesseth that he learned the Latine toong in Africa where he was borne, when he was dandled of his nource, and among the pastimes of those that plaied with him, and laughed at him, whiles as yet he was learning to speake: and that the common people which neuer went to schole to learne, perfectly vnderstood Latine, not only his sermons made to them, and his psalmes made for them against the Donatists in the Latine toong do clearely conuince, but very often in teaching the people he giueth testimonie that they all vnderstood the Latine better than the Punike toong. Minding, saith he, to haue the cause of the Donatists knowen to the basest, most ignorant, and the simplest among the people, and by our meanes to sticke in their memories I made a psalme, according to the number and order of the Latine letters to be sung by them, beginning thus, *Omnes qui gaudetis*. And shewing that they vnderstood Latin better than their own country speech, which was Punike, he saith: There is a knowne prouerbe in the Punike toong, which I will vtter to you

August. confess. li. 1. ca. 14.

August. retract. lib. 1. ca. 20.

The rudest among the people in Africa vnderstood the Latine toong

Auguſt. de verbis Apoſt. ſermo 26.

you in Latine, becauſe you do not all vnderſtand Punike, thereby noting that they all vnderſtood the Latine, but not the Punike, which yet was their country language.

Phil. We will deale liberally with you for once: We grant you this, what gaine you by it? Theop. We gaine nothing, but you loſe more than you thinke, and as much as we would wiſh. Phil. The loſſe is ſo great that I feele it not. Theop. You will time enough. Your Rhemiſh Teſtament to aſtoniſh the ſimple citeth nine authorities in a cluſter, that *the ſeruice was alwaies in Latine throughout the Weſt Church. Gregory lib. 7. epiſt. 63. Cyprian expoſit. oratio. Dom. Hieron. præfat. in pſalm. ad Sophro.* and ſix places of Auguſtine. Will it pleaſe you to take theſe nine backe againe, as no way materiall or pertinent to that purpoſe, for which you bring them. Phil. You call them backe in heapes, which is no courſe to anſwer them. Theop. In heapes they came, & in heapes let them go, they need no farther anſwering. Gregory ſpeaketh of the city of Rome, Hierom of the* men of his toong, Cyprian & Auſten of the ſeruice in Africa, where the people perfectly vnderſtood the Latine toong: or elſe of thoſe places & Churches where the Latin toong was vnderſtood, not naming any nor including all the Weſt parts, as you miſreport them: but indefinitely ſpeaking of ſuch as vſed and vnderſtood the Romane language.

The Ieſuits heape vp fathers in their Rhemiſh Teſtament to no purpoſe, but onely to amaze the ſimple.

**Linguæ meæ hominibus.*

Phil. That is it which we ſay, the Romane language was vſed throughout the Weſt Church. Theop. But none of theſe fathers ſay ſo beſides you. They do not ſpecifie in what countries or parts of the Weſt it was vſed: but ſpeake indiſtinctly of ſuch as vſed it. Phil. That we ſay, was throughout the Weſt Church. Theop. If you were as able to prooue it as you be to ſay it, you might do your ſelues ſome good. Phil. We are. Theoph. You are not. Phil. Gregorie ſaid of * *our people which could nothing elſe but barbarum frendere*, that a thouſand yeeres afore our daies, they *did ſing Alleluia, and not praiſe ye the Lord. And longer ago the poore husbandman* ſang the ſame at the plough in other countries.

None of theſe fathers which they alleage ſpeake of all the Weſt countries or Churches.

**Greg. moral. in Iob. lib. 27. cap. 6.*

**Hieron. tom. 1. epiſt. 58.*

Theop. Is Allelu ia Latine? Phil. No, it is Hebrew, and ſignifieth in Engliſh as much as, *Praiſe ye the Lord:* but yet in this realme at that time they ſang Allelu ia, and *not Praiſe ye the Lord.* Theop. That hath ſome ſhew of an argument

Allelu ia is no proofe for the Latine ſeruice.

gument for the Hebrew seruice, to haue bene then vsed in this and other countries, but not for the Latine. Phil. As though the Saxons vnderstood Hebrew. Theop. Euen as well as they did Latine, and in Gregories wordes there is some appearance of proofe for the Hebrew, for the Latin there is none; except you will reason thus, they sang Alleluia, *ergo* all the rest of their seruice was in Latine. Phil. Alleluia is no English: *ergo* they had not their seruice in the English tong. Theop. And Alleluia is no Latine, *ergo* by your owne logicke, they had not their seruice in Latine.

Alleluia is a better argument for the Hebrew than for the Latin seruice.

Phil. You erre of ignorance. The Latine Church retained Amen, and Alleluia, notwithstanding they were Hebrew, in her diuine seruice. Theop. God grant you erre not of malice. Did no Church else besides the Latine retaine those Hebrew wordes in their publike psalmes and seruice? Phil. None but Greeke and Latine. And since those whom Gregorie sent to conuert the Saxons could themselues no Greeke, we conclude they deliuered the Saxons their Church seruice in Latine.

Theop. Your conclusion is like your antecedent, that is not one true word in either. Did not all nations in their diuine seruice keepe those two wordes Amen, and Alleluia? Phil. They did; for so S. *Augustine auoucheth, but al nations besides the Hebrewes had their Church seruice in Greeke or in Latine. Theop. Doth S. Augustine auouch that? Phil. That is apparant without any proofe. Theop. It is apparant folly, to presume that which you should proue, to be manifest without any proofe. Phil. Can you shew the contrarie? Theop. Who taught you that order of reasoning, when you faile in prouing your premisses, to cast the burden vpon others to disproue that, which you should proue?

*Epist. 178.

And yet go no farther than this verie place of S. Augustine which your selues alleage; and you shall see that all other nations preserued these two wordes in their barbarous languages, as well as the Romanes did in theirs. Saint Austens report is this, *Sciendum est, Amen & Alleluia, quod nec latino, nec barbaro licet in suam linguam transferre, Hebræo cunctas gentes vocabulo decantare.* We must vnderstand that all nations do sing Amen, and Alleluia in the Hebrew toong, which

*August. epist. 178.

The Barbarians in their toongs vsed Alleluia, as well as the Romanes or Grecians.

which (words) neither the Latine, nor the Barbarian may change into their tongs. If the Barbarians might haue no part nor word of the diuine seruice in their seuerall tongs, as you say, what needed a speciall exemption of these two words (and no more) as vnlawfull to be translated into their languages? in that these might not, it importeth the rest might and were: and also that ech country, (in what tong soeuer, romane, or barbarous, they had their seruice) kept these two Hebrew words Amen and Alleluia vntouched and *vntranslated for a certaine significance in the words themselues, & a reuerence to the tong whence they were taken.

* Why these two words were not translated into any toong. See *Hieron. Marcel. epist.* 137.

Phil. That the Saxons sang Alleluia we be sure by this report of Gregorie, but that they had their seruice in the Saxon tong, you shall neuer prooue. Theop. Much lesse can you prooue by this place of Gregorie, which is your intent, that they had their seruice in the latine tong: for thus he saith, not in the 1st chapter as you note, but in the eighth of his seuen and twentith booke vpon Iob. *Ecce lingua Britanniæ quæ nihil aliud nouerat quam barbarum frendere, iamdudum in diuinis laudibus Hebræum cæpit Alleluia resonare.* Behold the toong of Britannie, which could do nothing but yeall out a barbarous noise, now of late hath begun in the praises of God to sing the Hebrew Alleluia.

Alleluia vsed in this land by the Saxons that could no Latine. *Greg. moral. in Iob. lib. 27. cap. 8.*

If you take the toong of Britanie for the speech of the Saxons, then inhabiting this land, as it may well signifie, since there is good difference betweene the tong of Britannie, and the tongs of the Britans; and *lingua Britanniæ* is very hard latine for *linguæ Britannorum*: then it is cleere by Gregories confession, that the Brittish tong was vsed of the people euen at that time to sing the praises of God in their Churches: the Hebrew Halleluia (and not the Latine seruice) being preserued amongest them in their barbarous language, as it was amongst all other nations by Saint Augustines testimonie, were they Grecians, Romans, or Barbarians. If you will haue it stande not for the speech of the countrie, but for the mouthes and lips of the men themselues, Halleluia, they learned, because it might not be changed: the rest of the Latine seruice, neither they could learne, as knowing no tong but their owne; nor the Romans coulde teach,

The Britans that could speake no latine, sung the praises of God: in what toong then if not in their owne?

as

es hauing no skil in the saxon toong: and therefore if the people sang any prayses at all vnto God, as Gregorie sayth they did, they must sing them in their mother toong, for other toong they had none.

Phil. Could they not learne Latin, as well as Hebrewe? Theop. Both a like; but that one worde, as Amen, or Hallelu ia, is soone learned, the latin psalmes and seruice are no way possible for them to learne or remember. Phil. Saint Hierom sayth the poore husbandmen sang it at the plough in other countries. Theop. What are his words? Phil. *Quocunque te verteris, arator stiuam tenens Allelu ia decantas.* Whither soeuer thou turne thy selfe, the husbandman holding his plough, singeth Allelu ia. Why did you doubt of them? Theop. Because I find them not *tom.* 1. *epi.* 58. as you quote them, except you haue quotations, as you haue religions, by your selues. Phil. Well, these be Saint Hieroms words. Theop. I knowe they are, but you are as wide frō the true construing as you were from the true quoting of them, if you be not wider. Phil. How can that be? Theop. What countries spake Saint Hierom of when he sayde, *Quocunque te verteris*, Whither soeuer thou turne thy selfe? Phil. Of other countries. Theop. Of what other countries? Phil. Of al other countries, and specially of the west parts, where the latin seruice was. Theop. So you would enforce his words, but you doe him the more wrong. Phil. Are not his words plaine, *Quocunque te verteris*, turne whither thou wilt, the husbandman holding his plough, singeth Allelu ia? Theop. In deede his words are plainely peruerted by you. For Hierom speaketh not of the west, but of the east; not of countries, but of a poore village; not of latinists, but of such as were borne and bred in Iurie, where the natural speech of the place was hebrewe.

Hieron. tom. 1. epist. 58. Hierom misconstered by the Iesuits.

Phil. Proue that to be S. Hieroms meaning. Theop. They be his words both before and after, and those so plaine, that I maruell you could misse them. *In Christi vero (vt supra diximus) villula, tota rusticitas, & extra psalmos silentium est. Quocunque te veteris arator stiuam tenens decantat Allelu ia: Sudans messor psalmis se auocat, & curua attondens vite falce vinitor aliquid Dauidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hac prouincia carmina.* In the village of Christ (as we haue said before) there

Hieron In 1. epist. 17. ad Marcel.

is

Hierom ſpeaketh of the ploughmen in Bethleem where Chriſt was borne.

is nothing but ruſticitie, and ſilence, except it be in ſinging of pſalmes. Turne whither you wil (in this village) the husbandman holding his plough (continually) ſingeth Alleluia. The mower when he ſweateth (and is wearie) refreſheth himſelfe with pſalmes. The gardiner as he dreſſeth his vine with his hooke, hath ſome peece of Dauid in his mouth. Theſe are the ſonges of this prouince (or place.) What worde or title is here for the ſeruice in the latine toung, except you thinke that as the pope claimeth to be Lord of the whole worlde, ſo euery countrie throughout the worlde ſpake then nothing but latine; which were a merrie conceit to make ſporte with, if there were nothing loked for at your handes but laughter.

Phil. In ſifting our authorities you take hold of euery nice and curious point, which with good conſcience we did and may deſpiſe. Theop. Call you that a good conſcience to muſter out eleuen authorities (as ancient and flat teſtimonies) for defence of your error againſt the worde of God, and the Church of Chriſt, and not one of them any way reſpecting that which you ſhould and would ſeeme to proue? That no nation in the primatiue Church, Eaſt, Weſt, North nor South, had their diuine ſeruice in a toong not vnderſtood of themſelues, is our aſſertion. You

It is eaſie to alleadg nine ſkore fathers in any matter to no purpoſe.

ſhew that in Italie and Africa (where the people perfectly vnderſtood the Romane toong) they had their ſeruice in latine, and that the barbarous of this realme, and huſbandmen of Bethleem ſang Alleluia, which S. Auguſtine ſaith, all nations did, yea the barbarians as well as the Romanes, without tranſlating that, or Amen, into their barbarous languages. Hence you collect, *the ſeruice alwaies in latine throughout the weſt Church,* and paint that note by the ſide of your booke to make the ſimple beleeue, thoſe places which are found in your text to proue it to be true, though not one of them whom you cite, affirm or mention any ſuch thing. Whether this be (to vſe your owne wordes) *great ignorance* (of Ieſuites) *or greater guilefulnes, ſo vntruly and peruerſly* to wreſt the fathers, and whether you can be catholikes, that haue no better ground for your latine and vnknowen ſeruice within this realme, let the reader iudge.

God grant it be but ignorance in the Ieſuites to cite fathers in this ſort. The Rhemiſh Teſtament. 1. Corin. 14.

Phil. *Auguſtine our Apoſtle brought into (this Realme) the ſeruice in the latine toong:* and there are *well neere a thouſand yeeres*

paſt

past since he came. *And therefore S. Bede* saith, *(lib. 1. hist. Ang. cap. 1.) that being foure diuers vulgar languages in our countrie, the latine was made common to them all.*

Theop. You thought it long belike before you made vp the full dozen of peruerted and misconstred authorities. You abuse Bede as you do the rest, and no maruell to see you so bold with him when you haue ventured on so many. Phi. Doth he not say this Iland had foure diuers languages of their owne, and the latine (which was the 5ft) was made common to them all? Theo. Not by hauing their seruice in latine, but by meditating, and searching the scriptures, a number in euery of those foure nations had gotten the knowledge of the latine toong. Phil. Then the scriptures were not in any of those languages, and consequētly neither the psalms, nor lessons which are necessary partes of the Church seruice. Theop. Reason better or hold your peace, you do but waste time about trifles. Bedes words are: *Hæc in præsenti, quinque gentium linguis vnam eandémque summæ veritatis, & veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur & confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum & Latinorum. quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis:* This Iland at this present searcheth and confesseth one and the very same knowledge of the hiest veritie and truest sublimitie with the toongs of fiue nations, to wit, the Saxons, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latines, whose toong by the meditation of the scriptures, is become common to all the rest.

The Latine toong was common not to all, but to such as could meditate the scriptures in this land. *Beda Histor. Angl. li. 1. c. 1.*

Meditation of the scriptures in all mēs eares saue yours, is the diligent and often perusing of them to get the right vnderstanding of them, and not the Church seruice as you would secretly inferre: neither doth Bede deny that the scriptures were heard or red in the other foure toongs, which were proper to the foure nations of this Iland, but rather affirmeth it when he saith this countrey searched and confessed one and the very same knowledge of the hiest truth, with the toongs of fiue nations: foure of them being the Brittish, Saxon, Scottish and Pictish toong, in which also they searched and confessed the knowledge of the true God, though the deeper and better learned of them in euery of those nations, for an exacter kind of meditating and studying the scriptures, gate them some skill

Meditation of scriptures doth not signifie the praiers of the Church. If they searched the truth with fiue toongs, then did they read or heare the scriptures in fower toongs besides the Latine.

in the latine toong: wherein the scriptures were more sincerely written, and more substantially handled than they could be in any of the other toongs among the Saxons, Scots or Britons in that rawe and rude world, so soone vpon their conuersion to the faith, and long desolation before of learning, religion and good manners.

The Latine toong was common to those that were learned in those fower nations. Let them take Bede how they will, he maketh nothing for their Latine seruice in the words which they bring. The Italian Monks, which vnderstood not the Saxon toong, might haue the Latine seruice in their abbay, but that the people had it in their parish churches can not be prooued by any place of Bede. Hauing Saint Paules rule that the people should vnderstand the prayers that are made in the Church we

Phil. *The latin toong was common to them all.* Theo. Not to euery particular man amongst them, but to some speciall men in those foure nations that were willing and able to meditate the scriptures. And had it beene common to them all, that is to euery one of them, as you would presse it, that construction helpeth you nothing at al. For then the people of this lande, being able to meditate the scriptures in the latin toong, might very wel haue their seruice in the latine toong, because it was a knowne toong and such as they readily vnderstood: but I thinke the other of the twaine the more likely, and therfore I rest on it as on the truer, though neither damnifie vs, as touching this question, the worth of a dodkin.

Phil. It were absurd to thinke that euery of the vulgar sort vnderstood the latine toong. Theo. Then is it more absurde, when Bede saith; The latin toong was made common to al the other (foure) toongs (of this land) by the meditation of the scriptures: to interpret that of the vulgar sort, and to refer it to the Church seruice as you do.

Phil. You haue skanned our proofes at your pleasure: but where all this while are yours, that any christian nation had their publike seruice in a barbarous toong? I count al toongs barbarous besides the three learned toongs, which are Latin, Greeke, and Hebrew. Theo. In what toong each nation had their seruice, is now heard to be knowen so many hundreth yeers after, and needlesse to be discussed. For when we once found it a rule laide downe by S. Paul that All things (in the Church) should be done to edification, as well praying, singing and thankesgiuing, as preaching & expounding the word, which he calleth prophesieng; and that no man is edified by that he vnderstandeth not: and also that the seruice in those two places and Churches, wherof we haue any records left, was common to priests and people, and parted between them, by verses and responds, the whole people, men, women, and

children,

of this realme had the latin seruice in his time. *The fourth part.*

childzen, singing the psalmes, answering to euery part of the seruice, & saying Amen to the prayers that were made in all their names: and lastly that the catholike fathers in their seueral times and cures taught the people should, and witnes the people did vnderstand the publike prayers of the Church; what need we seeke further for barbarous nations and tongs, whereof we haue no monuments, and wherein no famous or learned men wrote, whose labors are come to our age or knowledge?

neede not search in what toong each nation had their seruice.

Phil. I thought you would shrinke when we came to the quicke: you loue to picke holes in other mens coates, but not to shew your owne. Belike it is so rotten it will not endure the handling. Theo. Let the coate alone and come to the case. We haue the flat commandement of God that all things (in the Church) should be done to edification: and the apostles inferment that the simple man is not edified, when he vnderstandeth not what is saide. Your shifts were, that Saint Paul spake not of the Church prayers, nor of the learned tongs. Those we haue refelled, and are nowe come to the practise of Christs Church: which taking her direction from Saint Pauls doctrine in this place, framed her publike prayers in such order that the pastor and people both iointly and interchangeably blessed and prayed eche with other and either for other: not holding it enough for the simple to say Amen they knewe not to what, but requiring and appointing their deuoute, distincte and intelligent answeres, confessions, blessinges and thankesgiuinges as well in the ministration of the Lords supper, as in other parts of their publike seruice.

These shifts of the Iesuits being refelled, S. pauls text is cleer for vs.

The maner of their seruice, where the whole Church did with one hart and one voice, sing prayses to God, and make their common supplications vnto him, is the best exposition that may be brought for the true construction of Saint Pauls words: and therin the ancient and catholike Church of Christ, goeth expressely with vs and directly against you, as appeareth by al the fathers that euer wrate of these things, by the very sight and view of their liturgies, by your owne authorities which here you abuse, yea by the parts & prayers of your masse booke prescribed for the people to requite the priest with, & yet remaining

The seruice of the primitiue Church manifestly confirmeth our construction of Saint Paul.

in force and daily vse amongst you.

What order the apostles tooke for Church seruice, as the books which they most esteeme, do testifie.

In your apostolike constitutions, written by no worse man, as you say, than by Clemens successor to Peter & fellow labourer in the Gospell with him; this order of seruice at the Lords table was prefixed to the whole church, were they Hebrews, Greekes, Romanes, Barbarians or whatsoeuer if they were Christian. The bishop shall say, the grace of almightie God, the loue of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the communion of the holy spirite be with you all. And all (the people) shall answere with one voice. And with the spirite. Againe let the bishop say, Lift vp your harts, and all let answer, We lift them vp vnto the Lord. And againe the bishop: Let vs giue thanks vnto the Lord, and all shall answere, It is meete & right so to do. And at the end of that praier it followeth, *Et omnis populus simul dicat*, and let all the people with one voice say, holy, holy, holy, Lord of hostes: The heauen and earth are full of thy glorie: blessed art thou for euer, Amen. And * so after. Let the bishop say, the peace of God be with you all. Let all the people answere, & with thy spirit.* Let the bishop admonish the people with these words, holy things for holy persons. And let the people answere, one holy, one Lord, one Christ be blessed for euer to the glory of God the father. Osanna to the sonne of Dauid. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord: the Lord (our) God hath appeared vnto vs. Osanna in the highest. If in euery church the people were to know when and what to answere in their diuine seruice, and with many full and whole sentences to confirme and requite the bishops praiers and blessings: it is euident they were to vnderstand their owne and the bishops speech: which in a strange and vnknown toong, such as is vsed in your churches, it is not possible for simple men and women to do.

Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.

The Church seruice diuided between the bishop & the whole congregation.

*Cap. 18.

*Cap. 20.

The people could not make these answers except they vnderstood the toong that the bishop spake in.

Phil. You impugned these constitutions but euen now, as none of the apostles. Theo. But you receiue them and vrge them as apostolike, and therfore against you such proofes are pregnant.

The liturgies of Iames, Basil, and Chrysostome prescribe like answers for the people in the praiers of the Church.

And so are the Liturgies, that is the Church praiers which are vnder the names of Iames, Basill, and Chrysostome: in which the like order of praying and blessing, by course is appointed both for priests and people. Let the places be seene, if they be not obuious to euery mans eies,

cies, let me be rebuked of a bold vntruth.

Phil. Your selues admit not those Liturgies. Theo. We do not thinke that either Basil, or Chrysostome would take vpon them to make a new forme of Church seruice, if S. Iames the apostle had done it before them: neither was the Greeke Church to seeke of her seruice till their times, or to change it at their pleasures: yet the things which we alleage out of these Liturgies, haue the manifest testimonies as well of Basill and Chrysostome, as of other catholike fathers, both Greeke and Latine in their vnforged and vndistrusted writings. That which we alledge out of these liturgies hath the true and vndoubted testimonies of the fathers.

Chrysostom, expressing the maner of the Church in his time, saith: Euen in the praiers (of the Church) a man may see the people (helpe or) offer much togither (with the priest) for those that are possessed with wicked spirites and for the repentants. *Communes enim preces à sacerdote & ab illis fiunt, & omnes vnam dicunt orationem.* For the priest & the people make their praiers in common, and they all vtter the same words in their petitions to God. Againe, when we haue excluded them out of the Church that may not be partakers of the holy table and fall a fresh to praier, we all prostrate our selues togither, and all rise vp togither. When peace is to be imparted, we all salute one another. In the very same dreadfull mysteries the priest praieth for the people, and the people for the priest. For their answere, And with the spirite, hath none other meaning. *Ea quæ sunt Eucharistiæ, id est gratiarum actionis communia sunt omnia.* The praiers of the Eucharist, that is of the thankesgiuing (at the Lords table) * are all common. For the priest doth not onely giue thanks, but * all the people. Out of the which number were none excepted neither men, women, nor children, as Basil shortly but fully describeth the sound of the whole Church praying togither. If the sea be good and beautifull in the sight of God, how much more beautifull is such an assembly of the Church as we haue here, in which the mingled sound of men, women, and children, making their (common) praiers ascendeth vnto our God, as the noise of waues beating against the bankes. *Chrysost. in 2. Cor. in hom. 18.* Marke the forme of publike praier in Chrysostoms time. * Can they haue plainer words? *Basil. hexam. homil. 4.* Men, women and children singing & praying in the Church seruice.

The Latine Church obserued the same, as Iustinus reporting the order of the christian assemblies in his time witnesseth. On the day which is called sunday, all that are *Iustin. mart. in Apolog. pro Christianis.*

in townes or villages meete togither in one place where the writinges of the Apostles and Prophetes are read, as the hower permitteth vs: when the reader ceaseth, the pastour warneth and exhorteth vs to imitate the good thinges that haue beene read vnto vs. Then rise wee all and ioyntly make our prayers: after the which ended, bread and wine with water are brought (to the place) and he that is chiefe among vs maketh his prayers and giueth thankes in the best manner he can. * *Perfectis precibus & gratiarum actione, populus omnis qui adest benedicit, dicens, Amen*; At the end of his prayers and thankes, all the people that are present, doe blesse and say Amen. Amen in Hebrew signifieth as much as God grant it may be so.

* *Ibidem.*

* *Augustin psal. 54.*
* *Ambr. hexam. li. 3. ca. 5.*

S. Augustine noting the vse of the Church in his daies, saith: * We cal vpon one God, we heare one gospel (read,) we sing one psalme, we answer one Amen, we sound out one Halleluia. * The Church, saith Saint Ambrose, is often very fitly compared to the Sea: which at first rusheth in the praiers of the whole people, as it were in the flowing of her waues, and then soundeth with the respondes of psalmes, and with the singing of men, women, maidens, and young boies, much after the roaring of (mighty) waters.

* *Leo ser. 3. de leiunio. 7. mensis.*

The publike praier of the whole people more auailable with God, than the praier of the priest alone.

The reason of this general ioyning in praier among the Christians Leo well declareth in these words, * Most ful forgiuenes of sins is obtained, when the whole Church pronounceth (euery man) the same praier, and the same confession. For if the Lord haue promised to performe that which two or three of the Godly consenting togither shall aske, what shall be denied to an assembly of many thousands beseeching in one spirit with one accord? Which was Tertul. meaning long before, when he said of all Christians: We meete in companies and assemblies, that comming * as it were an army (or in troups) vnto God, we may euen vrge him with our praiers. *Hæc vis Deo grata est*: this force is acceptable vnto God.

* *Tertul. in Apologet.*
* *Quasi manu facta.*

In this sort it continued 600 yeres as appeareth by Isidore. *Oportet vt quando psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus: cum oratur, oretur ab omnibus: quando lectio legitur, facto silentio æque audiatur ab omnibus. Ideo & diaconus clara voce silentium admonet, vt siue dum psallitur, siue dum lectio pronunciatur, ab omnibus vnitas conseruetur, vt quod omnibus prædicatur, ab omnibus equaliter audiatur.*

Isidor. de eccl. officijs lib. 1. ca. 10. de lection.

audiatur. This must of necessity be kept (in the Church seruice) that when they sing, all sing: when they pray, all pray: when the lesson is read with silence, it be harde alike of all. For therefore the deacon commaundeth silence that whether they sing or read, all may doe the like, and that which is spoken to all should equally be heard of all. Yea Charles the great 800. yeres after Christ toke order by his lawes not only that the people should say certaine parts of the seruice with the priest, but that the pastors should preach it to be necessary for the simple to vnderstand their praiers, that euery man might knowe what he demaunded at the handes of God. Glory be to the father, (and to the sonn and to the holy ghost, &c.) shalbe sung of all men with all honor: and the priest with the people of God shall sing with one voice, as the angels doe, holy, holy, holy, (Lord God of Saboth:) The bishops shal diligently looke that the priests throughly perceiue the praiers of their masse, and both themselues vnderstand the Lords praier and preach that all must vnderstand it, that euery man may know what he asketh of God.

That all should pray and sing in the Church is a dutie, & therefore a necessitie. *Legum Francie li. 1. ca. 66. De eccl. diuer. capitulis Const.* 123.

So Iustinian before him could command that al bishops and priests (within the Romane monarchy) should celebrate the sacred oblation (of the Lords supper) and the praiers vsed in baptisme, not in secret but with a (loud and) cleare voice, that the minds of the hearers might be stirred vp with more deuotion to expresse the praises of the Lord God. For so saith he, the apostle teacheth. *1. Corinth.* If thou blesse with the spirite, how shall he that keepeth the place of the priuate (or lay) man, say *Amen* at thy thankesgiuing vnto GOD: because he wotteth not what thou saiest? Thou giuest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And in his epistle to the Romanes. With the hart we beleeue vnto righteousnes, and with the mouth we confesse vnto saluation. For which respects it is fit, that those praiers which are vsed in the sacred oblation, as well as others should be pronounced by the bishops and priests with a cleere voice: and let the religious bishops and priests know that if they neglect so to do, they should yeeld an account in the dreadfull iudgement of the great God for it, and we hauing information of them will not leaue them vnpunished.

*Lyra saith if the people vnderstand the priests praier and benediction, they be better affected to Godward, and answere Amen with more deuotion.

1. Cor. 14. Iustinian applieth Saint Pauls place to prooue that the people should be edified & stirred by the priests words to confesse with their mouthes the praise of God in his Church.

But what need we elder or other testimonies? your masse-booke, which at this day you depend so much on, conuinceth that the people at first did, and stil should vnderstand the prayers which the priest maketh euen at the very altar and sacrifice it selfe, those being things of the greatest secrecie and most sublimitie that you haue. Phil. Can you perswade vs that our masse-booke maketh with you? Theop. Those whether you wil be perswaded or no: but you must needs be abashed to see the words of your own book fight against your error. Phi. Faith thē our luck is bad. Theo. It is euen so bad if it be not worse: that is, if your harts doe not barke against you for vpholding this vnfruitful prayer. Phil. I am glad you come now to hold by the missall. Theop. We hold by the precept of the liuing and euerlasting God, and yet we may proue by your own footsteps that you tread awry. Phi. We wil beleeue it, whē we see it. Theop. You shall soone see it: if that will suffice you. When you speake to men, do you not waste your words in vain, if they vnderstand not what you say? Phil. In our prayers we speake to God, and not to men, & therefore we see no reason why euery man should looke to vnderstand that we say. Theo. But when you speake to mē, and not to God, do you not both abase your tongs and delude their eares if they vnderstand you not? Phil. If we speake to them, I grant they should vnderstand vs, or else we lose our labor, and they no whit the wiser. Theo. S. Austen wil tel you, There is no cause at all why (you) should speake, if they vnderstand not what (you) say, for whose sakes (you) speake. The end of your speaking vnto men, is to let them vnderstand what you would aduise or aduertise thē of: that if they do not, you speake in the aire, as S. Paul saith, and do them no good. Phi. I thinke so.

The praiers and speeches of their Masse-book at this day proue the people shuld vnderstand and answere the priest in the chiefest parts of their Church seruice.

He that speaketh to men that which they cannot vnderstand, mocketh & deludeth them. *Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. 4. cap. 10.*

1. Cor. 14.

Theop. Your priest is appointed by the canon of your masse, to say before he ascend to the altar, *I confesse to God almighty, to blessed Mary, to all saints, and to you (brethren) that I haue sinned very much in thought, deed and word. *Therefore I beseech holy Mary, all saints of God, and * you (brethren) to pray for me. When he commeth to his sacrifice, he is likewise to say, Pray ye brethren & sisterne for me, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to the Lord our God: and euery where when he prayeth, he must say,

* *Ordinarium Missæ secundū vsum Sarum.*
* *Ideo precor vos fratres orate pro me.*
* *Orate fratres & sorores pro me.*

* The

* The Lord be with you, let vs pray.

To ech of these the people haue their answers prescribed them what they must say, which euen at this day are parts of your seruice, to the confession they must answere, * Almighty God be merciful vnto thee, and forgiue thee all thy sinnes, deliuer thee from all euill, preserue and confirme thee in that which is good, and bring thee to life euerlasting. To the oblation they must reply, The grace of the holy Ghost lighten thine hart and thy lips, and the Lord receiue in good part this sacrifice of praise at thine hands for our sinnes and offences. Before consecration when he biddeth them, Lift vp their harts, their answer must be, we lift them vp vnto the Lord: and when he saith, Let vs giue thanks to the Lord our God, they must pronounce, it is meete and right so to do. The priest blessing, the Lord be with you, the people must requite with the like, in answering, and with thy spirit.

* Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

* Ordinarium Missæ secundum vsum Sarum.

Sursum corda habemus ad Dominum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

And though you haue excluded the people and set a parish clerke to make these answers, and willed the priest for very shame to say some of them * closely: yet know you that these words remaining yet in your masse-bookes are manifest witnesses against you before God and man, that the prayers of the church should be common to priest and people, and so were, when your masse was first ordeined: and that not onely the prayers made by the whole congregation are more auaileable with God, than the priuate deuotiõ of any priest (which of a certaine pride in your selues you will not now acknowledge) but that you mocke the people of God, and with your owne tongs condemne your owne doings, when in your seruice you will them euery where to pray with you and for you, and yet vtter it in such a tong, as they can neither vnderstand what you or themselues do say.

* Sacerd. se vertens ad populum tacita voce dicat, Orate fratres & sorores pro me.

O mockerie to desire the people to pray for him and yet so to speake it, that no man shal heare it.

Phil. By the gestures and actions which we vse, the people vnderstand our meaning. Theo. Then should your masse haue consisted of nothing, but of actions & gestures: where now your speaking vnto them, when they vnderstood you not, is very ridiculous. Phil. We speake to them but seldome; and if they doe not, as we will them for lacke of vnderstanding vs, the rest of our seruice may not be misliked, for so much as therein we speake to God and not

The papists haue turned edification into gesticulation.

not to men. Theo. The whole is superfluous, if not iniurious to God and man. Phil. Why so? Theo. In all your publike prayers, though you direct your words vnto God yet you vtter them for their sakes that be your hearers. God needeth not your voice, he searcheth, and thereforе vnderstandeth the very secrets of your harts, and you pray most effectually to him, when your harts * speake, & your lips keepe silence. God, saith Augustine, * seeketh not to be instructed or remembred by our speech, to giue vs that which we desire. Where thinkest thou is offered the sacrifice of righteousnes, but in the temple of the minde, and chambers of the hart?

It is the people and not God that needeth the priests voice in the Church prayers.
* Psal. 27.
* *Aug. de magistro. cap. 1.*

Phil. That is true, but yet we may vse our mouth in praying as well as our hart. Theo. You may if you will, but you neede not except you list. Phil. Yes, the priest is the mouth of the Church: and therefore he must speake. Theo. The Church needeth neither mouth, nor speech to God. He knoweth euery mans hart as well as ones: but in respect of themselues, speech is necessary that they may be kindled, directed and confirmed, ech by others voice in their common prayers and supplications vnto God. Phil. The priest offreth their prayers vnto God for them. Theo. God wil not haue vs beleeue or pray by a substitute, but in our persons, we are not too good to do him that seruice.

Speech necessarie in respect of the people: which if they vnderstand not, silence would doe them as much good.

Phil. The people pray, but by the priests mouth. Theo. Then must he speake: or else he cannot be their mouth. Phil. He must: otherwise how shall they know whether he pray or no? Theo. And when they vnderstand him not, they be no surer what he doth, than if he kept silence. Phil. Whē they heare his voice they suppose he praieth, though they know not what he saieth. Theo. They may well suppose it, for they know it not, and so may they do, when the priest keepeth silence. Suppofals are soone made, if God required no more at our hands.

If it be needfull for the priest to speake in the Church seruice, it is as needfull for the people to vnderstand what he saith. The end of speaking is, that others may vnderstand: if therfore that want, the first is superfluous.

But by your confession that the priest must speake in the prayers of the Church, we proue, the people must vnderstand what is spoken. For GOD needeth not any mans speech: the end why the priest speaketh, is to guide the peoples harts in their petitions to God, and to haue their consents that the prayers of the Church may proceede from them all. If that end want, as in a tong not vnder-

vnderstood it doth, in vaine doth the priest speake, and the people hearken vnto that which they no way conceiue, or haue knowledge of. What needeth speech, that is the sound of words, saith Augustine, when we pray, vnlesse perhaps, as the priests do for the signification of their mindes: not that God, but that men should heare, and through their rehearsal by consenting (to their words) be stirred (or mooued) to depend on God. *Aug. de magistro. cap. 1.*

The priest therfore in his Church seruice, though he direct his hart to GOD, yet doth he open his mouth for their sakes that are present, that they may be both kindled and guided by the sound and sense of his words to ioine with him, in offering to God one agreement of hart and voice, which is the cause, why publike praier was ordained. And euen at this day in your masse the priest speaketh not one word in his owne person, but in euery praier both warneth the people to pray with him, and speaketh in their persons as well as in his owne. For example: Let vs pray, let vs giue thanks, we beseech, we offer, we praise, we blesse, we adore, which argueth that at the first institutiō of your owne seruice the people did, & were bound to mark and vnderstand the priests words, and with answering Amen to acknowledge and confirm his praiers to be their desires & requests vnto God, though now you shut vp their eares, and mouths that they can neither vnderstand you, nor know what to answer you, but only open their eies to behold your gestures, as if it were not a place for praier, but a stage for dumbe shewes, to delight the senses.

The priest at his masse vttereth euery word, as if the people did vnderstand him and ioine with him in praier.

Oremus.
Gratiu agamus.
Quæsumus.
Offerimus.
Laudamus.
Benedicimus.
Adoramus.

Phil. You make certaine petie reasons against vs for the seruice in the vulgar tong: but had they been sufficient, do you thinke the Church of Christ would haue taken vp the contrary custom for these fifténe hundred yeeres? Theo. I think she would not, & by her Church seruice, I proue she did not. Phil. You proue the people vnderstood the seruice, and by course answered, and consented to that which was said in the Church, but this doth not proue that the praiers were in any other tong besides the Latin, Greeke or Hebrew, which is our assertion. The. This is it which I told you before, that finding the people did vnderstand the diuine seruice in the primatiue Church: & that no praiers were counted publike, vnlesse they had the consent

consent and answere of the whole multitude: we need not care in what tongs this was done: The Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, Armenian, Indian, Persian, Syrian, Gothian tongs, are they not al alike to God? Must not barbarous nations be edified by their praiers as well as the ciuiler or learneder sort of men? There is no respect of persons with God, is there of tongs?

All tongs are alike to God.

God no respecter of persons, much lesse of tongs.

Phil. The three learned tongs were *dedicated* in our sauiors crosse, the rest were not. Theo. Who set vp those titles on the crosse: the Lord which suffered, or Pilate which condemned him vniustly to death? Phil. What though Pilate set them vp? Theo. If Pilate were a wicked pagan and his fact wickedder in proclaiming the sonne of God for a traitor and an aspirer to the crowne of Iurie, in Hebrew, Greeke and Latine letters, what reason can this be why God will not, or should not be serued in any other tong, but in one of these? Haue you no better examples than Caiphas to vphold the popes tribunall, and Pilate to commend your latine seruice? Phil. Yes, we haue the Church of God. Theo. Then why conceale you that, and bring forth Pilates impietie to prescribe a rule in ỹ Church of God against the apostle? Phil. The tongs were good, though his fact were euill. Theop. And dare you say that any tong in the world is not good?

Pilats act is not so good a reason for the Latine seruice; as Caiphas prophesie was for the popes infallible iudgement; and yet either is very foolish.

Phil. God they be all, but not so good as any of these to serue God in. Theo. Recoile you backe againe to that error, that God is an accepter of tongs? Phil. You call it an error. Theo. So is it: and that a very grosse error. For God accepteth the zeale of the hart, not the sound of the mouth: and though to vs there is some difference in the perfection and pleasantnes of the speech; to God in deuotion of praier there is none. He, saith Origen, that is Lord of all tongs, heareth those that pray in any toong. For God the gouernor of the whole world is not as one, that hath chosen the Greeke, or some other barbarous toong, and is ignorant of the rest, or neglecteth those that speake vnto him in any other toong. And since he hath made all tongs, and requireth not the sound of our mouths for himselfe, but for our selues, it is wilfull folly to say that praiers be sanctified or accepted to God in one tong, and not in all tongs alike.

Origen. contra Celsum lib. 8.

All tongs are fit for praier.

Phil.

Phil. Still I say * *the Church of God hath no such custome:* which S. Paul himselfe lauth downe for a sure direction in all Church matters. Theo. Take you the negligent abuse of late yeres in some places for the custom of Gods Church? Or do you thinke it pietie to pretend any custome of your owne against the commandement of God? Phil. *Any thing which the whole Church doth practise and obserue throughout the world, to dispute therof, as though it were not to be done, is most insolent madnes, as S. Augustine very notably saith in his 118 epist.* Theo. S. Augustine doth not say, that you may prefer custome before the scriptures: or change the ancient custome of Christs Church in making her prayers in a bulgar and knowne toong, with a newe order of your owne in tying the people to a strange and vnknowne language: either of those by the verdict of Augustine in this very place is that *most insolent madnes* which you would seeme to fasten on others.

The Rhemish Test. 1.Cor.14.

The Rhemish Test. 1.Cor. 14.

And yet you miserably racke this place of Augustine. For of two parts, you dissemble the first, that you may pul the second to your purpose: and in the second you leaue out two conditions which your author addeth: and were the text truly cited, your application is so false in the sight of al men, that none but mad men would venter on so desperate an assertion, as you haue done. For that the whole Church of God throughout the world euer had, or at this day hath her seruice in an vnknowne toong, or in latin, wel you might vtter it in a dreame: but neuer sober man said it being broad awaked, and well aduised.

S. Augustine racked by the Iesuits from his right meaning.

The words of S. Augustine, being consulted of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, not of the doctrine or faith of the Church, are these: If the authoritie of the diuine scripture prescribe in any of these (rites & ceremonies) what is to be done, I answer there may be no doubt, but that we must do as we read. *Similiter si quid horum, tota* * *die per orbem obseruat Ecclesia*, The like I say if any of these (rites) be obserued of the whole Church thoroughout the whole world (at this present day) for to dispute that we should do otherwise: is most insolent madnes. The scripture is first to be respected and obeied: if that prescribe no certaintie, the custome of the vniuersall Church is to be followed, in those rites which are neither against the faith, nor good maners, for

August. epist. 118. cap. 5.

* The word should be *bodie*.

It is madnes to breake the custome of the vniuersal church in things indifferent.

for that is his maine restriction: and not euery custome which in time to come might, or should happily be newly deuised by some parts or members of the church, but such as the whole Church far and nere without contradiction retained then, when he spake, as descending from the apostles or apostolike men. And so the word *(hodie)* doth import, though your monks haue left out the first sillable, and written *(die)* for *(hodie)* as the course of the sentence doth plainly declare.

The Iesuits defend a new custome against the ancient and generall order of christs church: are they not mad by S. Augustines rule?

If then to dispute whether the ancient custome of the vniuersal Church may be altered, be madnes, yea most insolent madnes, what degree of phrensie will fall to your lot, that erect and defend a particular and late growen custome, against the plaine precept of God himselfe, against the apostles prescription, against the generall and ancient vsage of Christs Church, yea against the nature of man, and true intent of your owne seruice which you would seeme to make most account of. Phil. All this is vntrue. Theo. Bethinke your selfe better, and you shal find it truer than you would wish.

Lyra in 1. *Cor.* 14. *Iohan. Eckius in locis communibus.* The south Indians euer had and yet haue their seruice in their mother toong.

Phil. Had euer any nation their Church seruice in a barbarous toong before our time? Theo. Make you that such a wonder, which your owne friends confesse was so common in the primatiue Church? Lyra saith, *In primatiua ecclesia benedictiones & cætera oīa* (or else leauing out the *c*, which seemeth to be added by the negligence of the printer) *oīa fiebant in vulgari.* In the primatiue Church blessings, and (all other or) other common (praiers) were made in the vulgar toong (which the people vnderstood.) Eckius saith, *Non negamus tamen Indis Australibus permissum, vt in lingua sua rem diuinam facerent, quod clerus eorum hodie obseruat.* We deny not but the south Indians were suffered (in the primatiue Church) to haue their diuine seruice in their mother toong (which is neither Greeke, Hebrew, nor Latine) which also their clergy at this day obserueth. An * other of your friends saith of the Moscouites, *Totum sacrum seu Missa Gentili ac vernacula lingua apud illos peragi solet.* The whole seruice or masse is said with them in their natiue and mother toong. The epi. and also the Gospell of the day are read to the people with a loud voice out of the chancel, for their better vnderstanding. Per. Bellonius saith. As * many as are

* *Sigismun. liber in rerum Moscouitarum Commentarijs, cap. de decimis.* So haue the Moscouites and Armenians.

* *Petrus Bello. de moribus Armeniorum.*

presen

preſent with the prieſt ſinging maſſe in Armenia, anſwere him in the Armenian toong. For all, that ſtande by, vnderſtand the Armenian toong which the prieſt vſeth (in his ſeruice.)

Phil. Theſe be ſchiſmaticall and diſordered Churches.

Theop. In deede they know no part of your holy Fathers religion nor dominion: Yet are they Chriſtians, and neerer the truth by many degrees than the Church of Rome. It is no ſchiſme to be free from him, to whom they were neuer ſubiect, and ſome obſeruances though they haue, which are both ſuperſtitious and erronious: yet that is no reaſon to diſpraiſe them in that wherein they followe the example of the true and ſincere Church of Chriſt, and retaine that cuſtome which they receiued from the beginning. Phil. We may diſlike them for this aſwell as you may for other thinges. Theop. Whether you like them or no, ſo they doe and ſo haue they done euer ſince they were planted in Chriſt, euen to this our age.

All Africa, Aſia, and the north parts of Europa haue and euer had their diuine ſeruice in their natiue and barbarous toongs.

And this their conſtancie you can not diſlike, but you muſt alſo diſlike the Apoſtle that firſt taught it, the primatiue Church that continued it and adiudged it to be neceſſary; yea your holy Father himſelfe, that not onely would permit it, when he was requeſted: but ſtraitly commanded it when it was not aſked. Cyrillus that conuerted the people of Ruſſia and Morauia, made requeſt to the biſhop of Rome, as pope Pius the ſecond reporteth, that he might vſe the Sclauon toong in ſaying diuine ſeruice to them, whom he had baptized. And when the matter came to be handled in the ſacred ſenate (or councell chamber) a number contradicting it, he ſaith there was heard a voice as it were from heauen, ſpeaking theſe words: Let euery ſpirite praiſe the Lord, and euery toong confeſſe him: and that vpon the hearing thereof, Cyrillus had his petition. The blindnes of your holie father and his cardinals was reproued by a voice from heauen for hauing their ſeruice in an vnknowen toong: & yet you beare men in hand, to diſlike the late cuſtome of your Romiſh ſynagogue: or ſo much as *diſpute therof, as if it were not to be done, is inſolent madnes.*

Aeneas Syluius hiſt. Bohem. cap. 13.

God from heauen decided that the Ruſſians and Moraui-ans ſhould haue their ſeruice in their natiue toong though it were barbarous.

Innocentius though he were the firſt that brought tranſubſtantiation, auricular confeſſion, and depoſition of princes to be confirmed in open councell 1215. yeares after Chriſt;

Christ; yet durst he not bind the west Church to the latine seruice, throughout, as you doe: but gaue streit charge rather to the cõtrary, that such as were of diuers languages, should haue the prayers and sacramẽts of the Church in their seuerall and sundry rites and toongs: as appeareth in the councel of Lateran assembled vnder Innocentius the third of that name. Because in many places within the same citie and diocesse there be mingled * people of diuers toongs, hauing vnder one faith sundry rites and customs: we straitly commaund that the bishops of such cities and diocesses prouide fit men which may celebrate diuine seruice, and minister the Church sacraments vnto them, * according to the diuersities of their rites and languages.

Concil. Lateranens. sub Innocent. 3. cap. 9.
** In plerisque partibus.*
Populi diuersarum linguarum secundum diuersitates linguarum.

Phil. In diuers toongs he saith they shal haue their seruice, but not in any barbarous toong. Theop. And he that saith they shall haue their seruice in diuers toongs confesseth there were more toongs vsed in the west Church than one: and taking order that seruice should be said vnto thẽ according to the diuersities of their toongs, he saw some cause why the people should vnderstand what was said in the Church: and if that be needfull or expedient for one nation, why not for other in like maner? And yet I see no restraint in the words, but that the Moscouites, Moraualans, and others were prouided for by this canon, to haue the Church seruice in their proper and natiue toong, as well as the Grecians.

Mo toongs vsed in the west Church than the Latine toong.

Phil. If it were so: we account it lawfull, for that the Church of Rome did permit it. Theo. Then do we account our seruice in the English toong much more lawful, chiefly for that is warranted by the word of God, as I haue shewed; and secondly for that it wanteth not the generall vse and order of Christes Church in her sincerest and purest state to confirme the same. Phil. Haue you the general and ancient custome of Christes Church to insure your seruice in the English toong? Theoph. We haue, for that toong which the people vnderstand, be it English, Scottish, or what other speech you will.

The generall vse of the primitiue Church confirmeth the seruice in the English tong.

Phil. That any nation prayed in a barbarous toong, you haue no president in the primitiue Church. Theoph. This is not the first time that your teeth could not rule your toong: the primitiue Church of Christ vsed & allowed all toongs,

All toongs allowed in the primitiue

toongs, as well barbarous as learned, for the people to make their praiers in. Phil. You say not truth. Theo. If I do, you know your reward. You must be catholikes of the second edition, when men began to fall from truth to apostasie. For with the right and ancient faith of Christs Church, your Romish errors haue no fellowship. Phil. And what haue yours, that were neuer heard of before Luthers time? Theo. How chanceth then, our doctrine is confirmed by the scriptures, and witnessed in all the fathers, where yours is not? Phil. Not ours? Theo. Not yours.

Church for men to make their publike praiers in.

Your praying in a toong not vnderstood of the hearers, your single and solitarie masses, where no man eateth besides the priest: your decurted communions, where wanteth one halfe of Christs institution, I aske not howe you proue these points to be catholike, that would trouble your braines too much: but what one father haue you for them, lest you seeme to deriue your religion you know not from whom? Catholike should haue all the fathers, we demand you but one: If you come short of that, what hope can you haue to recouer the rest? Phil. The doubt is not of our faith, but of yours: you must shew, by what title you claime your Church, which was in our possession before you were borne. Theo. The wals you had: for those we striue not: The faith which is the foundation of the Church you neuer had: for that we stand. Phil. But who standeth with you besides your selues? Theo. I haue told you: the word of God, and cleare consent of that Church, which you dare not deny to be both ancient and catholike.

The Iesuits are so catholike that they haue not so much as one father for the greatest points of their religiō.

The wals of the Church were theirs, but not the faith of the Church.

Phil. First then where is your antiquitie for praying in a barbarous toong? Theo. That which I haue said, might seeme sufficient, you bringing against it neither reason nor authoritie but onely Pilates that put Christ to death. Phil. That the people did vnderstand the praiers which were made in the Church you shew some proofe: but those we say were in Hebrew, Greeke or Latin. Mary that the primitiue Church permitted any nation to make their praiers in a barbarous toong, for that as yet I see no proofe. Theo. Reuiew that which is already said, and you shal find that not onely the people did sing the psalmes and answere the praiers that were made in the Church, but also they

Pilates authoritie is all the hold the Iesuits haue for their latine seruice.

were taught, it was a point of their christiā dutie so to do, and that neither the priests voice was nedfull, nor the prayer publike, except the whole multitude did both conceiue the meaning, and confirme the blessing of their pastour and reader: which in a strange tong they cannot: and therefore the conclusion is infallible, that in the primitiue Church no tong was vsed but such as the people vnderstood, and in a barbarous nation of necessitie that must be a barbarous tong.

The praier is not publike except the people vnderstand it, & confirme it.

Phil. But we require some testimonie that a barbarous tong was vsed in prayer: for it may be that all the nations in the world vnderstood Hebrew, Greeke or Latine; else why did Pilate set the title on our sauiours crosse in those three tongs, but that all nations might read it: and that they could not, except they vnderstood one of those three tongs, which I coniecture they did. Theop. A coniecture fit for the cause you haue in hand. Pilate did not set vp the title for all the men, women and children in the world to see or read as you suppose: but for those that were gathered out of all countries to Ierusalem at the time of his execution: and that strangers as well as Iewes might know the cause why Christ was adiudged to die, the superscription was written in Hebrew, Greeke and Latine, without the knowledge of one of the which tongs no stranger vsed to frequent those countries, least he should be forced as dombe men are, to worke with signes, which in trauellers or ligers, that haue any busines, is meere madnes without some interpreter.

Pilate wrote the superscription of the crosse, not for all the persons in the world, but for al the strangers that were at Ierusalem.

All the world vnderstood not the three learned toongs.

Had all men vnderstood one of those three tongs as you imagine, what neded the holy Ghost to haue bestowed any moe tongs on the apostles, when they were sent to preach to all nations, but the Hebrew, Greeke & Latine? For the whole world as you say, spake & vnderstood those three. You may do well to controle the holy Ghost, & with your monstrous and false surmise to say the gift of moe tongs than these three, was not nedfull. And where is then the diuision of tongs which God inflicted on the sonnes of men, if the whole earth had recouered her selfe to be of three tongs? Or how could any nation be barbarous, if ech could naturally speake some one of the learned tongs? Yea, why might not the offspring of Adam haue

What neeeded the gift of mo tongs? and where was the diuision of tongs which God inflicted for building the tower of Babel, if the whole earth had gotten to be of three toongs?

gotten

gotten from three toongs to one with more ease and quicker speed, than from an infinite varietie of toongs to three, and so frustrate the iudgement and wisedome of God in confounding their speech?

Phi. I do not auouch it for a certaintie. Theo. Looke better vnto it, and you will reiect it not onely for an impossibilitie, but euē for an impietie. And yet were you so absurdly and wickedly bent, you hurt not our assertion. For we can proue that the primitiue Church allowed and vsed praiers by precise termes in barbarous toongs. Origen saith, [a] The Grecians name God in the Greeke toong, the Romanes in the Latine: *& singuli item natiua & vernacula lingua Deum precantur, & laudibus pro se quisque extollit*, and euery (nation) in their natiue and mother toong make their praiers to God and yeeld him his due praises. Saint Hierome describing the solemne funerall of Paula, that died at Bethleem in Iurie, saith: [b] *Hebræo, Græco, Latino, Syróque sermone psalmi in ordine personabant, non solum triduo donec subter ecclesiam, & iuxta specum Domini conderetur, sed per omnem hebdomadem*. The psalmes were sung by order in the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine and Syrian toong, not onely those three dayes, till she was laied in earth within the Church, and neere to the sepulchre of our sauiour, but that whole weeke.

The primitiue Church praied in barbarous toongs.

[a] *Origen. contra Celsum. lib. 8.*

Euery nation praied in their natiue and mother toong.

[b] *Hier. in epitaph. Paulæ ad Eustochium.*

Prayer in the Syrian tong.

And least you should thinke this order of singing in diuers toongs was vsed but once, commending the very same place for the great concourse of nations far and neere, thither resorting and there leading their liues, he maketh Paula then aliue, giue this report to Marcella. [c] *Quicunque in Gallia fuerit primus huc properat: diuisus ab orbe nostro Britannus, si in religione processerit, dimisso sole occiduo quærit locum fama tantum & scripturarum relatione notum. Quid referamus Armenios, quid Persas, quid Indiæ, quid Aethiopum populos, ipsámque iuxta Aegyptum fertilem monachorum, Pontum, Cappadociam, Syriam Cælen, Mesopotamiam, cunctáque orientis examina? Vox quidem dissona, sed vna religio: tot penè psallentium chori, quot gentium diuersitates*. Whosoeuer is the chiefest in France, hither he hasteneth. The Britaine deuided from our world, when he commeth to any forwardnes in religion, seeketh for (this) place which he knoweth only by heare say, and by relation of the scriptures: what shall I speake of

[c] *Paula & Eustochium ad Marcellam vt commigret Bethleem. Hier tom. 1. epist. 17.*

Praiers in as many toongs almost as there were nations in Bethleem. Euery one of these nations had not sufficient to make a quier, or else som of these nations spake the one and the same

toong that the other did as diuers of these spake the Greeke toong.

the Armenians, Persians, Indians, Ethiopians: of Egypt, that is hard by, and hath such store of monkes: or of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cælesyria, Mesepotamia, and all the swarmes of the east? They haue diuers languages, but one religion. There are (here) almost as many quires that sing the psalmes (in their seuerall toongs) as there be diuersities of nations.

Saint Augustine vrgeth this which you defend (that *God should not be praised in a barbarous toong*) as a manifest inconuenience against them, that would not haue the word ὁμοούσιον vsed to expresse the nature and substance of the Trinitie. [a] If one substance of the Father, the Sonne and the holie Ghost may not be vttered in the Greeke toong: *ergo* neither is it fit that God shuld be praised in a barbarous (toong:) but if the later be vsed, why not the former? And that the later was vsed he sheweth in these words, [c] *Vna rogatur vt misereatur à cunctis Latinis & Barbaris vnius Dei natura, vt à laudibus Dei vnius, nec ipsa lingua barbara sit, vt Latinis aliena.* The one nature of one God is praied vnto by all the Latines and Barbarians to be mercifull (to them) insomuch that the very barbarous toong is not excluded from the praises of one God, as belonging to the Latines (more than to the Barbarians.) In latine we say, *Domine miserere.* Then belike this mercy ought to be asked of that one God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, but onely in the Hebrewe or Greeke toong, or at least in the Latine toong, and not in any barbarous toong. Marie if it be lawfull not onely for the Barbarians in their language, but for the Romans (conquered and compelled by the Goathes to learne their speech) to say *sihoraarmem*: which is as much as, Lord haue mercy (on vs,) why should it not be lawfull for the councels of the fathers that were assembled in the land of Grecia to call one substance of the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, in their owne toong *homousion*? Thus much Saint Augustine confessing that God was and might be praised and praied vnto in a barbarous language, as well as in Hebrew, Greeke or Latine: and repeating a peece of the Church seruice in the Gothian toong, which not onely themselues vsed, but the Romanes were forced to receiue in steede of *Domine miserere*, when their citie was taken and surprised by the Gothes, for *Kyrie eleison*, which Gregorie two hundred yeeres after borrowed of the Grecians, was not

[a] *August. ep.* 178. S. Augustine taketh it for a thing confessed that praiers shuld be vsed in barbarous toongs.

[b] *Aug. Ibidem.* What is this but praying in barbarous toongs?

The seruice in the Gothian toong.

Kyrie eleison was not vsed in the church

not as yet in Saint Augustines time vsed in the Church of Rome.

of Rome in S. Augustines time.

The very sauage people that offered vnto diuels, when they were conuerted vnto Christ, were not denied to haue their psalmes and praiers in their rude and vnpolished toongs, as Saint Hierom reporteth of the Bessians and others. [a] The passion and resurrection of Christ, the toongs and letters of all nations doe sound. I speake not of the Hebrewes, Greekes, and Latines, which nations the Lord did dedicate in the title of his crosse: that the soule is immortall, and hath his being after the dissolution of the bodie, the Indian, the Persian, the Goth, the Ægyptian can largely discourse. The wilde Bessians and they which go cloathed in beastes skinnes (for lacke of other apparell) sacrificed men to the ghostes departed, *stridorem suum in dulce crucis fregerunt melos*, haue turned their barbarous and fearefull noise into the sweete melodie of the crosse.

[a] *Hier. ad Heliodorum in vita Nepot.*

The barbarous Bessians had the melodie of the crosse in their owne toong.

Other particulars might be brought, but the report of Saint Basill shall suffice for the generall order of praying and singing, obserued, as he saith, in all the churches of GOD, and therefore in those nations and countries where the common people could no Latine, Greeke nor Hebrew: but of force were driuen to vse their naturall language, though it were barbarous, before they could either vtter their owne mindes or vnderstande what others saide. [b] The people with vs rising in the night go to the house of praier, and with continuall teares making their confession to GOD, and at length rising from praiers, they set themselues in order to sing psalmes. Where being deuided into two parts they sing by courses (ech side after other) and so with varietie of psalmes, and praiers interserted, they spend the night: as soone as the day breaketh all of them in common, as it were with one mouth and one hart, offer to the Lord a psalme of confession, euery one of them making the words of repentance proper to himselfe. In respect of this (order) then if you refuse vs, you must also refuse the Egyptians, the people of either α Lybia, Thebais, Palestine, the € Arabians, Phœnicians, γ Syrians, the (Armenians, Babylonians and other) δ borderers on Euphrates, and generally all with whome vigils, praiers and common psalmodies are esteemed.

[b] *Basil. epist. 63. ad Cler. Neoc.*

This order of seruice was vsed in all Churches where the people vnderstood neither Hebrew, Greek, nor Latine.

The south α Indians, the € Arabians, the γ Syrians, the δ Armenians and Babylonians speake neither Hebrew, Greek, nor Latine.

And that this order of ſinging the pſalmes was generall throughout the whole Church of Chriſt, were the people Iewes, Grecians, Romanes, or Barbarians, the words immediately before do witneſſe. To that accuſation wherein we are blamed for the pſalmodies, I haue this to anſwere, that the maner and faſhion (of ſinging pſalmes) which is here with vs, is agreeable and conſonant to all the Churches of God. If theſe words be true: then not onely the Egyptians, ſouth Indians, Arabians and Syrians, whom this father nameth; but the Perſians, eaſt Indians, Armenians, Iberians, Scythians and all other nations had the ſame order of praying and ſinging in their Churches by the mouthes and voices of the ſimple and vnlearned people. And conſequently either all the chriſtian men, women and children in the world could ſpeake and vnderſtand one of the three learned tongs, which is a ridiculous, falſe, and impious imagination, or elſe ech nation had their publike praiers and pſalmes in their ſeuerall & barbarous tongs: which is the point you would needs haue proued, before we paſſed any farther.

Basil. Ibidem.

This order was obſerued in all Churches, *ergo* amongſt the Barbarians, which could none of the learned toongs.

Phil. That was then the maner of the Church, but ſince this which we vſe, hath been *thought by the wiſeſt and godlieſt to be moſt expedient, and it is certainly ſeen to be nothing repugnant to S. Paul.* Theo. You lacke good neighbors, to helpe you, that you be forced ſo ſhamefully with your own mouthes in godlines and wiſedome to prefer your ſelues before the learned and catholike fathers of all antiquitie. We ſhew you the ancient and vniuerſall cuſtome of Chriſts church proportioning her praiers by the rule of Saint Paul, and directing them wholy to edifie the vulgar and ſimple people, as much as might be, by plaine precept from GOD himſelfe, as they conceiued the apoſtles ſpeech: you tel vs that you haue not onely changed that order of your owne authorities: but that you haue conferred with ſome *godlier* and *wiſer* perſonages than thoſe famous and worthy paſtors that obſerued this courſe in the Church of Chriſt many hundreths before you were borne: and find it *moſt expedient* to continue your vnfruitfull maner of praying in a tong not vnderſtood though the precept of God, the doctrine of the apoſtle, and the practiſe of the primatiue

The Rhemiſh Teſt. 1. Cor. 14.

Marke this pride of the Ieſuits where they make themſelues wiſer and godlier than the primitiue Church.

primatiue Church be expressely against it. O mouthes prepared to sticke at nothing that may any way serue to hoodwinke your hearers! In this and many other points of your religion you run headlong against the cleere testimonies of the sacred scriptures, and generall consent of the catholike fathers, and yet you will be catholikes.

Phil. You be verie rife with your reproches. Theop. I might iustly giue you som oftener remembrances, but that I more respect the seemlines of the cause, which is Gods, than the sinfulnes of your attemptes, who neglect scriptures, fathers, councels, canons, church and all, that is to follow the decrees you know not of whom: and yet will haue it insolencie and madnes in vs to dispute of your actions. Phil. You do but slander vs. Theo. We haue hitherto slandered you with matters of truth, if the rest prooue like, we shall do you no wrong, though we fawne on you lesse.

Your masse, which this realme hath now reiected, what hath it in it, either catholike or apostolike, or any way concordable with Christs institution? Phil. You could neuer light on a worse match. Of all the rites, obseruances, and sacraments which we haue, none is more apostolike, more catholike, more conformable to Christs order and example than our masse; and your *prophane* supper [a] *hath nothing agreeable to the apostles or Christs institution, but all cleane contrary:* yea your [b] *communion is the very table and cup of diuels, and your* [c] *Caluins bread and wine, like at length to come to the sacrifice of Ceres and Bacchus.* Theo. Tie vp your doggish, if not diuelish eloquence: you shall haue no praise, though you take some pride in broching these blasphemies. Your poisonful tongs and vnblushing faces may iniurie the ordinance of God, but you can not ouerthrow his truth. If we had deuised any thing of our owne braines as you haue done the most part of your religion, you would haue kindled I see to som choler that spare vs such speeches for following the very samplar and originall, which Christ did institute, as exactly, as we possibly might.

Their masse not catholik.

The Rhemish Testament, fol. [a] 454. [b] 448. [c] 228. The Friers haue serued Ceres and Bacchus so long, that now they can not choose but talke of them.

Phil. You follow no parts of Christs institution. Theo. It is easie for your side to say what you list: you were no right friers, if you could not speake for your selues: but leaue your scoffes and vaunts at home, & bring forth

your praefes.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 451. nu. 20

Phil. I will begin with the name, and so proceed to the rest of the circumstances. *You haue small reason to name the holie sacrament rather the supper of the Lord, than after the maner of the primitiue Church, the Eucharist, Masse, or Liturgie. But belike you would bring it to the supper againe, or euening seruice, when men be not fasting, the rather to take away the old estimation of the holines thereof.* Theop. If you leaue not so much as the name vntouched, I hope you will not conceale any weightie matter of more importance. Phi. You may sweare for that, and keepe your oth. Theop. Then if all your quarrels being discussed, you be found to haue vttered nothing against vs but your sharpe and eager stomacks, and notwithstanding your vagaries and reuoltries to and fro, your masse be neither catholike nor apostolike, deserue you not to beare backe your owne burden, and to haue Bacchus, Ceres, and the rest of your infernall saints to the shrines whence you brought them? Phil. When that falleth out, which will be neuer. But you delay the time, for feare you take the foile. Theop. If your arguments be as quicke as your appetites, we shall soon dispatch; but bring vs not drippings, and say they be deinties.

The Iesuits cannot abide the name of the Lords supper.

The Rhemish Test. 1. Cor. 11.

Phil. S. *Ambrose in hunc locum, and most good authors now thinke this which* (the apostle) *calleth Dominicam cenam, is not meant of the blessed sacrament, as the circumstances also of the text do giue, namely, the reiecting of the poore, the rich mens priuate deuouring of all, not expecting one another, gluttonie and droonkennes in the same, which cannot agree to the holie sacrament. And therfore you haue small reason* (as I said) *to name the said holie sacrament rather the supper of the Lord, than after the maner of the primitiue Church, the Eucharist, Masse, or Liturgia.*

*You haue smaller to resist that name.

What names the Lords supper is called by in the scripture.

Theop. Malice bursteth out at your tongs ends, when you cannot abide the words which we vse, though the scriptures did first authorize them, and the fathers for their parts continue them. The sacrament which the Lord ordained at his last maundie hath sundrie names that we find authentically written in the word of God: as the [a] Lords table, the breaking of bread, and cup of thankesgiuing, the communion of the bodie and blood of Christ, and as we thought til this time, [b] the Lords supper. You begin to tell vs S. Ambrose is of another mind:

[a] 1. Cor. 10.

[b] 1. Cor. 11.

and

S.Paul by the Lords supper ment the sacrament. *The fourth part.*

and bicause your hold in him was very smal, you adde that the most of your selues also do now so thinke. A worshipfull catch, that fiftéene hundreth yéres after Christ you come in with your owne verdict, in your owne cause, and looke to haue it currant.

Phil. We meane not our selues. Theop. You can meane none, but your selues, or your fellowes. For you say, *most good authors* now *thinke so*; of our side I am sure you will not agnise that any be good authors, as you call them, or that the most of vs are of that opinion: and therfore you mean your selues and your owne adherents: who, were you not partiall, yet are you too yong to bid Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, rise from their chaires and giue you place.

The Iesuits alledge them selues and their felowes for good authors to discredite the fathers.

Augustine repeating the very words of Saint Paul, When you come togither, this is not to eate the Lords supper, saith [a] *hanc ipsam acceptionem Eucharistiæ Dominicam cœnam vocat*: the apostle calleth this very receiuing of the Eucharist, the Lords supper. Hierome commenting vpon the same words: When you come togither this is not to eate the Lords supper, addeth: [b] Now is it not the Lords supper (as you vse it) but mans, in as much as you seeme to meete rather to fill your bellies, than for the mysterie. For the Lords supper ought to be common to all, bicause he deliuered the sacraments equally to al his disciples that were present. And a supper therefore it is called, for that the Lord at supper deliuered the sacraments. Chrysostome affirmeth the same. [c] The apostle toucheth them more dredfully with these words, This is not to eate the Lords supper, sending them to that night, in which Christ deliuered the woonderfull mysteries. Therefore he calleth it a supper; for that supper had all (that were present) sitting togither in common: (that is, at one time, and in one place:) * As [d] often as you shall eate, you shal shew foorth the Lords death; this is that supper. And in another place: [e] This is not to eate the Lords supper. He meaneth that supper which Christ deliuered (before his passion) when all his disciples were with him. For in that supper the Lord and all his seruants sate togither.

Theodoret likewise, [f] The Lords supper he calleth the Lords sacrament. And so Photius, He [g] calleth it the Lords

(supper)

a *Aug. epist.* 118. The fathers expound the Lords supper in S.Paul to be the sacrament.

b *Hierom. in* 1. *Cor.* 11.

c *Chrys. in* 1. *Cor.* 11. *hom.* 27

d *Ibidem.*

e *Chrysost. in illud Pauli, oportet esse hæreses. tom.* 4.

f *Theodor. in* 1. *Cor.* 11.

g *Citatur ab Oecumen. in* 1. *Cor.* 11.

S. Paul by the Lords supper ment the sacrament. (supper) after the imitation of that dreadfull and mysticall (supper) when the Lord sate togither with the disciples, as if he should haue said, the (supper) which the Lord disposed and ordained. Bede to expound this place citeth the wordes of Augustine that went before. [a] The very receiuing of the Eucharist, he calleth the Lords supper. Haymo mentioneth both opinions, but concludeth plainly with vs. [b] *sacramentum igitur corporis Christi à communione Cœna appellatur.* The sacrament then of Christs body is called a supper by reason of the communion. Or if you will haue one place insteede of all, read S. Augustine *de verbis Domini secundum Lucam: sermo.* 33. and you shall find him not onely call the sacrament a supper, and the Lords supper twentie times in one short sermon, but also bring you the authoritie of Christ himselfe for it, when he said in the fourteenth of Luke, a [c] certaine man made a great supper.

[a] *Beda. in 1.Cor. 11.*

[b] *Haymo in 1.Cor. 11.* S. Augustine in one short sermon calleth the sacrament the Lords supper twenty times

[c] Luk. 14. The Iesuits wil not heare of the Lords supper, which is the vsuall speech of the fathers, but of the masse which in 600. yeeres they find but sixe times, & that neither in the fathers nor to this purpose.

And therfore you were more angrie than wise, to check that terme as *hauing smal reason*, which had so good testimonie both of scriptures and fathers; and in lue of it to offer vs the name of the masse, a worde that the greeke Church neuer vsed, as your selues knowe, and is found in the workes of all the latine fathers that be theirs, but six times in six hundreth yeeres, (set Gregorie aside who liued about that time and vseth the word somewhat oftner than any of the rest;) and yet not in that sense, nor for that thing which you intend. For neuer father called the sacrament or Eucharist, the Masse. And in that point if we haue but small reason to speake as we do; you haue vtterly no reasons great nor small to call the sacrament the Masse, as you doe: but that rage in you many times ouer ruleth reason, and then you push out your violent and vnmastered passions.

Phil. We haue Saint Ambrose for our author, when we denied the blessed sacrament to be called a supper, and for the name of the masse in plaine wordes we haue not * him onely, but also *Augus. sermo.* 251. 91. *Concil. Carthag. 2. cap. 3. 4. c. 84. Mileuit. cap. 12. Leo epist. 88, 81. cap. 2. Greg. lib. 2. epist. 9. 39. &c.* Theo. S. Ambrose doth not say, that the ministration of the sacrament may not be called the Lords supper; but he would not haue vs think it to be a supper prouided to fil our bellies. And in that sense he saith, *Ostendit* [d] *illis mysterium Eucharistiæ*

* *Ambros. epist. 33.*

The Rhemish Testament. so. 447.

[d] *Ambros. in 1.Cor. 11.*

S. Paul by the Lords supper ment the sacrament. *The fourth part.*

Eucharistiæ inter cænandum celebratum non cænam esse. The apostle sheweth them, that the mysterie of the Eucharist was celebrated as the (disciples) were at supper, and not to be the (whole) supper (which they had:) and thereupon groundeth that which he noted before, that in the Church, [a] *vnitatis & mysterij causa conuenitur, non dissentionis & ventris:* They must assemble for the celebration of the mysterie and obseruation of vnitie, not for dissention and the belly.

[a] *Ambros. Ibidem.*

Phil. *The circumstances of the text, namelie the reiecting of the poore, the rich mens deuouring of all, not expecting one an other, gluttonie and drunkennes in the same can not agree to the holy sacrament.* Theo. The world wanteth such skilfull interpreters of scriptures as you are; you would easily proue if you were let alone, that a man hath no head, because he hath two feete, or two armes, and those are not his head. Phil. Would you make vs so foolish as to thinke a man may not haue feet, armes and head: though the parts in themselues be different in proportion, position and action? Theo. But in boulting Saint Pauls text, you reason as if he could not. For of two things, that were vsed both together, you vrge the one to exclude the other; and as if that were some mightie collection, you say that we and all the fathers who tooke it otherwise, haue small reason for our doings. Phil. We spake of you, not of the fathers. Theop. You thrust them to the harts through our sides. For if we following their full consent in expounding this place, haue small reason, they had as little who began it vnto vs, and went that way before vs; we treading but their steps after them.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 451.

The Iesuits demonstrations be meere delusions.

Phil. We meant not to disgrace them. Theo. The sequele of your words doth, whatsoeuer your purpose was. Phil. We giue you the reasons of our exposition, and those in our iudgement very cleare. Theo. As cleare follies as any can be. Phil. Disproue them then. Theo. The Christians you grant had their common feasts in the Church at that time for the releiuing of the poore, and retaining of brotherly vnitie. Phil. They had as we note vnto you out of *Tertullian, Apolog. cap. 39. Clemens Alexand. S. Iustine, S. Augustine contra Faustum lib. 20. cap. 20.* Theop. And that they had therewithall the Lords supper, (for so I must call it, till you bring some better reason against it) I think you

The Church in S. Pauls time had the Lords supper & their brotherly feasts one at the end of the other.

you doubt not. Phil. *At or about* the same time they had; but whether before or after I know not. Theop. To this purpose it shall not skill.

The faults for which S. Paul reproued them were these; the diuiding themselues into factions, insomuch that they would not expect one another (no not at the Lords table;) their shaming the poore (with whom (as it seemed) they tooke scorne to sit at the same table,) and abusing the church of God to excesse of eating and drinking. The two later enormities might be committed at their ordinarie feasts in the Church: and so might also the first; yet because those brotherly repastes did either end or begin with the Lords supper, they could not diuide themselues ech from other, and disdaine the poore at their common meats, but they must offer the same abuse at the Lords supper, which was ministred to them as they sate at their tables immediatly before, or after their vsuall and corporall refreshings.

These faults in the Corinthians either immediately before or after the Lords supper made them vnfit ghests for the Lords table.

By S. Pauls words, it should appeere the communion was distributed to them after meales, for so the apostles receiued it at their masters hands the night that he was betraied, & S. Paul not only noteth the time when Christ did it μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, after they had supped, but to cut off dissention, drunkennes and contempt of their poore brethren in the Church, (which were the vices then growen amongst them) he requireth a precedent examination before they did eate, not an answerable conuersation after they had eaten. He saith not, let euery man remember at whose table he hath eaten, and of whose cup he hath been partaker, but, let a man examine himselfe, and so eate of this bread and drinke of this cup; that is before he eate of this bread and drinke of this cup, and he shall finde that contentious and riotous persons, (such as they were in their feasts,) be no fit ghests for that heauenly supper. And yet to vs it is all one whether it were before or after: at their bankets and feasts, it was ministred and euen serued at their tables, as Saint Augustine noteth in these words. (*Non debent fratres*) *mensis suis ista miscere, sicut faciebant quos apostolus arguit & emendat.* (The brethren ought not) to haue these (mysteries) serued at their tables, as they did whom the apostle reproueth and reformeth.

It should seem by Saint Paul their feasts were before the ministering of the sacrament. 1. Cor. 11.

1. Cor. 11.

Aug. ep. 118.

And

S. Paul by the Lords supper ment the sacrament. *The fourth part.*

And had not the Lords supper been abused among them, what neded the rehearsall of the first institution: to the which because the apostle recalleth them, it is evident they were fallen from it. Nowe abuses in this place S. Paul mentioneth none but dronkennes, dissention and defrauding the poore: and since dronkennes and deceiuing the poore, as you auouch, cannot agree to the sacrament, it followeth that dissention was the thing which defaced the Lords supper among them, in that they would neither at common meats nor at the Lords supper sit all altogither, but sort themselues in factions and companies, as they fauored and frended ech other. The rehersall of Christs institution neded not if it had not been first abused with vnworthy comming to it.

This was the fault which S. Paul first rebuked, when he began to rehearse the things that troubled the Church of Corinth. They contended about baptisme, saying, I am Pauls, and I am Apollos, and I am Cephas; and their dissention so increased, and came to that sharpnes, that they would haue their tables in the Church & euen the Lords supper also ech company by themselues. [a] The false apostles, saith Ambrose, had sowen such discord among them, that they stood striuing for their oblations. Hierom saith, [b] *In ecclesia cõuenientes oblationes suas seperatim offerebãt.* Meeting in the Church they deliuered their oblations to seueral companies (according as euery man fansied the parties.) And againe, [c] *Nemo alium expectabat vt communiter offeretur:* No man expected one another, that the oblation might be common. And S. Paul, as Chrysostom thinketh, brought the table & supper where the Lord himselfe was, and at which sate all his disciples, euen Iudas the traitor, for an example, to shew them: that, that is rightly iudged to be [d] The Lords supper, *quæ omnibus simul conuocatis concorditer & communiter sumitur*, which is receiued in common, and with one consent of all assembled togither. Yea S. Augustine affirmeth that [e] The apostle speaking of this sacrament saith, for which cause brethren when you assemble togither to eate, expect one another. 1.Cor.1.

[a] *Ambrosius 1.Cor.11.*

[b] *Hierom.in 1.Cor.11.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Chrysost.in illud Pauli, oportet esse hæreses.*

[e] *Aug.epist. 118.*

Your obseruations therfore are first false, when you say, *these circumstances cannot agree to the holy Sacrament.* For euen these which you name, as most vnlikelie, are applied by the fathers to the Lords supper. *Expecting one another,* you heard S. Augustine refer directly to this sacrament. The circumstances of the text may agree to the Lords supper.

Deuouring

Deuouring of all by the rich, and drunkennesse S. Hierome expoundeth likewise of the very same mysterie. (The apostle) [a] saith one is drunke, and another hungrie: for this reason. *Quia superuenientibus mediocribus, & volentibus sumere sacramenta deerant, quoniam ab illis qui obtulerant oblationes, in communi conuiuio fuerant cuncta consumpta.* Because the meaner sort comming after (the rich) and minding to receiue the sacraments, there was nothing left, (to minister the sacrament withall;) they that brought the oblations deuouring all in their common banket. Haymo saith, [b] One is hungrie, that is he which for pouertie is not able to bring wheaten bread and wine to be consecrated for the communion: [an other] to wit, the rich and wealthie man [is drunken] and surfeiteth as well with other meates, as with the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord.

[a] *Hieron. 1. Cor. 11.*

[b] *Haymo in 1. Cor. 11.*

Some circumstances may well agree though others did not.

Next did some of them not agree to the sacraments of the Lordes table, as surfeiting, deuouring and drunkennesse: yet other circumstances, as schismes, not expecting one another, may and doe very fitly serue for the Lordes supper, as you see by the iudgemēt of those fathers whom I haue named.

Saint Paul reprooued them because their disorders did not agree to the right institution of the sacrament.

Thirdly, did no circumstances of their disorders agree to the right institution of the sacrament, yet so long as S. Paul refelleth their doings in the Church as vnseemly for the sacred mysteries there prepared and receiued: what reason haue you to deny that S. Paul meaneth the sacrament, where he saith, when you come together (if you fall to filling your bellies, and despising the poore, as you doe in your feasts) οὐκ ἔστι κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν, You cannot, (or this is not the right way to) eate the Lordes supper. For this is plaine to him that hath but halfe an eye, that

3. Paul checketh them for their vnworthy comming to the Lords table, *ergo* his words belong to the sacrament.

S. Paul checketh them as vnworthie partakers (by these their abuses of the mysteries of Christ,) and interpreteth the plagues which some of them felt, to be Gods scourges for their lewdnes in that behalfe, and therefore with great reasons might he begin to reprehend them as vnfit approchers to the sacrament, and vtter so much in these words, when you come together, this is not (the way) to eate the Lordes supper, or to haue accesse to his table, to make schismes at your feasts in the Church with excesse in your selues, and reproch to others.

Phil.

Philan. If you will needes haue the sacrament called the Lordes supper, keepe you that name, and we will keepe ours, as more auncient and catholike by the testimonie of S. Augustine, S. Ambrose and the rest whom I cited before for the antiquitie of the blessed masse. Theo. He that will boldly deny a truth, wil easily affirme a falsehood. S. Augustine in all the workes that be undoubtedly his, neuer so much as once named the masse. The sermons *de tempore*, which you produce, are collected out of other mens writings as well as his, and many of them [a] found vnder the names of other authors, and sauour litle either of Austens learning or phrase, as Erasmus confessed when he first surueied them.

The name of the masse is no way catholike.

S. Augustine neuer vsed the word Masse.

[a] *Eras. censura in tomum decimũ Aug. & in sermo. de tempore.*

S. Ambrose hath the word once; and so haue two prouinciall councels of Africa; Leo hath it twise; which is all that you can find in fiue hundreth yeres till Gregorie the first came, and vsed the word somewhat oftener: yet none of these cal the sacrament or sacrifice by that name, as you would haue it, but rather expresse by that word the auncient order of the primitiue Church, in sending away such as might not be partakers of the Lordes table, as in place where I noted before. And that *missa* with the fathers doth signifie not the masse, but leaue to depart before or after the communion, your owne fellowes will instruct you, whom you may not well distrust as being with you, though you trust not vs that are against you.

S. Ambrose hath but one in all his writings, & that is *Missam facere*, which is not to say masse. *Missa* in the fathers is the sending away of those that might not be partakers of the Lords table.

Polydore repeateth and alloweth the same with these words: [b] *Mihi verò prior ratio probatur vt magis apposita.* The former deriuation (of the word *Missa*) pleaseth me better, as the likelier: and not that it should signifie a sacrifice and be deriued frõ the Hebrew word *missa* as Reuchline would deduce it. And therefore he saith, [c] *Idem igitur mos a nostris etiam seruatur, vt peractis sacris, per Diaconum pronuncietur, Ite, missa est: quod idem est, ac ilices, id est ire licet.* The same maner is obserued of our men, that at the end of diuine seruice, the Deacon should say, ITE, MISSA EST, which is as if he said, YOV MAY DEPART. And that *missa* was vsuall for *missio*, he sheweth out of Cyprians epistles, where he saith *remissa* for *remissio*.

[b] *Polyd. de inuent. rerum, lib. 5. ca. 11.*

Missa.

[c] *Polid. Ibidem.*

Rhenanus another of your friends, giueth the like obseruation in his notes vpon the 4. booke of Tertullian against

gainst Marcion. [a] *Hodie in fine sacri Lenita pronũtiat, Ite, missa est, id est, missio est, quod olim in initio dicebatur, antequã inciperentur videlicet ipsa mysteria. Hinc iuxta vulgi consuetudinem, Ambrosius missas facere dixit. Propriè missa erat tempore Sacrificij quando Cathecumeni foras mittebantur.* At this day the priest pronounceth at the end of his seruice *Ite missa est*, that is, go, you haue leaue to depart, which in the primatiue Church was said in the beginning, before they came to the celebration of the sacraments. Thence Ambrose vsed the word *missam facere*, according to the vulgar custome (of those times.) For properly *missa* was when the conuerts not yet baptised, were sent away in the time of the sacrifice, that is at what time the rest addressed themselues to be partakers of the Lords table. And that *missa* was common for *missio*; he proueth by Tertullian and Cyprian in his booke *de bono patientiæ*, and *epist.* 14.

[a] *Beati Rhenani annotationes in 4. lib. contra Marcionem.*

Missa in the fathers doth as much signifie the masse as excommunication doth signifie the cõmunion.

And lest you should thinke this to be a phantastical assertion of his without al ground or authoritie, such as the most of your obseruations are, he telleth you that, this misterie of antiquitie is related in Isidors Lexicon. And indeed so it is. For Isidore saith, [b] *Missa tempore Sacrificij est, quando Cathecumeni foras mittuntur, clamante Leuita, si quis cathecumenus remansit, exeat foras, & inde missa, quia sacramentis altaris intereſſe non possunt qui nondum regenerati nascuntur. Missa* was about the time of the sacrifice, when the learners and such as were not yet baptized were sent out of the church, the Leuite crying, if any Cathecumene be here, let him depart, and thence is the word *missa*, because they cannot be present at the sacraments of the altar, which are not yet regenerate. And I thinke for very shame you woulde not seeme to be so foolish as to take [c] *missam Cathecumenorum*, which the fourth councell of Carthage doth mention in the place alleadged by your selues, and likewise Saint Augustine in those very sermons, which you cite as his, for your masse or sacrifice. For howe can, [d] *fit missa Cathecumenis*, stand either for the sacrament or sacrifice, since the persons named were not baptized, and consequently not to be admitted to any of the Church mysteries?

[b] *Isidor. Originum, lib. 6. de officijs.*

Missa in the fathers directly opposite to the sacrifice: are not the Iesuits then wise men by these authorities to proue it to be the name of their sacrifice?

[c] *Concil. Cartha. 4. cap. 84.*

[d] *Serm. de tempore. 237.*

So that grant the word *missa* were found oftner in the fathers than it is, you can thence conclude nothing for your masse: which you rudely and vnaduisedly think to be

all

all one with their *missa*, or *missarum solemnia*, where in deed it is as contrary to that which they spake of, as poison to an wholesome potion. For *missa* with them did signifie the sending away of such as might not communicate with the rest at the Lords table. The masse with you is the reall and actuall sacrificing of the sonne of God to his father, and the setting of the people to gaze on the priest whiles he alone deoureth all, and falsifieth the very words and actions of Christes institution.

This is a right paterne of the rest of their religion wherein they haue kept the words of the ancient fathers, and quite peruerted their meaning.

Phil. Nay you falsifie both the words and deeds of Christs institution: and though you gather out of Isidore and others, that *Missa* in the ancient fathers was the dismissing of such as might not be present at the sacrifice; and *missa Cathecumenorum* by no meanes can be our masse, yet touching our sauiors institution of the blessed sacrament, we come nearer to this example than you do; you missing it in most points that be essentiall, and we following all his actions that are imitable. Theop. What essentiall points do we misse? Phil. Almost all. Theop. Reason you named some.

Phil. You do *not imitate Christ in blessing the bread and wine, nor in vnleauened bread, and mingling water with wine, nor in saying the words of consecration ouer the bread and wine*; you vse no *confession before*, nor *adoration of the blessed sacrament* at the receiuing of it. A number of like defects there are in your communion, which cause it to be no sacrament, *but common bread and wine*. Therefore* *imperet vobis Deus, and confound you, for not discerning his holy body, and for conculcating the blood of the new Testament.* Theop. Keepe your burning and cursing deuotion for your selues; your manquelling and masse-mongring rage hath as much affinitie with Michaels prayer, beseeching God the diuell might be restrained, as fiercenes and furie hath to patience and pietie. If we haue altered any part of Christs institution, curse on in Gods name, & let your curses take effect. But if the celebration of our mysteries be answerable to his will and word that first ordained them, you curse not vs, whom you would hurt, but him, that your cursed tongs can not hurt, which is God to be blessed for euer; and whose euerlasting curse will take hold of you, if you relent not the sooner, for your proud defiance & stately contempt of his truth in respect

The Rhemish Testament, 1. Cor. 11.

**Though they curse, yet thou wilt blesse*, saith Dauid to God in his 109. psalme.

*Iud. epist. He that curseth vs for keeping Christs institution, curseth Christ that ordained it, and God that commanded vs to obserue it.

of your massing reuels and mummeries.

Phil. Say you are contemners of his true body & blood in this * reuerent, blessed and holy sacrament, & breakers of his institution, & therefore his curse will light on you. Theo. Vaine speech doth but spend time, shew first wherein we breake Christs institution, and for the truth of his presence in this sacrament, if we teach otherwise than the scriptures and fathers do warrant vs, we are content to heare and beare the curse, which blind zeale hath wrested from you. Phi. We shewed you euen now what things they were wherein you swarued from Christs institution. Theop. You must both repeate them, and diuide them, that we may the better discusse them. Phil. I will.

*All haile master quoth Iudas when he gaue him a kisse, and had sold his life for earthly gaine.

The Rhemish Testament, 1. Cor. 11. *Vpon it and ouer it*, are the chiefest points the Iesuits can picke out of Christs institution. O, this is a terrible narration.

*Christ tooke bread into his hands, applying this ceremonie, action, and benediction to it, and did blesse the very element, vsed power and actiue words * vpon it, as he did * ouer the bread and fishes which he multiplied: and so doth the Church of God, and so do not* (you) *if* (you) *follow* (your) *owne booke and doctrine, but* (you) *let the bread and cup stand aloofe, and occupy Christs words by way of report and narration, applying them not at all to the matter proposed to be occupied: and therefore howsoeuer the simple people be deluded by the rehearsall of the same words which Christ vsed, yet consecration, benediction, or sanctification of bread and wine* (you) *professe* (you) *make none at all.*

Theop. *Christ*, you say, *tooke bread into his hands, and did blesse the very element.* What meane you by blessing? Phil. *He vsed power and actiue words vpon it, as he did ouer the bread and fishes which he multiplied.* Theop. Why walke you thus in clouds? Blessing with vs is the giuing of thanks vnto God: with you it is the making of a crosse in the aire with your two forefingers. Which of these twaine do you meane? Phil. That Christ blessed the bread; we be very sure: that he gaue thanks to the bread, you dare not say. Theop. Thanks he gaue to God, and not to the bread. Phil. But he blessed the bread: and therefore blessing is not taken in Christs institution for thanks-giuing as you misconster it. Theop. If a man should put you to the new Testament in Greeke, can you spell it? Phil. Yea sir, and conster it as well as you. Theop. Then I trust your cunning will serue you to know that ευχαριστησας (which word the holy Ghost vseth to expresse the

What kind of blessing Christ did vse.

* Matth. 26.
* Mark. 14.

Lords

Lords action and benediction at his last supper) doth inferre that our sauior gaue thanks to God, and made no crosse with his hand ouer the bread. ℘ Luk.22. ℘ 1.Cor.11.

Phil. But Saint Marke saith that our Lord brake the bread, εὐλογήσας, hauing first blessed it, and S. Paul doth not sticke to refer that word to the cup it selfe, and not to God. τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, the chalice of benediction, which we blesse, is it not the communication of the blood of Christ? Theop. Do you thinke S. Marke repugneth S. Luke, and S. Matthew; or that S. Paul is contrary to himselfe? Phil. No: I thinke the one expoundeth the other, and all their reports meet full in one congruence. Theop. And otherwise to say or thinke, is apparant blasphemie against the spirit of God, who neuer halteth in his tale, nor dissenteth from himselfe in any thing, much lesse in a matter of so weighty moment as this is. Phil. He can be no christian that doubteth therof. Theop. Then εὐλογήσας is all one with εὐχαριστήσας: and since children in grammar schooles doe knowe that εὐχαριστῆσαι is to giue thanks with words, & not to crosse with fingers, we conclude that this is a childish error of yours to thinke that Christ gaue not thanks to God, but *blessed the very element.* Mark.14. 1.Cor.10. The gospels do not differ, and therfore they must all agree in this, that Christ gaue thanks to God his father. These two words be equiualent.

Yea no word plainer conuinceth your puerilitie than that which you haue brought to relieue your selfe. For εὐλογῆσαι doth more euidently refell your crossing with fingers than εὐχαριστῆσαι: as being compounded of λόγος, which in Greeke importeth speech vttered by mouth, and by no meanes drawing or crossing the fingers. Of the twain εὐλογεῖν is the plainer to reproue the Iesuits crossing.

Ph. Let the word signifie what you wil: that which Christ did, were it with hand or mouth, he did it ouer the bread, and vpon the bread, *and so do not* (you) *but let the bread and cup stand aloofe and occupy Christs words by way of report and narration, applying them not at all to the matter proposed to be occupied.* The Rhemish Testament, *vt supr.*

Theop. This is the right behauior of your Rhemish translators, to wrangle and trifle about phrases and ambiguities, as if they were the precepts and commandements of God. Our sauior you affirme *blessed the very element*, that is, *vsed power and actiue words vpon it or ouer it.*

Blessing is a word ỳ is diuersly vsed in the scriptures. To bles God, is to praise him, & to giue honor to his name: and for that cause you shall find both those words ioined What it is to blesse God.

together as words of like force, as when S. Luke saith,
[a] Luk. 24. the disciples [a] continued in the temple praising and blessing God.

What it is for one man to blesse an other.

To blesse men, if it be done by men, (for of their blessings we speake, and not of Gods) is to pray for them, and to beseech God that he will blesse them, that is, defend them, prosper them, and be mercifull vnto them. So
[b] Gen. 27. [c] Gen. 48. [d] Num. 6. [b] Isaac blessed Iacob, and [c] Iacob the sonnes of Ioseph, and so were the priests appointed by God himselfe to [d] blesse the children of Israell: and a forme of prayer for that purpose prescribed them.

What it is to blesse time and place.

We may also blesse the time, place, and meanes, in which or by which God sheweth his favor towards vs: that is, we may pronounce them blessed for our sakes, and our selues bound to blesse God for them. So Dauid said to Abigall, [e] 1. Sam. 25. [e] Blessed be God that sent thee this day to meete me. Blessed be thy speech (or counsell) and blessed be thou, which hast kept me this day from going to (shed) blood: where he blesseth God, as the author, the woman as the meanes, her words as the persuasions and occasions, that kept him from using the bloody reuenge, which he determined against Naball & his family. And so said Salomon,
[f] Sapient. 14. [g] Iob. 3. [h] Ierem. 20. [f] blessed is the tree whereby righteousnes commeth. So on the contrary, [g] Iob and [h] Ieremy *cursed the daies wherin they were borne, & would not haue them to *be blessed.

What it is to blesse the meates and things which we vse.

We must likewise blesse the meates which we eate, and the things which we vse for the maintenance of this mortall life: that is, prayer must be made vnto God, that they may be healthfull for vs, and we thankefull for them: by which meanes our food, and all other succors of this life are sanctified, to his pleasure and our comfort.

How we are said to blesse the elements at the Lords table.

Since then the scriptures not onely permit, but also command that we should blesse one another, and so the creatures which nourish our bodies; we make no doubt but it is both lawfull and needfull for vs to blesse the sacraments which are the seales of Gods euerlasting promises, and therefore we readily receiue Saint Pauls addiction, when he saith, the cup of blessing, WHICH WE BLESSE, is it not the communion of Christes blood? Many blessing in that place we take not for *crossing or charming the cup with a *set number and order of signes and

*How the Iesuits blesse the cup.

prayers

profers as you vse at your masse, but for the * making of our earnest & humble praiers to God, that our vnworthines do not hinder the working of his sacraments, but that by his goodnes and mercy, they may take their due effects in vs according to his sonnes institution for the pardoning of our sinnes, the increasing of his grace & our faith, the quickning of our inwarde man, and preseruing both body and soule to eternall life. And this is the forme of the word ἐυλογῆσαι, the maner of blessing al other things and persons directed by the scriptures, the very principles of praier and piety do approue & confirme, whereas your houering & blowing ouer the chalice, your crossing and hiding it, your rubbing of fingers for feare of crums, your first thwarting and then lifting of armes, your ioining and vnioining of thumbe and forefinger, with twenty such nicenesses and curiosities, haue neither foundation nor relation to Christs action nor institution, nor to his Apostles doctrine nor doings, who knew their maisters meaning and continued their maisters example with words and gestures reuerent & sufficient to satisfie his heauenly will and precept for this matter.

How wee blesse it.

Our blessing is consonant to the words and rules of the scripture, theirs is not. Their massing gestures ouer the cup.

Phil. You do not so much as vse any words vpon the elements, *but let the bread and the wine stand aloofe*, as if you were afraid to touch them. Theop. In deed we blesse with our harts and voices, not with our fingers; and therefore we make our account that our praiers are as forceable and as effectuall at sixe foote length as at sixe haires bredth. And to deale friendly with you, that blessing with mouth taketh no place, except the hand be also winding and turning the patene and chalice after your maner, we can not beleeue it afore we see some reason for it: sorcerers and conurers haue such circumstances, but we hope you be not of their seminaries.

Praier blesseth the cup, and not our fingering or breathing on it.

Phil. Did not Christ take the bread and likewise the cup into his hands? Theop. Yes verily. He could not BREAKE it with his hand, vnlesse it were in his hand: neither could he GIVE it out of his hand, afore he TOOKE it into his hand. Phil. Then Christ TOOKE the bread, and so the cup into his hands before he did consecrate, & so you do not. Theop. You would say before he did distribute. For breaking & giuing which were the ends of his taking, are parts

Christ tooke bread to giue it, & gaue it out of his hand before he spake the words of consecration.

The fourth part. The rehearsall of these words maketh a sacrament.

of distribution, not of consecration. Phil. What blasphemy haue we here? did Christ distribute, before he did cõsecrate the bread? Theop. You be so busie about blessing the host & the chalice, that you charge the son of God in his doings & the euangelists in their writings with blasphemy. Phil. May we charge you with blasphemy for saying, ỹ Christ gaue vnconsecrated bread & wine to his disciples. Theop. Doth not the scripture say the same? Iesus taking bread & giuing thanks brake (it) & gaue (it) to (his) disciples & said, take ye, eat ye, this is my body. And taking the cup & giuing thanks he gaue (it) to them saying, drinke ye al of this: for this is my bloud of the new Testament, &c. He tooke bread, brake it & gaue it to his disciples, bidding them take it & eat it before he said this is my body. Now if these words, this is my body, be the words of consecration, *ergo* distribution went before consecration, and when Christ did consecrate, the bread was in his disciples, and not in his owne hands.

Matth. 26.

Christ did consecrate when the bread was in his disciples hands: what did he then ouer or vpon the bread can you tell?

Phil. But he blessed, as we call it, or as you terme it, he gaue thanks, before he brake it. Theo. That thanksgiuing or benediction, was not consecration, as your selues confesse, & would seem to proue by an whole* heape of fathers: & therefore in spite of all that you do or can say, Christ did consecrate by word of mouth when the disciples had the bread & cup in their hands. Phil. Would you haue the priest then not at all to touch the elements? Theop. When we diuide them, we can not chuse but touch them, as Christ did: mary they may be sanctified by prayer and made sacraments by repeating the words of Christ though at that instant we touch them not. And therefore your vnsound quiddities that *Christ blessed the very element, and vsed power and actiue words vpon the bread & ouer the bread, which* (we) *do not, but let the bread & wine stand aloofe, & occupy the words of Christ by way of report & narration, applying them not at all to the matter proposed,* these nice & new found quiddities I say be meere foleries; since the words of consecration take their effect not from our fingers or gestures, but from Christs mouth & commandement that we should do the like. Phil. You *neuer apply these words* (this is my body) *more than the whole narration of the institution, nor recite the whole otherwise than in historicall manner, & for that cause you make it no sacrament at all.* Theo. Can you tell what you say? Phil. Why doubt you that? Theop. Be-

* *Fol.* 452. *Num.* 24. [*This is.*

Cõsecration taketh effect from Christs words, not from our fingers or gestures.

The Rhemish Test. pag. 452. These words, this is my body, must be

cause

The rehearsall of these words maketh a sacrament. cause it is a wicked and blasphemous lie for the priest to say, this is my bodie, otherwise than by way of rehearsall what Christ said. And therefore your braines be more than distempered if you would haue vs or any other christian ministers to say it otherwise than by report, what Christ said, and commanded vs to do in remembrance of him. *The fourth part applied by way of rehearsall what Christ said.*

Phil. Do you thinke we meane the priest should say of his owne person, this is my body? Theop. If you do meane it, Bedlem is a fitter place for you than either Rhemes or Rome. Phil. You may be sure we do not. Theop. Why then reproue you vs for repeating the words of Christ by way of rehearsall what he did and said? Phil. You should apply them to the matter proposed. Theop. How? By prater precedent and consequent, or by glozing and interlacing Christs words with ours? Phil. You should *actiuely and presently applie them to the elements* of bread and wine. Theop. I must aske you the same question that I did before. The words were spoken by Christ in his owne person, and can not *actiuely & presently* be pronounced by any priest, but by way of report what Christ said, without apparent and horrible blasphemy. And therefore the application of them in our words must either go before them or after them, and not exactly with them, much lesse be comprised in them. *If the priest say of himselfe, this is my body, he blasphemeth most horribly: and therefore he must speake them by way of report what Christ said.*

Phil. We tell you, you do not apply them *actiuely and presently*. Theop. We tell you, you know not what you say. The words of Christ, (this is my body, this is my bloud) maugre all the deuils in hell must be pronounced in no mans person, but onely by way of repetition what Christ at his last supper said in his owne person; and your Iesuiticall nouelties of *actiuely and presently* be so far from the soundnes of faith and substance of truth, that your selues are not able to expound what you speake. Phil. Yes that we are. Theop. So it should seeme by the readines of your answer. *Here is much ado with actiuely & presently, and yet the cunning sophists neuer tell what is required to actiue and present application.*

What then is the present and actiue application, which you striue for, or which way is it made? By word of mouth or intention of hart? The priest when he saith, this is my body, can not iointly with those words utter any other words of his owne to apply them. Intention of hart can not alter the sense of the speech, but onely direct *This application the Iesuits may do well to tell vs which way it must be made.*

before God the purpose of the speaker. And vnlesse the meaning of the priest be to recite the words of Christ by way of repetition, I see not how you can excuse either the priests hart or mouth from outragious & monstrous impiety. Phil. We haue a present and actiue application of the words, which you haue not. Theop. What is it? Phil. The priest intendeth to do as Christ did, and therfore vttereth the words distinctly and aduisedly ouer the elements that are in his hands and vnder his eies, which you do not. Theop. What you list to do is no care of ours; if you can shew vs any thing in Christs institution, which we haue not, we will giue you the hearing: otherwise to adde your ceremonies to his commandements, we mind it not. We know you crosse the creatures at *benedixit*, and hold your noses so neere the bread when you say *hoc est corpus meum*, that the breath of your mouthes euen warmeth the host; but our beleefe is that his mighty word, not your vnpausing speech or intentiue looks performeth the sacrament. And therefore your blowing Christs words vpon the bread is rather a magicall incantation, than any effectuall application of them to the elements; and if you hold that his word is too weake to indue the visible signe with inuisible grace, except it be backed by your blowing and crossing, we say you be proud disciples no right appliers of his heauenly word and power.

The words of their masse booke are *distincte, secretè & attentè.* If they take breath in pronoūcing Christs words, their applicatiō is quite marred: for they must doe it *vno spiritu, nulla pausatione interposita.* A wise obiection when both the elements & our praiers witnes for vs in the eies of God and the whole church, why we repeate the words of Christ, we Iesuits cannot tell whether we iest or no.

Phil. We do not helpe his words as if they were of them selues weake: but we apply them to the elements in this *present and actiue maner*, which you do not: for when you recite the words, a man can not tell whether you speake thē, to trie your memories, or to consecrate the mysteries, you be so farre from vsing any gestures or action that should import application. Theop. The purpose of our harts well knowne vnto God, and made open vnto men when we call them to the Lords table; the praiers which we make before we come to the words of Christ, directly and plainely tending to that end; the placing of the bread and the cup in our and their sight; the mentioning of Christs institution and commandement that we should follow his example and continue that remembrance of him; the dutifull and reuerent rehearsing the words which he spake, as the holy Ghost did penne them; this demonstration

monſtration and ſupplication that we receiuing THESE THY creatures of bread and wine according to thy Sonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſtes inſtitution, in remembrance of his death and paſſion may be partakers of his moſt bleſſed bodie and blood, vſed immediatlie before we repeate the words of Chriſt; the breaking and giuing of the bread, and ſo likewiſe the cup, immediatlie after they be ſanctified, and offering them to each communicant in remembrance of Chriſtes bodie that was broken, and blood that was ſhed, to purchaſe the remiſſion of their ſinnes, thereby to preſerue them bodie and ſoule to euerlaſting life; the praiers I ſaie precedent, the preparation euident, the direction adherent, the diſtribution conſequent are ſignes enough to him that hath but eares or eies, that we preſently, purpoſely, publikely, execute Chriſtes inſtitution; and other hooking and haling of Chriſtes words to the elements by croſſing, crouching, gaping and blowing on them, as your manner is, we acknowledge none to be required or expreſſed in the Lords ſupper.

If this be not application, we would gladlie know what it is.

Phil. *It is no Sacrament, but (as Saint* Auguſtine *ſaith) when the words come, that is to ſay, actiuely and preſentlie be applied to the elements.* Theoph. We know that to be moſt true which Saint Auguſtine ſaith, *Accedit verbum ad elementum, & fit Sacramentum*, when the word commeth to the element, the Sacrament is perfite: but what haue your tearmes *(actiuelie and preſentlie)* to do with Saint Auſtens ſpeech? Yea what place could you chooſe more repugnant to your fanſies than this which you bring? The element without the word, is a weake and corruptible creature: put the word to it, and then it becommeth a Sacrament.

The Rhemiſh Teſtament, *pag.452. nu. 24. [this is. Tract. 80. in Iohan.*

Phil. You marke not the force of the verbe *Accedit:* which ſignifieth the word muſt come ſo neere, that it muſt euen touch the element. Theoph. Can you tell vs how words may touch elements? Phil. What elſe? By *actiue and preſent* application. Theop. This is your old ſong, which we would haue you turne to ſome plainer note. What kind of application meane you? With the breath of your mouths, motion of your hands, or cogitation of your harts? You may blow vpon the bread and wine,

The word commeth to the element when it is ſeriouſly pronounced, and religiouſlie beleeued. Application is made with hart and not

with breath or fingers.

wine, but there is some difference betweene the sound of your voice, and the breath of your lungs, if you looke a little but to Aristotles predicaments, and therefore your breath may touch the elements, your words can not. Much lesse can your fingers applie your speech either *actiuelie* or *presentlie* to the elements: you must run to the inward intention of the mind, and that may direct your purpose in speaking, as it doth ours: but not *actiuelie* applie your speech to come neerer the elements in your masse than in our communion. And so the comming of the word to the element in Saint Austen, to perfite a Sacrament, helpeth you to proue your reall and manuall application of Christs words in your Masse as much as chaulke doth to make cheese, when curds are wanting. Yea rather if you reade on but foure lines, you shall find your follies flatlie refuted by Saint Augustine, and a cleare resolution for vs that not vttering but beleeuing the words of Christ giueth force to the Sacraments. In the water (of Baptisme) saith he, it is the word that clenseth. Take awaie the word, and what is water but water? Then commeth that which you cite, *Accedit verbum ad elementum, & fit Sacramentum.* Put the word to the element, and then is it a Sacrament. *Vnde ista tanta virtus aquæ vt corpus tangat & cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur; Nam & in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens:* Whence hath the water this vertue to touch the bodie, and wash the soule, but by the power of the word? not in that it is spoken, but in that it is beleeued: for in the word it selfe the sound passing is one thing, (and that little worth) the vertue remaining is an other thing. If the word of Christ do not worke in that it is spoken, much lesse in that it is *actiuelie* or exquisitely spoken with square conueyance and nimble gestures, the lacke of which is the greatest fault you can find with our Sacraments.

August. in Iohan. tract. 80

The rehearsing of the word is necessarie to ground our faith on his promise, but faith maketh application. This negatiue ouerthroweth the Iesuits actiue application.

Phil. This is no small fault, but yet not the greatest.

Theop. You should haue laid forth in writing what circumstances are required to your *actiue application of* Christes words, and then you might haue bene answered with more perspicuitie. Whereas now your obiecting vnto vs the breach of Christes institution in certaine metaphy-

metaphysicall and supermysticall tearmes, neither opened by your selus, nor vnderstood of others, is but a Iesuiticall deuise to make a bzable about wozds, and to get the simple in the meane time to mistrust some-what in our doctrine and doings, though they, nor you see no iust cause to mislike. But to be short with you, if the repelling of your actiue and slipper gestures and hauiours that we might embzace the will and commaundement of the high and mightie God, be a fault, we haue committed manie foule faults in this and all other parts of our profession; otherwise in pzide and pzesumption you mingle your fancies with the precepts of Chzist: and when we reiect the one, as we lawfullie may, you charge vs with contempt of the other, which we exactlie follow, and this you vtter in such darke and doubtfull speech, that it is harder foz vs to vnderstand you than refute you.

The Iesuits knowing that we wold charge them with the breach of Christes institution which they can not answere, thought best to charge vs with the like, though the points be neither materiall, nor prooued by thē to haue been vsed by Christ. The Rhemish Test. *fol.* 452. *nu.* 23. [*bread.*

Phil. Do we not speake plaine enough, when we saie you *imitate not Christ neither in vnleauened bread, nor in mingling water with wine:* as he did? Theop. You deale now plainelie, if you dealt also truelie, but that you do not. In what bread Chzist ministred the Sacrament, may perchance be coniectured; but no such thing is expzessed in the Gospel, much lesse pzescribed foz vs to follow. Since the scripture saith, he tooke bread, and maketh no distinction what bzead he tooke, nor limiteth what bzead we should take, we be left at libertie, so we take bzead, to take either leauened oz vnleauened, as occasion serueth vs. This conclusion Gregorie the first confesseth to be most true. *Tam azimum quàm fermentatum dum sumimus, vnum corpus Domini salvatoris efficimur:* Whether it be leauened or vnleauened bread that we take, we are made one bodie of (our) Lord and Sauiour. The whole church of Rome not yet an 150. yeeres ago confessed asmuch in the Councell of Florence. Their wozds are: *Item in azymo siue fermentato pane triticeo corpus Christi veraciter confici, Sacerdotésque in altero ipsum Domini corpus conficere debere, vnumquemque scilicet iuxta suæ ecclesiæ siue Occidentalis, siue Orientalis consuetudinem.* We define the bodie of Christ to be truelie consecrated in wheaten bread, whether it be vnleauened or leauened, and that the priests are bound to consecrate the Lords bodie in either of the twaine, euerie man according to the

Greg. in Regist.

Concil. Floren. sess. vltima in literis vnionis.

the custome of his Church, be it West or East.

Phil. That custome you breake. For where the west Church did alwaies consecrate in vnleauened bread, and the east Church in leauened, you renounce the order of the west Church in which you liue, and to spite the supreme pastor of the west parts, yea rather of the whole world, you follow the manner of that Church, which is manie thousand miles distant from you. Theop. We are reasoning of Christs institution, not of customes or Churches: and your holy father himselfe affirmeth that to be no breach of Christs ordinance, which you haue noted against vs in your Rhemish obseruations as a transgression of the first and originall institution of the Lords supper. And so whiles you egerlie and rashlie pursue vs, to trip vs in somewhat, your owne Churches and Councels condemne you for wranglers.

We professe our selues to be at libertie for vsing either, and the rather because he would tie vs of his authoritie to the one.

Phil. *In the other part of the Sacrament, you contemne Christ and his Church much more impudentlie and damnablie. For Christ and all the Apostles and all Catholike Churches in the world, haue euer mixed their wine with water, for great mysterie and signification, specially for that water gushed togither with blood out of our Lords side. This our Lord did (saith S. Cyprian epist. 63. ad Cecilium, nu. 47.) and none rightly offereth, that followeth not him therein. Thus Irenæus (lib. 5. ca. 1.) Iustine (Apol. 2. in fine) & all the fathers testifie the primitiue Church did, & in this sort it is done in all the Masses of the Greekes, S. Iames, S. Basils, S. Chrysostomes: and yet (you) pretending to reduce all to Christ, will not do as he did, & all the Apostles & Churches that euer were.* Theop. Their faces must be well steeled that are harder than yours; the whore of Babylon that hatched both your frierlie profession and religion, hath taught you long since to leaue off blushing, and fall to bragging.

The Rhemish Test. *fol. 452. nu. 23. bread.*

We mingle not water with the wine which we consecrate: this is *impudentlie and damnablie* done saie you. You neede more water with your wine, your tongs burne so hoate with your *impudent lies & damnable lies*, that an whole streame will skant cole them. Phil. *Christ and all the Apostles, and all Catholike Churches in the world haue euer mixed their wine with water:* you will not of verie frowardnes: do you not deserue to haue hoate words?

Theop. We forbid no mã to temper his wine with water, if he find either himselfe annoied with ỹ vse of meere wine, or

or the wine of it selfe to be heady and strong: yea we rather wish all men, if the wine prouided for the Lords table be hot and fuming, to delay it, that it may be mild and temperate, least that which is taken to sanctifie the soule, happen to distemper and hurt the body: and we greatly commend the wisedome of Christes Church in former ages, where the wines were fierie, and communions daily (as in the noblest and chiefest parts of christendome in those daies) for delaying her wine with water, that the very element might serue for sobrietie, as well as the word for increasing of sanctitie: but that Christ or his apostles vsed water with the wine which they halowed, or commanded others to mingle both wine & water in this mystery, or that the church of Christ euer taught it to be a necessary part of this sacrament, that we deny: that if you proue, we will acknowledge & amend our error, which as yet we take to be none, by reason we find it a thing lawfull, but not needfull to be done, and esteeme it in them as a matter rather of temperance, than of conscience.

The delaying of the wine with water in the Lords cup, began first for sobrietie, not for any mysterie.

It can not be prooued that either Christ or his Apostles vsed water with their wine, by any good record.

Phil. They did it *for great mysterie and signification*, as Cyprian in an whole epistle teacheth you: and they toke their paterne from Christ himselfe, of whom Cyprian saith. This our Lord did, and none offereth rightly that followeth not him therein. Theop. You peruert Cyprian, as you do all things els that come through your hands. Cyprian intendeth not in that epistle to proue that Christ had water in the cup, when he deliuered the same to his disciples, but he refuteth the Aquarij, that ministred the cōmunion in water alone; and against them he proueth, that Christ had wine and not water for the Sacrament of his blod: and then inferreth, to that effect which you alleadge, This the Lord did (that is, he toke wine to resemble his blod) and none offereth rightlie that followeth not him therein.

Cypr. epist. 63. ad Cæcil.

Cyprian doth not alleage Christs institution for water, but for wine.

Phil. May Cyprian hath plaine words, that Christ mingled wine and water both together. His words are, *At enim non manè sed post cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus.* Our Lord offered (his) chalice mingled (with water and wine) not in the morning, but after supper. And againe, *Qua in parte inuenimus calicem mixtum fuisse, quem Dominus obtulit.* By which part (of Christes speech) we find the chalice that our Lord offered, was mingled (with wine and water.)

Cypr. epist. 63. ad Cæcil. Ibidem.

Theop.

Cyprian proueth that the Lords cup must be mixed with wine.

Theop. We doubt not that Cyprian calleth the cup, which Christ offered, *mixtus calix*, but his meaning, we say, was to expresse that Christ had wine, in the cup which he gaue, and therefore if any man minister the Lords cup not mingled with wine, he followeth not the Lords steps.

Phil. Cyprian saith there must be water, as well as wine. Theop. But when he alleadgeth Christs example that the cup must be mingled, he meaneth the mixture of wine and not of water. And so he expoundeth himselfe very often in that epistle. *Calix, qui inebriat, vtique vino mixtus est:* the cup which maketh drunke no doubt is mixed with wine. And againe,* *A Domino admoniti & instructi sumus, vt calicem Dominicum vino mixtum, secundum quod Dominus obtulit, offeramus.* We be taught and instructed by the Lord that we should offer the Lords cup mingled with wine according as the Lord did offer it. So that the commistion which Cyprian requireth by vertue of Christs institution, is not of water which at that present was not in question, but of wine, which by the old Testament he proueth, was foretold of Christ, that he should offer; and by the new he sheweth that he did offer in the cup which he deliuered to the twelue Apostles. You therefore abuse Cyprians words, when you bring them to proue that Christ had water as well as wine, and that if we leaue out either, we follow not Christs example, for he namely vrgeth Christs action for the vse of the wine, and that if we omit, we violate the Lords institution.

Cypr. lib. 2. epi. 3. ad Cæcil.

** Ibidem.*

Cyprian vrgeth Christs example for wine: which he calleth a mixture, by reason it was both lawfull & then vsed to temper it with water.

Philan. Cyprians reason will declare that he speaketh of both; and his words to that end are so manifest, that we marueil you will stand in it. Thus he saith, *In sanctificando calice Domini offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest. Nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si verò aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine Christo.* In sanctifieng our Lords chalice, water alone may not be offered, as also not wine alone. For if a man offer wine alone, the blood of Christ beginneth to be there with-out vs. And if water alone (be offered,) the people begin to be (in the cup) with-out Christ. And therefore he resoluteth, *Quando in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur:* When water is mixed in the chalice with

Epist. 63. ad Cæcil.

Ibidem.

with wine, then the people is vnited vnto Christ.

Theop. Sir we neuer denied that Cyprian spake of water in one part of the sacrament, and to continue the vse therefore alluded to the mysticall interpretation of water which Saint Iohn maketh in his Reuelation, when he saith, The waters, which thou saweſt where the whoore (of babylon) sitteth, are peoples, multitudes, nations and toongs; but it is one thing to alleadge Christs institution for the necessitie of hauing water in the sacred cup, which Cyprian did not, and an other thing to play with figures and allegories as Cyprian doth when he sheweth what water may signifie. That Christ mixed water with wine at his last supper, no scripture reporteth, and the Gospell keeping silence no man can iustly proue it: And therefore Cyprian neither did, nor could auouch any such thing: but that water was and might be vsed in the Church of GOD, and in Saint Iohns vision of the whoore of Babylon was parabolically taken for Nations and countries, this we can grant both to you and to Cyprian without any preiudice.

Reuel. 17.

Cyprian alloweth water in the Lords cup, & sheweth what it may signifie: but he doth not deriue it from Christs example.

And yet I must let you vnderstand that neither this kinde of proouing by parables is alwaies sound, nor this collection, that without water the people is not figured in the Lords cup, is any needfull point of christian religion. For Cyprian himselfe else-where sheweth that wine alone in the Lords cup though no water be added, resembleth the people vnited to Christ far better than water, & that resemblance is alleadged and subscribed vnto by S. Augustine, the other is not. * When the Lord called his body, bread, that is made of the kneading togither of many cornes, he declareth the vnion of our people whose burden he bare. And when he called his blood wine, which is pressed out of many kernals and clusters of grapes, and gathered into one liquor, he signifieth also our flocke coupled with the permixtion of a multitude conioyned. And this way he saith, * the Lords sacrifices declare the vnity of Christians knit togither with firme and inseparable charitie: whose words Saint Austen repeateth and commendeth * writing against the Donatists. And vseth the very same in a sermon of his owne concerning this matter. [a] As to make the visible kinde of bread, many cornes are kneaded into one

* *Cypr. lib. 1. ep. 6. ad Magnum.*

* *Ibidem.*

* *Aug. de bap. lib. 7. cap. 50.*

[a] *Ex serm. ad Infantes. Citatur a Beda in 1. Cor. 10.*

Water is not necessary in the Lords cup, one (lump of dough) so also of the wine brethren, call to your memories how it is made one. Many grapes hang in the cluster, but their iuyce runneth into one liquor. Whereupon he concludeth that the Lord hath consecrated at his table the mysterie of our peace and vnitie.

1.Cor.10. *Ibidem.*

The wine signifieth the people better than water doth. The Iesuits themselues receiue not the saying of Cyprian.

This similitude is grounded on the nature of the elements, and signification of the sacraments, the other is not: and that the faithfull be not ioyned to Christ their head in this mysterie, but by mingling water with wine, this doctrine is neither safe, nor true, by the confession of either side, yours and ours: especially yours, for you exclude the people not onely from the water but also from the wine, and yet by the bread alone you suppose them to be coupled and vnited to Christ their head: and we for our side confesse, that both parts alike do knit vs vnto Christ, as well the bread as the cup, and that not the mixing or tempering of either element, but the due receiuing of both doth incorporate vs into Christ.

Phil. Then you refuse this saying of Cyprians as vntrue. Theop. We can giue Cyprian leaue to dallie with allegories, and to allude to the mingling of water and wine then vsed in the Church; but we can not giue you leaue to deriue it from Christes institution, and to make it an essentiall part of the sacrament. And yet you crosse Cyprians authoritie more than we do. For where the mixing of water with wine is required by Cyprian, that the people and not the priests onely, might be ioyned with Christ in that part of the mysterie, you retaine the action and frustrate the signification, by taking both wine and water from the people of God: and thereby shew that your mixture is wholy superfluous as not directed to that end, which Cyprian speaketh of, but rather to the contrary.

Can the Iesuits tell how the people are in the cup after consecration?

And of all others you may least indure Cyprians comparison. For he saith, that after consecration, as Christ is in the wine, so the people is in the water: and if you transubstantiate the water into the people, as you do the wine into Christ, and bring them within the compasse of your chalice, you had need of a chalice as wide as the Church, or else you shall shrewdly thrunge them together. Your doctrine therefore reiecteth the meaning and saying of Cyprian, more than ours; and with more pride: we hauing

uing the Gospell for our discharge, when we saie that Christ commaunded no mixture in his last supper: and your owne schooles with one consent to affirme with vs, that water is no necessarie part of this sacrament. Their owne schooles are against the.

The Gospell in plaine speech reporteth of our Sauiour, that he dranke the fruite of the vine. His owne words are, [a] I say vnto you I will not drinke hence-foorth of this fruit of the vine: [b] which surely, saith Chrysostom, yeeldeth wine and not water. Your owne schooles conclude flatly with vs against you. [c] *Non est aqua vino miscenda de necessitate sacramenti.* To mingle water with wine is no necessarie point of (this) sacrament. Water by the position of your owne schooles is not necessarie, then of consequent arbitrarie: that is, euerie Church hath full libertie to vse wine alone, as Christ did, without danger of departing or dissenting from the primitiue Church, though they for some respects delaied their wine with water, and the sacrament is as perfect, and as consonant to Christes institution without the mixture of water, as with it.

[a] Math. 26.
[b] *Chrysost. in Mat. hom.* 83.
[c] *Thom. part.* 3. *quæst.* 74. *artic.* 7. *Scotus in* 4. *sentē. distinct.* 11. *quæst.* 6. *& Innocen. de officio missæ part.* 3. *cap.* 4. affirme the same.

Phil. That Christ vsed wine we do not denie, but we auouch that he also mingled it with water. Theop. We know you auouch it, but we would see you proue it. Phil. Cyprian saith it. Theop. Cyprian saith it not; he saith rather the contrarie. *Inuenimus vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit.* We find it was wine, which (the Lord) called his blood. And againe: *Cum dicat Christus, ego sum vitis vera, sanguis Christi non aqua est vtique sed vinum.* Where as Christ saith, I am a true vine, surely the blood of Christ is not water but wine. And againe he saith, that *Noe typum futuræ veritatis, ostendens non aquam sed vinum biberit,* foreshewing a figure of the truth that should follow, dranke not water, but wine. Phil. Not water alone, but mixed with wine.

Cypr. li. 2. *ep.* 3.
Ibidem.
Ibidem.

Theop. Then all that Cyprian either pretendeth or alleageth Christes institution for, is the hauing of wine, and not of water; and though he vse the words *mixtus*, and *miscere* verie often, yet his meaning is to proue by scripture the adding of wine, not of water to the Lords cup. Phil. He nameth both wine and water as I haue shewed you. Theop. And as I haue answered you, both were lawfull, and then vsed in the Church: but Christes institution is vrged by him for wine and not for water:

and though he call the cup (*mixtus*) mingled, because there might be and were then both in vse, yet the scriptures which he citeth concerning this Sacrament, and the figures which he bringeth make clearelie for wine, and not for water: and therefore that Christ mingled water at his last supper, or commaunded vs so to do, can not be proued by Cyprian, nor anie other learned and ancient father: but that the church of Christ tempered her wine with water (though not in all places, nor at all times as your boasting vaine seeketh you to affirme) that we graunt may be proued by Cyprian and others, and was euer confessed by vs: marie that is not our question. You charge vs with the breaches of Christes institutiõ, in which and in euerie part of which, there is an absolute necessitie, that you should proue if you could tell which way to do it, but your loftie words and weake proofes haue no coherence; you speake it in state, as if it were more than Gospell, and when you come to bring forth your proofes, you wrest a peize place of Cyprians and so take your leaues.

Cyprians proofes are all for wine.

The question is not whether water was then and now may be vsed, but whether it were a part of Christs ordinance.

Phil. We bring you S. Iames Masse, which in expresse termes affirmeth that Christ after supper taking the cup, and mingling it with wine and water, sanctified it, blessed it, and gaue it to his disciples. Theop. Of Iames Masse, I haue spoken before: in such rotten records, neither receiued nor regarded in the church of Christ, til errour and ignorance grew so great, that the pastours could not or would not discerne fables from truthes, and forgeries from sincerities, lieth the summe of your late Rhemish religion; but take backe your Menkish corruptions, and let vs haue likely testimonies for that you saie, or none; you may alleage S. Iames Gospell which is yet extant, with as good credit, as S. Iames Masse: and so the Gospels of Nicodemus, Thomas, Andrew, Barnabas, and Bartholomew, or if those like you not, the Acts of Peter, Philip and Andrew, and the Reuelations of Paul, Steuen, and Thomas; for these be of the verie same mint and stamp, that Iames Masse, and the Apostles canons and constitutions are; but know you sir, that as heretikes and other idle persons forged these things in their names, so the church of Christ euer reiected them as false and heretical,

The church of Rome prooueth the most part of her religion by such forgeries.

Dist. 15. § *Sancta Romana.*

Many things forged in the Apostles names, and yet reiected by the church of Christ.

and

and suffered no christians to ground their actions or doctrines on such corruptions.

Phil. Saint Basils Masse confirmeth the same. The words are: Likewise taking the cup of the fruite of the grape, and mingling it, and giuing thanks, and blessing, and sanctifieng it, he gaue it to his holie disciples. Theoph. A pig of the same sow. They that would offer to broach their fansies in the Apostles names, would neuer sticke at the fathers workes. It is easie to put Ambrose, Austens, Basils and Chrysostomes names to any thing; and yet the word which is vsed in Basils Liturgie, doth not conuince the mingling of water with wine, and Chrysostoms Liturgie doth apparentlie shew that water was mingled with wine for the people long after consecration, and yet before distribution, which argueth my saying to be most true, that they delaied their wine for sobrietie, they did not mixe it for anie mysterie. *Basilij Missa.* These three Masses be all of one sort.

Phil. Saint Basill, I am sure, saieth *Miscens*: Christ mingling (the wine) gaue it to his disciples. Theop. The Greeke words for *miscens* and *mixtus*, if they come from κεράννυμι, do not alwaies signifie the mingling of water with wine, but generallie the tempering or pouring out of wine for him that shall drinke, though none other kind of liquour be added to it. Erasmus grieth that obseruation vpon the word κεράννυμι; and Saint Iohn so vsed it when he saith, He shall drinke of the wine of the wrath of God, τῦ κεκερασμένε ἀκράτε ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τ ὀργῆς αὐτε, which is mixed (or powred) without mingling into the cup of his wrath: where ἀκράτε being without mixture, is said to be κεκερασμένε, that is, mingled or rather infused into the cup of Gods wrath. Vpon which speech, Erasmus noteth. *Græcis κεράννυσθαι dicitur quod infunditur in calicem bibituro, etiamsi non aqua diluatur aut alio potus genere.* The Grecians call that κεράννυσθαι when (any thing) is powred into a cup for him that shall drinke, though it be not delaied with water, or anie other kind of liquour. In this sense manie of the fathers that wrate in Greeke, may vse κεκραμένος and κεκερασμένος, & yet no mingling with water can be inferred vpon those words, as your interpreters ouergreedilie imagine. The Greeke word for *miscens* doth not euer import the mixture of water. Apocal. 14. *Eras. annotat. in 14. Apoc.*

Phil. You pare the words of S. Basils Liturgie, but S. Iames Masse is so manifest for Christes mingling water

with wine, that you are faine to denie the worke. Theop. If the Church of Christ did receiue it, I will not denie it: but if they knew no such monument, why should you be suffered now to sort vs out what forgeries you list for Apostolike labours? Phil. The sixth generall Councell vnder Iustinian, receiued the* Masse of S. Iames & S. Basill as authentike: and proued by their* authorities against the Armenians, vsing wine alone in the mysteries, that Christ had both water and wine in his sacrifice. Theop. That Councell, which you cite, was neither the sixt generall, nor any generall Councell at all. It was celebrated 700. and od yeeres after Christ, by which time it may be, Iames his Liturgie was gottē into some credit amongst them: and yet they alleadge neither of thē for Christes institutiō but only ẏ deliuering ẏ Church seruice in writing οὕτω τελειοῦν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ, λειτουργίᾳ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ οἴνου τὸ ἱερὸν ποτήριον ἐκδεδώκασι, they taught that order to perfit the sacred cup with wine and water in the diuine ministration.

** Concil. in Trull. sub Iusti. cap. 32.*

Iames his Masse neuer receiued nor vsed in the Church as his.

Ibidem. ca. 32.

Phil. Call you the credit of that Councell also in question? Theop. I might well do it, if I would but follow the iudgement either of your neerest friends, or of those that liued next to the time when this councel was called. Surius the great Soultan of your side, saith, that some of those are thought to be *Suppositity vel Græcorum temeritate deprauati:* either forged; or depraued by the rashnesse of the Grecians. And Theophanes who wrate not long after the keeping of the councel, sayeth, that those are falselie said to be the canons of the sixt councell, and giueth this hard iudgement of them: *vt enim in ceteris omnibus falsitatis arguuntur, ita in hac re quoque mentiuntur:* as in all other things they be taken tardie with falsehood, so in this also they make a lie: But for our parts we see no reason to deale so rigorouselie with them. They were but a prouinciall councell, if they were anie councell at all: for we haue nothing left but the canons, and those contradicted by name. Next the makers liued more than 700. yeares after Christ, and might soone be deceiued by the titles and shewes of those Liturgies. Lastlie, what corruptions haue crept since either into the canons or into the Liturgies, we know not, and in those cases which the Gospel exactlie reporteth as it doth the Lords supper, we

Laurent. Surius to. Concil. 2. admonitio ad lectorem de Canonibus qui sixtæ Synod. dicuntur. Ibidem.

This councel is prouinciall and late, and vehementlie suspected by themselues.

we beleeue no man against or without the gospell.

And that in Chrysostomes liturgie water was mingled long after consecration, for the people to drinke, the booke it selfe will shew you: where the words of Christs institution being repeated three leaues before, when the time for the priests and people to communicate approched, it is said, *Accipiunt diaconi sacros calices præstolantes cum feruente aqua venientem subdiaconum. Tunc infundit aquam calidam quantum sufficit, deinde sumit corpus Dominicum.* The deacons take the sacred cups or chalices, expecting the deacon that bringeth water (that hath) boiled. Then he powreth in (to the chalices) warme water so much as sufficeth, and after receiueth the Lords body. Now sir with all your cunning tell vs for what signification and mysterie, water that had sod, was powred into the chalice after consecration, if not to temper and delay the headinesse of the wine before the priest or people did drinke of it: and if your braines be not mingled with too much melancholy, you will perceiue, that could be no part of Christs institution.

Chrysostoms Liturgy mingleth water with wine after consecration for the people to cómunicate *Chrysost. Missa.*

Sodde water poured into the wine after consecration could be no mysterie.

Phil. We find no such thing in Chrysostoms masse. Theoph. It were maruell that I should find it, and not you. Phil. Read his liturgy translated by Erasmus, and if you find it I will giue you this hand. Theop. Your hand will do me no good: I had rather you should confesse a truth, than hazard a ioint. Read Chrysostomes lyturgy which Leo Thuscus translated into the Latine tong, and Claudius de Saintes, a man of your religion hath set forth of Plantines presse 1560. and if you find not the words, as I repeate them, returne them to me for maisterlesse creatures, which I would be loth you should.

The translation which their owne men haue set foorth, hath the words which I cite. *No maruell to see the Church of Christ mixe hir wine with water at her dailie communions whē the people were fasting, since the soberer sort of heathens in those countries durst not drinke those strong wines without some delay.

Phil. But mention is made in the very beginning of the same liturgy, that the priest mixed water with wine before consecration. Theop. It may be the priest did temper that which himselfe should drinke, before consecration. But after consecration, before the rest of the clergy or the people did communicate, they delaied it with water in such sort as I tell you: what the cause was, iudge you.

Phil. Why this was done, I can not so well say, but this I know, that all catholike Churches in the world haue euer mixed their wine with water. Theop. *Had they so done, yet so long as they did it for sobriety, not for necessi-

tie, it nothing concerneth Christs institution, which we labor to restore, nor bindeth any man as a matter of religion or conscience: but now your flaunting humor kweleth aboue truth and measure, when you say *all Churches in the world haue euer* obserued the same. Phil. Name one age or place that hath not done it. Theop. That is the way in deed to cast the burden on other mens shoulders, which your selues should beare: and yet we can some choake you with an instance, and that by the very confession of your owne fellowes.

Alexander septimus à Petro pontifex consecraturus primus aquam vino miscuit, institutq; vt ex azymo, non fermentato vt anteà consueuit fieret pane. Alexander the seuenth from Peter, was the first saith Polydor, that mingled water with wine at consecration, and ordained that the oblation should be of vnleauened bread, and not of leauened, as till that time was vsed. Lo sir the whole church of Christ in all the Apostles times vsed wine alone, and an hundred yeeres after Christ began the first admixtion of water with wine, and vse of vnleauened bread in the Lords supper; which you with forgerie vnder Iames name would father on Christ himselfe; though he in the Gospell with his owne mouth deny it.

Polyd. de inuentoribus rerum lib. 5. cap. 9. The seuenth bishop of Rome from Peter, first mingled water with wine at the Lords table.

For countries we can giue you the like. The Armenians for a 1145. yeares after Christ vsed leauened bread, and mingled no water with their wine at the Lords table. See the report of Otho Frisingésis in whose time they began to harken to the Church of Rome. Their metropolitane had vnder him * a thousand bishops: and in some things agreed, in some things dissented from the Greeke church. Where amongest other things, he saith of the whole country of Armenia: * *Ponunt fermentatum panem sicut illi: aquam autem, vino non miscent, sicut nos & illi.* They vse leauened bread (in the Lords supper) as the Grecians do: mary they mingle no water with their wine, as both we and the Grecians do.

The Armenians for a 1000. yeeres and vpward, mixed no water with their wine. **Otho Frisingens. lib. 7. cap. 32.*

These be your famous obiections which exaggerate, as if they were some mighty breaches of Christs ordinance, wherein to let passe the hold which we haue in the gospell, being thereby cleared from your pelting quarrels in the eies of all men that euer read the words of Christ, if your owne schooles in either or any of these things

Their obiections be so farre from truth, that

things which you oppose, go not cleare with vs, that they be no parts of Christs institution, we will yeld to the fault, and correct that ouersight. If they do, then let your friends conceiue what truth there is in your mouthes, and what credit is to be giuen to your wrangling obseruations sent vs lately from Rhemes, wherein without all shame and care, you refute, not vs, but your selues and your owne conclusions, that you might say somewhat against vs, before the simple and vnlearned, were it otherwise neuer so false or foolish, and euen contrary to your owne principles. their owne schooles go cleare with vs against them.

But you did well to begin first: you saw how plainely you were to be taken tardie with many wilfull and inexcusable breaches of Christes institution, and therefore you thought it safest to make the salie first on vs, that whiles we were occupied in defending our owne, we should desist from impugning your masse, which is now nothing else but an heape of sinnefull deuises and abuses inuented by satan, and broached by Antichrist, to deface and frustrate the Lords supper. The Iesuits Testament is as full of policie as it is of heresie.

Philand. Who can abide your blasphemies against the blessed masse? Theoph. Call you that blessed, where besides your * fruitlesse prayers and * superstitious ceremonies; your priuate and * halfe communion subuerteth the Lords institution; your * sacrifice derogateth from his death and bloodshedding; your * adoration of bread and wine conuinceth you of hainous and open idolatrie? Phil. These words declare your furie. Theoph. Those deedes shew forth your pietie. Phil. You can not proue so much as one of these things which you obiect. Theoph. If we proue not euery one of them; we will acquite you from them all. Phil. That shall you neuer do. Theop. So must you say though it be neuer so plaine: but to the point. These be 5. as deepe woūds in the word of Christ, as euer the Iewes made in his flesh.

Where learned you, that the priest might celebrate the Lords supper openly in the church, without any man to communicate with him, the people standing by, and gazing on him? The gospell is against you: for Christ *tooke bread, and when he had giuen thanks, he brake it, and gaue it to the disciples: you breake the bread in your priuate masse for fashions sake, but to whome do you giue it? The priests sole receiuing. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luk. 22. 1. Cor. 11.

As needfull to giue as to breake the bread.

Giuing is a part of the Lordes supper, as well as breaking. If it be needfull to breake the bread, because Christ did so: we conclude it as needfull to giue the bread, because he did both: and the bread is [a] broken, as Augustine affirmeth, to be diuided. In vaine then is it broken if it be not giuen.

[a] *August. epi. 59.*

This the words that next insue, confirme, *Accipite, edite*, take ye, eate ye. The words be plurall: *ergo* they be neither truly repeated, nor duely followed, except others receiue with the priest. For his person and action is wholy singular, and so perforce you must either change the words of Christs institution, which is no way lawfull, or increase the number of communicants, which euerteth your priuate masse.

Theſe words be ſpoken in the plurall number and of other mēs perſons.

[b] We are all partakers of one bread, saith Paul, describing thereby the Lords supper: and with you no man is partaker besides the priest. [c] When you come together to eate (the Lords supper) tary one for another, that ye come not together vnto condemnation, which the Apostle [d] spake of this sacrament, as you heard out of Augustine. To litle purpose stay you for them, which shal eate nothing when they come. [e] The Lords supper ought to be common to all, because he gaue the sacraments equally to all his disciples that were present: and your masse is priuate to the priest alone. Call you this an imitation of the Lords supper, or a performance of his will, when you frustrate the very words which he spake, and neglect the chiefest thing which himselfe did at his table? [f] Do this, saith Christ, in remembrance of me: that is neither omit, nor alter you this institution, but in all points do that, which I did before you, which you do not, and therefore as yet we see not how you can excuse your selues from a plaine contempt of Christ and his ordinance.

[b] 1.Cor.10.

[c] 1.Cor.11.

[d] *Epiſt.*118.

[e] *Hierom.in* 1.*Cor.*11.

[f] Luk.22. 1.Cor.11.

Phil. Is this all you can say? Theop. This is more than you yet haue answered, or, as I thinke, can for all your crakes. Phil. It is answered with a word. Theop. Such a word it may be, that it will worke miracles; but in the meane time how keepe you Christs institution?

The Rhemiſh Teſtament, fol.451. *num.*23. [*in the night.*

Phil. *All the circumstances of time, person, and place, which in Christes action are noted, need not to be imitated. As that the sacrament should be ministred at night, to men onely, to onely twelue, after supper and such like: because (as Saint Cyprian epist. 63. num. 7.*

&

& S. Aug. epist. 118. nu. 6. note) there were causes of those accidents in Christ, that are not now to be alleaged for vs.

Theop. That which you say is true, but it serueth not your turne. The circumstances of time, as whether at night or in the morning: of place, as whether in church or in chamber: of person, as whether men or women: twelue, or any other number: these things we grant be wholy indifferent. The reason is. The Lord neither in his speech, nor in his actions which he commanded vs to imitate, did comprise any of these particulars. He tooke bread, he gaue thanks, he brake it, and eat it, saying, this is my body. The cup likewise he tooke, and when he had giuen thanks he gaue it them, drinke ye all of this, this is my bloud of the new Testament. * Do this in remembrance of me. These things be essentiall parts of the Lords supper commanded by him to be followed of vs. These if you neglect, you neither obey his precept, nor celebrate his supper, but prophanely & wickedly thrust his ordinance out at doores that your owne deuises may take place.

Christs actions & words are necessary, though the circumstances be not.

Matth. 26.

* Luke. 22.

Phil. His words,* this is my body, this is my bloud of the new Testament, &c. are essentiall parts of this mystery, and so are the elements: for in these two consist the matter and forme of the sacrament. Theo. And what are his actions? be not they likewise essentiall parts of his supper? Phil. What actions meane you? Theo. Giuing thanks, * breaking, giuing, eating, drinking; without which it is not the Lords supper. Phi. These be certaine accidents which our sauior then vsed, they be not of the essence of the sacrament. The. With what words did he command vs to continue this memorial of him? Phil. Do this for a commemoration of me. Theop. Let it be, in remembrance of me, or for a commemoration of me, whether you wil, so you take not commemoratiõ for Dirges: which Christ nœdeth not, since he liueth and raigneth in the glory of God his father; the Greeke is εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. For the remembrance of me: but the first part of the sentence is τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, Do ye this. Phil. It is so, what then? Theop. He that charged his Apostles and in them al others, to do what he did, taught them that his actiõs were essential to his supper as wel as words. He did not will thẽ to say this, but to do this in remẽbrance of him.

* The sanctificatiõ of the meat is performed by those words, but the vse & end of the supper is directed by the other.

The precept that Christ gaue vs to follow him precisely concerneth his actions.

Phil. Do you not thinke the repeating and vsing of his words

The Rhemish Test. fol. 452. nu. 24. [take, eat.

wordes to be necessary in the celebration of the sacrament? Theop. Yes, but I adde that his actions are as necessary. Phil. *There is difference betweene the making of a medicine or the substance and ingredience of it, and the taking of it.* Theop. There is: but when the medicine is neuer so well made if it be not ministred to the patient, the making of it is vtterly vaine.

To what end is meat if it be not eate?

Phil. Yet the making of it, is not the ministring of it. Theop. The one is the end of the other, & therfore without the ministring the making is superfluous. Phil. Then taking and eating *is not the substance, or being, or making of the sacrament or sacrifice of Christs body & bloud, but it is the vse and application to the receiuer, of the things that were made and offered to God before.* Theop. Neither did I say that eating and drinking were the substantiall parts of the sacrament, but of the Lords institution. Phil. As though the sacrament were not our Lords institution. Theoph. Christs institution containeth as well the vse as the matter or forme that must be vsed. A supper is not onely the meate prouided, but also the act of eating that which is prouided; and so the Lords institution or supper imploieth the vse and action as well as the word and elements.

The Rhem. Test. *Ibidem.* Eating and drinking are not essentiall parts of the Sacrament, but of the supper they are.

Phil. The vse of it is to be a sacrifice, as well as a sacrament: and in a sacrifice, offering is rather required than eating. Theo. That is the way to correct the sonne of God, who said not, take this and offer it, but take this and eat it. Eating which Christ commanded, you neglect; offering which he did not command, you esteeme; & yet you would be followers of Christ. Phil. Did not Christ say to his disciples Do this? Theop. You know we presse you with that saying of his. Phil. Do this, that is * offer this. Theop. So you say, but where saith Christ so? Phi. Doubt you whether this be a sacrifice? The. We talke not what names the Lords supper may be called by, but what wordes Christ vsed. Phil. He said Do this. Theop. To wit that which he did before, for so the demonstratiue bindeth the sense. Phi. And what if Christ sacrificed himself, as he sate at table? Theop. You must come to that issue, or else your sacrificing is cleane without Christs commanding.

The Iesuits neglect that which Christ did, and busie themselues with that which he did not.

* And that is prooued by the poet Virgil *cum facia vitula.*

Phil. Christ himselfe seemeth to mention some such thing, when he saith, *This is my body, which is (not which shalbe) broken for you. And this is my bloud * which is shed (not

1. Cor. 11. Matth. 26.

which

Christ did not sacrifice himselfe at his last supper. *The fourth part.*
which shalbe shed) for many for remissiō of sins If this were not a sacrifice, what was it? Theop. It was the foretelling of that which was then at hand presently to insue. Phil. Christ vsed the present & not the future tense. Theop. And yet the suffering, which he specified by the breaking of his body, & shedding of his bloud was not present, but the next day on the crosse. If you teach that Christs blood was really shed at the table for remission of sins, you must put him twise to death, & make the later death which was on the crosse to be vtterly idle. For [a] where remissiō (of sin) is, there needeth no more sacrifice for sin. If then remission of sinnes were obtained by the actuall shedding of Christs bloud at his last supper, his death and crosse the next day were superfluous. If forgiuenes were not obtained ouer night but that the Lord the next day was to shed his bloud for our sins, then spake he before hand of ỹ which the next day should follow: & his speech in the present tense noteth nothing but that he had euen then giuen himselfe ouer to death for our saks, which immediatly they should behold.

Orig. in Matt. tract. 35. & Chrysost. in 1. Cor. hom. 27. read the very words of Christ in the future tense.

[a] Hebr. 10.

No act of Christs therefore at his last supper importeth any reall sacrifice that he then made, but he did institute a sacrament of thanksgiuing, and commanded vs by eating and drinking to be partakers of his body that was wounded and bloud that was shed the next day for the remitting & pardoning of our sinnes. So that you must either retaine eating and drinking at the Lords table, or else renounce both the benefit of his passion, and memoriall of his death, with an open neglect of his last will and Testament.

Christ ordained a sacrament to be diuided, not a sacrifice to be offered.

Phil. We do retaine it, and as you know by our canons we bind all priests that consecrate to * communicate in both kinds. Theop. Let the decrees of men alone, do you bind them to it by the words of Christ? Phil. We do, though the punishment be expressed in the canons, and not in the scriptures. Theop. It is punishment enough to be guilty of the body and bloud of Christ, a greater you can not impose, make your canons as seuere as you will. Phil. Yet you see we bind them to communicate. Theoph. You should breake Christs institution, if you should do otherwise. Phil. And therefore we do that which I tell you. Theoph. Then eating and drinking are necessarie

* *De consecr. dist. 2. § Relatum est.* They bind the priest to communicate.

parts

The fourth part. Christ did not sacrifice himselfe at his last supper.

parts of Christs institution. Phil. Of his action they are parts, but not of the sacrament. Theop. Neither do I say that they are parts of his body and bloud, but of his example and ordinance. Phil. We grant. Theop. And the neglecting of those actions which Christ in his person performed before vs, is a breach of his institution as well as the changing or omitting of his words. Phil. In the priest it is. Theo. Of the priest we speake: for Christ charged him, and not women or lay men to do as he did. Phil. Then we agree to your last position, that if the priest do not obserue Christs actions as well as Christs words he transgresseth Christs institution.

The priest is charged to do as Christ did.

Theop. Then your priests are all giltie of violating Christs institution. Phil. Do they not eat and drinke at the altar, as he did? Phil. That Christ himselfe did eat and drinke at the ministration of the sacrament, is not expressed in any part of his institution, though some words that follow after declare he dranke of the same fruit of the vine which the rest did, but the whole course of his actions and speeches stood in deliuering the mysteries vnto others. He tooke bread, that he might breake it: he brake it, that he might giue it: he gaue it, that they should eat: and so his words declare which are both plurall and spoken to others, take ye, eat ye, not singular or to himselfe. Though therefore your priest take and eat for his part, yet since Christ brake the bread that it might be diuided among others, and bid them take and eat, it is certaine your priests neither do as Christ did, nor as he commanded his Apostles to do, nor as the very words of Christ, which he repeateth, do specifie. For Christ said, take ye, eat ye, which in their priuate masses your priests do not, and for that cause euerie such masse is a manifest contempt of Christs words and deeds confessed and rehearsed by your owne mouths, at the altar, as parts of his institution.

The words of Christ rather bind him to distribute than himselfe to communicate.

The priest in euery priuate masse doth make a mocke of these words take ye, eat ye.

Phil. *The catholike Church onely, by Christs spirit can tell, which things are imitable, which not, in all his actions.* Theo. When himselfe hath appointed what actions of his he will haue to be followed; the Church is bound to obey, & not licenced to make her choise: but in this case the church of Christ hath faithfully done her duty. For she alwaies obserued these

The Rhemish Test. *fol.* 451. *nu.* 23. [in the night. The Church must not

actions

actions of Christ her lord and maister, and verified his wordes, till Antichrist with pride and power came to take vp his seat in the middest of her, and to propoztion all religion to his vnsound and deceiued affection.

choose what she will follow, but rather obey that which Christ commanded.

Phil. Is the catholike church in this point with you? Theop. Yea and against you mightily. The canons, as you terme them, apostolicall, prohibit your priuate masse. [a] Whosoeuer of the faithfull enter the Church and heare the scriptures read, if they stay not out praiers and receiue the sacred communion, let them as peruerters of ecclesiasticall order be put from the communion. Which wordes the [b] councell of Antioch repeateth and confirmeth as agreeable to christian discipline in their daies.

The primitiue Church knew not what priuate masse ment.

[a] *Apostol. can. 9.*

[b] *Concil. Antioch. canon. 2.*

Read the church seruice which (as you tell vs) Iames, Basil, and Chrysostome composed, you shall find them publike communions not priuate masses; read what Dionysius S. Pauls scholler (as you beare men in hand) and Iustinus the martyr repozt of the ministration of the lozds supper in their daies. [c] This is the generall and catholike description and order of the diuine mysteries, saith Dionysius, that first the minister himselfe receiueth & then imparteth the same to others. [d] Towards the end of our praiers, saith Iustinus, we salute one an other with a kisse after that bread & a cup of wine delaied with water are brought to him that hath charge ouer his brethren, which he taketh & giueth thanks to the father of all through the sonne and holy Ghost: his praier & thanks all the people standing by confirme with answering Amen: then those which are called with vs deacons, giue euerie man that is present of the bread and wine tempered with water, and carie the same to such as are absent. This I trow resembleth our communion, not your priuat masse, and this without controuersie was the catholike and apostolike maner of solemnizing the Lozds supper in the primitiue church.

[c] *Dionys. eccles. hierarch. cap. 3.*

[d] *Iustin. Apolog. 2.*

They delaied their wine with water least meere and strong wine should annoy any of the communicants.

Yea the church of Rome which you would seeme so much to reuerence, withstood this your profanation of the Lozds supper a long time with marueilous zeale. [e] Consecration ended, saith Pope Calixtus, let all communicate that will not stand excommunicated: for so the Apostles determined, and the holie Romane Church obserueth. The maner of the whole church in pope Gregories time 600.

[e] *De consecr. dist. 2. § peracta.*

yeres

peres after Christ, was for a deacon to cry to the people,

[a] *Greg dialog. lib.2.cap.23.* [b] *De consecr.dist. 2.¶ Si quis.*

[a] *Si quis non communicet,de locum*, he that mindeth not to communicate, let him auoid. Pope Martine willed him to be [b] cast out of the catholike Church, which entered the Church of God, and with-held himselfe from the communion of the sacrament. Charles the emperor 800. peres after Christ,

[c] *Leg.Francie lib.1.cap. 132.*

gaue commandement vt [c] *omnes fideles communicent, & admissus perexpectent sine alia depræcatione*, that all the faithfull should communicate, and looke at masse so to do without other warning. What need we farther proofe in a case so manifest? your owne fellowes confesse no lesse: [d] In the primitiue church, saith Durandus, al that were present at the celebration of the masse did euery day cõmunicate. Their oblatiõ was a great loafe sufficient for al, which the Grecians are said to continue to this day. So that both the words of Christs institution, & the tradition of the primitiue church directly refute your priuate masses and proue the communion now vsed in the church of England to be good & catholike.

[d] *Rationale diuino officio lib.4.cap.53.* No priuate masse in the primitiue Church by their owne confession.

[e] *Chrys.hom. 27.in 1.Cor.*

The [e] Lords supper, saith Chrysostom, ought to be cõmon. For such things as are the Lords belong not to this or to that seruant, but are common to all. If then it be the Lords, as in deed it is, thou shouldst not take it as thine owne to thy selfe, but propose it to all in common, as being the Lords. Thou doest not suffer it to be the Lords, when thou doest not suffer it to be common, but eatest it thy selfe. [f] Paule calleth it the Lords supper, which is receiued in common, with one consent of all assembled together, for vntill all communicate and be partakers of that spirituall food, the mysteries once set foorth are not taken away, but the priests standing still, stay for all, yea for the poorest of all. So Theodoret: The [g] Lords table is equallie proposed vnto all men: of that supper al are partakers alike. And Haymo: [h] The Sacrament of Christs bodie is called a supper by reason of the communion, because it ought to be common to all the faithful and iust.

[f] *Idem hom. in dictum Pauli oportet hæreses esse.*

[g] *Theod. in 1.Cor.11.*

[h] *Haym. in 1.Cor.11.*

If this doctrine be true, as there can be no question of it, then are your priuat masses far from Christs institution, and as far from the catholike order of Christes Church, which suffered no man to be present at the time of ỹ diuine mysteries but such as would & did participate, sending ỹ rest awaie ỹ could not be partakers of ỹ Lords table. And this the verie name of your Masse as I haue proued,

doth

both shew, signifying the demising of all such as might not communicat; which if you should do in your priuat masses, you should leaue an empty Church; yea the priest must take paines to serue and answere himselfe, since no man besides the priest hath any part of that banquet, which Christ prouided for all: & bequeathed vnto all to be the monument of his passion, & pleadge of their saluation.

The verie name of the masse as all auncient writers vse it, impugneth their priuate masse.

With like rashnes you take from the people when you do admit them once a yeere to their rightes (as you call it) the cup which should be to them, the communion of the Lords blood, Drinke ye all of this, saith our Sauiour, and shedde it amongst you. These words you repeat for a shew, but you falsifie them in sense. For you suffer no lay-men to tast of the Lords cup, as if one part of this mysterie were sufficient, the rest superfluous; or you might dispence with Christs institution at your pleasure.

The Lords cup rashly taken from the people. Mat.26. Luk.22.

Phil. Christ spake that to such as were priests & not vnto the lay people. Theop. Doth your conscience serue you, Philan. to play the wanton in so great and deepe misteries of christian religion? To whom then were these words spoken, take ye, eate ye? Not to the selfesame parties to whō it was said Drinke ye? If none may drink but priests, because the disciples which dranke were priests: then by the same logike none should eate but priests, because neither time, place, nor persons were changed betweene these two precepts eate ye, drinke ye, but in all respects the cup was deliuered at the same time, to the same persons, when the bread was. So that you must either exclud the people from both, which I trust you dare not, or admit them to both which is the very point that we presse you with.

The cup was deliuered at the same time to the same persons with the bread, *ergo* both or neither pertaine to the people.

Heare what a man of your side thinketh as well of this consequent, as of your halfe communion. There be some false catholikes that feare not to stop the reformation of the Church what they can. These spare no blasphemies, least that other part of the sacrament should be restored to the lay people. For say they, Christ spake drinke ye all of this, onely to the Apostles: but the words of the masse be these, take and eate ye all of this. Here I would know of them whether this were spoken onely to the Apostles: then must laymen abstaine likewise from the element of bread, which to say, is an heresie, yea a pestilent and detestable blasphemie.

Gerard. Lorich. de missæ publica proroganda.

It

If your owne companions can tell you this tale, take heed to your owne consciences.

It is therfore consequent that both these words (eate ye, drink ye;) were spoken to the whole Church. I wil not take this aduantage, that your owne follow doth proclaime you for false catholikes, heretikes, and horrible blasphemers, God giue you grace to see whither you be fallen and whence: This for your liues you cannot shift, but these two precepts eate ye, drinke ye, by the tenor of Christs institution must be referred to the same persons, and so both or neither pertaine to the people.

a Matt. 26.
b Mark. 14.
c Luke 22.
* The blood of Christ was shed for the people as well as for the priest: the cup therfore belongeth to the one, as well as to the other.

Surely the words which our Sauiour vsed in deliuering the cup, are more generall and effectiue than when he gaue the bread, [a] Drinke ye all of this, and [b] they all dranke of it: [c] take it, diuide it among you. This cup is the newe Testament in my blood which shall be shed for * you. Now the Lord shed not his blood for the priest onely, but also for the people, neither was the new Testament established in the blood of Christ for the priests sake but as well for the redemption of the people. Then as the fruits and effects of the blood of Christ are common to the people with the priest, so should the cup also which is the cõmunion of his blood shed for the remission of the peoples sins, be deuided indifferently betweene the priest and people. [d] There is, saieth Chrysostome, where the priest differeth nothing from the people, as when we must receiue the dreadfull mysteries. For it is not here, as it was in the olde lawe, where the priest eat one part and the people an other, neither was it lawfull for the people to be partaker of those things which the priest was, but now it is not so, but rather one bodie is proposed to all, and one cup.

d Chrysost. hom. 18. in 2. Cor.

One cup proposed to al both people & priest.

Phil. The Church then might like that the people should haue the cup, as the Church after did mislike it for many & weightie causes, but how proue you that Christs precept extendeth vnto the people? Theop. We can haue no better interpreter of Christs speech than the apostle, that was best acquainted with the true meaning of our Sauiour. [e] Wee haue saith he, the mind of Christ: and [f] that which I deliuered you, I receiued of the Lord. So that he did not correct, but onely report the Lords ordinaunce, and in deliuering both kinds to the whole Church of Corinth, priest and people without exception the teacher of the gentiles did neither swarue from the first institution,

• 1. Cor. 2.
f 1. Cor. 11.

nor

nor right intentiō of Christ his master. The cup of thanksgiuing which we blesse, is it not the communion of Christes blood? The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of Christes body? Ye cannot drinke the cup of the Lord and the cup of deuils. Ye cannot be partakers of the Lordes table and of the table of deuils. Can you frame vs a reason out of these words of S. Paul, to dissuade the Corinthians from eating and drinking such things as the Gentils there sacrificed to idols, and not confesse that they dranke of the Lordes cup? It is not possible. For this is S. Pauls argument: You cannot drinke both the Lordes cup and the cup of deuils: the cup of thanksgiuing which we blesse (and you all drinke of) is the communion of the Lordes blood, therefore you may not drinke of the cup of diuels.

1.Cor.10. S.Paul extendeth Christs words, Drink you al of this, to the whole Church.

YOV CANNOT DRINKE BOTH, inferreth they did, and should drinke one, which was the Lordes cup, not the cup of diuels: els Paul should haue said, you may drinke neither: not the cup of diuels, for they might haue no fellowship with diuels; neither the Lordes cup, for that is reserued for the priest by your doctrine: but both, saith Paul, you cannot drinke, *ergo* they must drinke one which was not the cup of diuels. Againe, the cup which they dranke not, could to them be no communion. For nature teacheth vs that to be partaker of a cup, is to drinke: but the Lords cup was to them the communion of his blood, *ergo* they dranke of the Lordes cup.

The people of Corinth by S. Pauls instruction receiued from Christ himselfe, were partakers of the Lords cup.

My collection is so cleare, that the vulgar translation, which you are tied to by the councell of Trent, putteth these very words in the text, *Omnes de vno pane, & de vno calice participamus*, we all are partakers of one bread, AND OF ONE CVP. *Ambrose, *Hierome, *Bede, *Haymo, and others found it so consequent to S. Pauls former words, and coherent with his maine reason, that they sticke not to keepe this addition (*& de vno calice*) in their very texts, on which they comment. So that out of question Paul taught the Church of Corinth to distribute the Lordes supper to the Christians in both kindes, and that, as he saith, he receiued of the Lord.

*In 1.Cor. 10. The Latine fathers receiued those words, we all are partakers of one cup, into S. pauls text.

And who that hath any shame or sense left, reading the next chapter that followeth, where Christes institution is fully proposed and largely debated by S. Paul, will

or can doubt, but the Lord at his last supper ordained both kinds for the faithfull? As often (saith Paul to the whole congregation) as ye shall eate this bread and drinke this cup, ye shew the Lordes death till he come. Whosoeuer shall eate this bread, and drinke the cup of the Lord vnworthily, shall be guiltie of the body and blood of the Lord. Let a man therefore (not speaking of this or that man, but of euery man) examine himselfe, and so let him eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup. And least you should want a generall affirmatiue to iustifie this our exposition, take these words of S. Paul and quiet your selfe. By one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Iewes or Grecians, bond or free, and WE ALL HAVE DRVNKE into one spirit. Can you looke for directer or plainer wordes? All Iewes and Gentiles, bond and free not onely dranke, but by drinking were made partakers of one and the same spirit, euen as by baptisme they were grafted into one bodie.

1.Cor.11. Did S.Paul speake these words to the priests alone, or to the people also?

1.Cor.12.

We all as well the people as the pastors.

The Iesuits cannot take the cup from the people without subuerting these maine places of scripture and parts of Christs institution.

Then if Christ himselfe deliuered both kindes at his last supper with a straite and generall charge for the cup, drinke ye all of this; and Paul receiuing his instructions from Christ his master, proposed the same to the Lay men of Corinth no lesse than to the ministers, excepting none, Iewes nor Gentiles, bond nor free, from this precept; how dare you Philander and your late conuents restraine the people from drinking of it? The (Lords) cup is the new couenant, which he hath made with all beleeuers: do none beleeue but priests? For the remission of sinnes; are laie men no sinners? as a memorial of his death; may the people lose that remembrance? It is, saith Paul, THE COMMVNION OF HIS BLOOD, and the partaking of his spirit; haue the people no right to the blood of Christ, that was shed for them; or will you claime his spirit as peculiar to priests, which is common to all the children of God?

The catholik Church ministred the communion to the people in both kinds.

Phil. The Church I warrant you did ponder and consider these reasons when she tooke this order, and finding them insufficient, she decreed with vs that the cup was not necessarie for the laie people. Theoph. What Church I pray you? The primatiue and auncient Church of Christ, where catholicisme should begin? We can assure you no. They ministred in both kinds to priest and people

ple, men and women without exception. DIONYSIVS. [a] The bread that was whole being broken into many partes, and ONE CVP DIVIDED AMONG ALL, the bishop in these (twaine) perfiteth the holy sacrifice. The sacred communion of one and the same bread AND COMMON CVP, bindeth (Christians) to diuine concord and likenesse of manners, as being nursed vp together. IGNATIVS. [b] There is but one flesh of the Lord Iesu, and one blood that was shed for vs: there is also but one bread, that is broken for all; and ONE CVP THAT IS DIVIDED AMONG ALL. ATHANASIVS. (If those be his expositions which you haue set forth in his name,) [c] The dreadful cup was deliuered (by the Lord) TO ALL MEN ALIKE. CYPRIAN. [d] How doe we prepare (the people) for the cup of martyrdome, if we doe not first admit them in the Church to DRINKE THE LORDES CVP BY RIGHT OF COMMVNION? AVGVSTINE: [e] Not onely no man is forbidden, but rather ALL MEN that seeke for life ARE ENCOVRAGED TO DRINKE. And againe speaking to the people [f] *simul bibimus, quia simul viuimus*, WE DRINKE TOGETHER (at the Lordes table) because we liue together. CHRYSOSTOME as before. [g] One bodie is proposed to all and one cup. GREGORIE. [h] The blood of Christ is now not powred into the hands of vnbeleeuers, but into the mouthes of the faithfull. THEOPHILACT. [i] How happeneth thou drinkest alone, whereas this dreadfull cup was deliuered to all men indifferently? HAYMO: [k] The cup is called a communion (by Paul) because all men are partakers of it. PASCHASIVS. [l] Christ gaue the cup and said, Drinke ye all of this, as well the ministers, as the rest of the beleeuers.

[a] *Dionys. eccle. hierarch. ca. 3.*
[b] *Ignat. ad Philadelphien.*
[c] *Athan. in 1. Cor. 11.*
[d] *Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 2.*
[e] *Aug. quæst. super Leuiticum. li. 3. c. 57.*
[f] *De consec. dist. 2. ¶ quia passus.*
[g] *Chryso. hom. 18. in 2. Cor.*
[h] *De consec. dist. 2. ¶ quid sit sanguis.*
[i] *Theoph. in 1. Cor. 11.*
[k] *Haym. in 1. Cor. cap. 10.*
[l] *Paschas. de corp. & sangu. Dom. cap. 44.*

Infinite are the places which might be brought to make faith, that for a thousand yeres in the Church of God, the people were not depriued of the Lords cup. The master of your sentences who liued very neere twelue hundred after Christ, knew not this maiming and paring of Christs institution which now raigneth in your churches. [m] Therefore is the sacrament, saith he, celebrated in two kinds, that in Christ the taking of soule and flesh, and in vs the redeeming of them both might be signified. For the flesh of Christ is offred for our flesh, & his soule for our soules.

Their halfe communion is so catholik that the master of their sentences 1200. yeeres after Christ knew it not.

[m] *Senten. li. 4. dist. 11.*

It is taken vnder both kinds which profiteth both parts. If it should be receiued in one kind onely, that would declare, that it auailed for the safegard of one part onely, soule or bodie, not for both iointly. The gloze that followed an hundred yeeres after, resteth himselfe on the same reason with the same words, & shrinketh not from the communion in both kinds, but in the danger of sicknes, or point of necessitie: *Infirmus vel sanus in necessitate potest sumere corpus sine vino:* a sick man (whom the drinking of wine might hurt) or an whole man in case of necessitie (where he can not choose) may receiue the bodie without the wine. Then in the Church where prouision might soone be made for all, and no necessitie could be pretended, it was not as yet counted lawfull for the people to receiue the sacrament in one kind.

De cons. dist. 2. ¶ comp. Glossa Ibidem. 1300. yeeres after Christ there was no communion in one kind, but in case of necessitie.

Phil. But if the Church after vpon deliberation, sawe sufficient cause to change that order, who made you controllers of Christs spouse? Theo. That vnshamefast harlot, which fourteene hundred yeeres after Christs ascention would both alter her husbands will, & defraude his children of that portion, which their Lord and sauior had allotted them, did prostitute herselfe and bastardize her offspring as much as lay in her, and is no way woorthy to haue the honor of a mother, or name of a spouse though she paint her selfe neuer so freshly with youthfull colors. And the reasons which mooued her so to doe, were as ridiculous, as the fact was impious. Durandus saith, *Non esset decens tantum sanguinem conficere, nec calix capax inueniretur.* It wold not be decent to consecrate so much blood (as must serue the people;) neither can there so big a chalice be gotté. Gerson beateth his braines to iustifie that, which the councell of Constance did, in taking the Lords cup wholy from the people not yet nine score yeeres ago: and when he hath all done he commeth in with these toies: THE length of laymens beards, the lothsomnes to drinke after others, the costlines of so much wine, the difficulties first of getting, then of keeping wine from sowring, freezing, and breeding of flies, the burden in bearing and danger in spilling it, last of all, the peoples vnworthines to match (*Messere magnifico*) the priest in the receit of this sacrament. Be not these valiant inducements for you to change the last will and testament of Christ Jesus, and abrogate that which was orderly kept in

As though the Church could haue cause or power to change Christs ordinance.

Rationale diuinor. officio. li. 4. cap. 42. Two weighty reasons for their communion in one kind. *Gerson tract. contra hæresin de communione Laicorum sub vtraque specie.* The catholike considerations for which the Church of Rome abolished Christs institution.

in the Church for a thousand yeres and vpward? And yet these were the grauest and profoundest considerations that your friends had to lead them to this attempt: and these you know be very miserable.

Gerson I grant shifteth what he can to bring other prookes, that both kinds are not simply needfull, but why the councell of Constance tooke the cup cleane frō the people, (which violence before was neuer offered them,) of this I say, Gerson a chiefe agent in that councell laboring purposely to shew the reason of their doings, neither doth, nor could, yeeld any better or weightier occasions than these which I now repeated, and the reader shall find blazed with great confidence in the second part of the foresaid treatise.

O deintie fathers and sleeke diuines which for long beards, and vnsweete breathes, for a little paines, and no great charge, for frosts in winter, and flies in sommer, thought best to correct Christs institution, and not onely to forsake the full consent of all ages and churches in expounding the same, but also to chase the people by terror of secular power and ecclesiasticall curse from the cup of their saluation, from the communion of Christs blood, and fellowship of his holie spirit. Such fathers, such fansies. What is mockerie, what is iniurie to God and man, if this be religion or pietie?

To follow Christs institution is adiudged to be heresie and accursed with our late Romanists.

The Church of Rome, you will say concluded with them. That increaseth her sins, and excuseth not their follies. If an angell from heauen had conspired with them, our dutie bindeth vs to detest both him and them as accursed, if they steppe from that which the primatiue Church receiued from Paul, and Paul from Christ: How much more then ought we to reiect that which the Church of Rome presumeth not onely besides, but against the sacred scriptures? And yet to speake vprightly the ancient Church of Rome maketh wholy with vs in this cause. For no Church euer resisted your mangled communions with greater vehemencie than the Church of Rome did, till couetousnes and pride blinded her eies, and hardned her hart against God and his sonne.

What the ancient Church of Rome thought of this mangling the communion.

Pope Iulius, that liued vnder Constantine the great, *De Conſ. diſt. 2. § cum omnes.*

made this decree. We heare that certaine led with schismaticall ambition against the diuine ordinances, & apostolike directions do giue TO THE PEOPLE the eucharist dipped in wine for a full communion. They receiued not this from the Gospell, where Christ betooke his body and blood to the disciples. For there is recited the deliuering the bread by it selfe, and the cup by it selfe. Let therfore all such error & presumption cease least inordinate and peruerse deuises weaken the soundnes of faith. If the communion be neither perfite, nor agreeable to Christs institution, and apostolike prescription, except the people receiue both kinds seueral, and a sunder, the bread from the cup, and the cup from the bread, as Christ ordained, and the Gospell declareth: *Ergo* your excluding the people cleane from the cup is altogither repugnant to the manifest intent of our sauior, and right imitation of his apostles.

The people must haue the bread & the cup deliuered them seuerally and asunder in both kinds.

And what if the first authors of your day communion were the Manichees, are you not wise men, and well promoted to forsake the precept which Christ gaue you, the president which) Paul left you, the course which the christian world for so many yeres obserued, and follow so pestilent and pernitious a sect of heretikes, reprooued and long since condemned by the Church of Rome, for that very fraude and abuse in the sacraments, which you be nowe fallen vnto? The Manichees, saith) Leo, to couer their infidelitie, venter to be present at our mysteries, & so cary themselues in the receiuing of the sacraments, for their more safetie, that they take the body of Christ with an vnworthy mouth, but in any wise they shun to drinke the blood of our redemption. Which I would haue your deuoutnes (speaking to the people) learne for this cause, that such men might be knowen to you by these markes, and when their * sacrilegious simulation is found, they may be noted and bewraied by the godly, that they may be chased away by the priestly power.

Leo serm. 4. de quadragesima.

The Manichies the first authors of the drie cõmunion.

* That condemned in them as sacrilege.

Against this disorder of Manichees wrate pope Gelasius, as your friend master Harding confesseth). We haue intelligence that certaine men receiuing onely a portion of the sanctified body abstain from the cup of the sacred blood: who for that it appeereth, they be intangled with I know not what superstition, let them either receiue the whole sacraments;

De cons. dist. 2. § Comperimus.

ments, or be driuen from the whole: because the diuiding & parting of one and the same mysteric cannot be without greeuous sacrilege. The sense is plaine. To take the Lords bread, and not drinke of the Lords cup, is a seuering & distracting of this mysterie, which by the iudgement of these two popes is open sacrilege: *Ergo* neither catholike nor christian. To abstaine from the Lords cup is sacrilege.

What shift now Philander, to saue your selues from sacrilege? Spake Gelasius of the Manichees as master Harding resolueth? Grant it were so. Then what was sacrilege in them, can it be catholike in you? If that ancient Church of Rome, condemned this in the Manichees, howe commeth your late Church of Rome not onely to suffer, but also to command the same? Can you turne barbenes to light, and sacrilege to religion? That were a maruelous alteration. But sirs your mindes may change we know: Christs institution can not change; The contempt therof, in Manichees, in papists: as then, so still, was and will be sacrilege. *Art 2. contra epist. Sarum.*

Spake Gelasius not of the Manichees but of certaine priests that receiuing the bread at the Lords table neglected the cup? Yet Leo speaketh of the Manichees by name, and those laymen, and mingled with the people, and calleth their forbearing the lords blood a sacrilegious sleight: and reason were you should proue that onely priests are ment in this place of Gelasius, and not suppose what you list at your pleasures, as the gloze doth & others of your side, that stande on this answere. The words are indefinite, and touch as well people as priest: but let vs imagine that Gelasius spake of priests, first then you commit sacrilege in restraining all priests from the communion of both kinds, except they say masse themselues. Next if it be sacrilege in the priest, why not in the people? The precept of our sauiour, drinke yee all of this, compriseth all, both laymen and priests. His apostle * extendeth the same to the whole Church of Corinth. Chrysostome saith [a] the priest differeth nothing from the people in receiuing the mysteries, but one cup is proposed to all: [b] *In Calice nobiscum vos estis*: You (saith Austen to the people) are in the (Lords) cup no lesse than we. [c] The cup was deliuered to all men (priest and people) with like condition, To forbeare the Lords cup is sacrilege in all persons, and ages as well as it was then in the Manichees. Leo speaketh of lay men, though Gelasius did not, and calleth it sacrilege in them to refraine the Lords cup. Matt. 26.

* 1. Cor. 11.

[a] *Chrys. hom. 18. in 2. Cor.*

[b] *De consid. 2. § quia passus.*

[c] *Theophil. in 1. Cor. cap. 11.*

The fourth part. Sacrilege in the priest can be no religion in the people.

as Theophilact affirmeth. [a] Drinke ye all of this, that is, saith Paschasius, as well other beleeuers as ministers. Hence we frame you this argument. The cup was by Christ deliuered to priest & people with like condition, & like precept: the refusing of the Lordes cup is sacrilege in priests by the position of Gelasius & the confession of your friends: it is therfore no lesse thā sacrilege for the people to refraine the same. What then is it, for you to pul ꝑ Lordes cup out of their hands, by rigor and force, for so trifling respects as you pretend, but apparent, violent, and wilfull sacrilege?

[a] *Paschas. de corpore & san. Dom. cap. 43.*

If it be sacrilege in the priest, it is no lesse in the people.

Phil. It was sacrilege then for the people to refuse or refrain the cup, because the Church was content to admit them to it: but now the Church is otherwise resolued, it were sacrilege to expect, or demand it. Theo. What shall the man of sinne and sonne of perdition when he commeth, (if he be not already come, and you his supporters to hold vp his seate in the temple of God) say more than you now say; that you at your lists may breake the commandemēts of the great and euerlasting God, and alter his ordinances; and to blame you for it, or recall you backe from your enterprise, is sacrilege? Woe be to you that call good euill, and euill good, which set darkenes for light, and light for darkenes, and put bitter for sweete, and sweete for bitter. Wo be to you that are (so) wise in your owne eies, and (so) prudent in your owne conceits, that preferre your owne counsell before the wisedome of God.

They would haue it to be sacrilege to withstand their fansies, and to follow Christs commandement.

Esai. 5.

Philan. May you preferre your wits before the whole Church of God: you would not otherwise take vpon you to controll your forefathers and teachers in such sort as you do. Theop. If they forsooke their fathers, yea God himselfe, why should we not renounce them rather as parricides than resemblance of their auncestors? Philan. They were Catholikes, and so are we. Theoph. You leaue the steppes both of Christ and his Church, and yet you must and will be Catholikes. Phil. We follow them better, than you do. Theop. So it appeareth by your halfe communion, which they condemned for sacrilege, and you embrace for religion.

We may wel forsake them that forsook both God & their fathers before them.

Phil. Here is such a stirre about eating and drinking, as though all consisted therein, and in the meane while you neglect and abolish the holy and vnbloody sacrifice, which

is

Sacrilege in the priest can be no religion in the people. is farre more catholike, than your communion. Theo. You neede not make so light of eating & drinking at the Lordes table. There depend greater promises and duties on that, than on your vnbloodie sacrificing the sonne of God. As often as ye shall eate this bread and drinke this cup, ye shew the Lordes death till he come. Without eating and drinking therefore the Lordes death is not shewed. The bread which we breake, (to be eaten) is it not the communion of Christes body? The cup of blessing which we blesse (that all may drinke of it) is it not the communion of Christs blood? If we refuse eating the one, or drinking the other, can we be partakers of Christ or his spirit? He that eateth my flesh, saith our sauiour, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him: and except you eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you. These be the fruites and effects of religious and worthie eating and drinking at the Lordes table: shew vs the like for your sacrificing, and we will thinke you had some occasion though no reason to turne the Lordes supper into an offering.

The Iesuits cannot heare of eating and drinking at the Lords table on the peoples behalfe, because they haue discharged them from both. 1.Cor. 11. 1.Cor.10. Ioan.6.

Phil. *This one sacrifice hath succeeded all other, and fulfilled all other differences of sacrifices, and hath the force and vertue of all other, to be offered for all persons and causes that the others, for the liuing & the dead, for sinnes and for thanksgiuing, and for what other necessitie soeuer of body or soule.* Be not these as great and good effects of our sacrifice, as those which you now rehearsed for eating and drinking at the altar? Theoph. They be great, if you had as good authoritie for the one as we haue for the other. Phil. We haue better. Theo. We must giue you leaue to say so, but you shall giue vs leaue not to beleeue you. Phil. All the fathers with one consent stand on our side for the sacrifice. Theoph. Were it so, that yet is many degrees beneath the credite of our conclusion. You bring vs the speeches of men, we bring you the worde of God: I trust you will agnise some difference betwixt them. Philan. As though we could not bring you scriptures as well as fathers for the sacrifice of the Masse.

The Rhemish Test. fol.447.nu.21 [*you can not drinke.*

The sacrifice of the masse.

Melchisedec by his oblation in bread and wine did properly and most singularly prefigurate this office of Christes eternall priesthood, and sacrificing himselfe vnder the formes of bread and wine: which shall

The Rhemish Test. fol. 447. *Ibidem.*

Their proofs for the sacrifice of the masse.

shall continue in the Church throughout all Christian nations in steade of all the offerings of Aarons priesthood, as the prophet Malachie did foretell, as Saint Cyprian, Saint Iustine, Saint Irenæus, and others the most ancient doctors and martyrs doe testifie. Cyprian epistola. 63. num. 2. Iustin. dial. cum Trypho. post med. Iren. lib. 4. cap. 32. And S. Augustine lib. 17. cap. 20. de ciuitat. Dei, & libro primo contra aduers. leg. & prophet. cap. 18 & lib. 3. de baptism. cap. 19. S. Leo sermone 8. de passione: auouch that this one sacrifice hath succeeded all other, and fulfilled all other differences of sacrifices, &c.

The Rhemish Testa. *Ibidem.* They will proove their sacrifice by S. Paul himselfe.

Yea in S. Pauls epistle to the Church at Corinth the first and tenth chapter: *We may obserue that our bread & chalice, our table and altar, the participation of our host and oblation, be compared or resembled point by point, in all effects, conditions, and properties, to the altars, hostes, sacrifices, and immolations of the Iewes and Gentiles. Which the apostle would not, or could not haue done in this sacrament of the altar, rather than in other sacraments or seruice of our religion, if it onely had not been a sacrifice and the proper worship of God among the Christians, as the other were among the Iewes and heathen. And so do all the fathers acknowledge, calling it onely, and continuallie almost, by such termes as they do no other sacrament or ceremonie of Christs religion: the lamb of God laide vpon the table: Concil. Nicen. The vnbloodie seruice of the sacrifice, In Concil. Ephesin. epist. ad Nestor. pag. 605. The sacrifice of sacrifices: Dionys. Eccles. Hieronym. cap. 3. The quickning holy sacrifice: the vnbloodie host and victime: Cyrill. Alex. in Concil. Ephes. Anath. the propitiatorie sacrifice both for the liuing and the dead. Tertul. de cor. Milit. Chrys. ho. 41. in 1. Corinth. ho. 3. ad Phil. Ho. 66. ad pop. Antioch. Cypr. epi. 66. & de cœna. Do. nu. 1. August. Ench. 109. Quæst. 2. ad Dulcit. to. 4. Ser. 34. de verb. Apost. The sacrifice of our mediator: the sacrifice of our price: the sacrifice of the new Testament: the sacrifice of the Church. August. lib. 9. cap. 13. & li. 3. de baptist. cap. 19: The one onely inconsumptible victime, without which there is no religion. Cyprian. de can. Do. nu. 2. Chrysost. ho. 17. ad Hebr. The pure oblation, the new offspring of the new law: the vitall and impolluted host: the honorable and dreadfull sacrifice: the sacrifice of thanksgiuing or eucharisticall: and the sacrifice of Melchisedec. This is the apostles and fathers doctrine. God grant you may finde mercy to see so euident and inuincible a truth.*

God grant you may haue eies to see your follies. Not one of al these scriptures or fathers ma-

Theo. You be now where you would be; and where the fathers seeme to sit your foot: but if your sacrifice be conuinced to be nothing lesse than catholike, or consequent to the prophets, apostles or fathers doctrine, what say you then

then to your vanitie in alleaging, if not impietie in abusing so many fathers and scriptures to prop vp your follies?

keth for the sacrifice of their masse.

Phi. Be not these places which we bring you for this matter, vndeniable, vnauoidable, indefeatable, vnanswerable?

Theo. In any case lay on load of termes: You haue made vs so many in your late Rhemish testament, that nowe you must not seeme to lacke. But what if all these places need neither denying, auoiding, defeating nor answering? What if not one of these fathers, whose workes you cite as thicke as hops, euer spake or heard of your externall and reall sacrificing the sonne of God afresh for the sinnes of the world, but they vsing the words Sacrifice and oblation to another purpose, you force a priuate and peculiar sense of yours vpon their speeches against their meanings?

Phil. This is euer your woont, when the words be so plaine that you can not denie them, to flie to the meaning. Theop. In deede this hath beene not the least of satans sleights in conueying your religion from step to step, and point by point, to keep the speech, and change the sense of the learned and ancient fathers, that what with the phrases which were theirs, and the forgeries which were not theirs, and yet caried their names, he might make the way for antichrist to set vp his visible monarchie of error and hypocrisie.

The generall order of the Romish religion is to keepe the fathers phrases, and to change their faith.

Phil. This is the way to rid your selues of all obiections. Theop. And the other is the way to drowne your selues in the deapth of all corruption: but so long as we hold their faith and doctrine, which were the lights and lamps of Christs Church, we can spare you their phrases here and there scattered in their writings, and you no whit the nearer the truth of their beliefe.

Phil. You hold not their faith in this, or any other point of your religion. Theop. The greatest boasters be not alwaies the greatest conquerors: let it therfore first appeere what they teach touching the sacrament of the Lords table, and what we admit: and then it will soone be seene which of vs twaine hath departed from them.

How the Lords supper may truly be called an oblation and a sacrifice.

The fathers with one consent call not your priuate masse, that they neuer knew, but the Lords supper a sacrifice, which we both willingly grant, and openly teach:

so

The fourth part. A memorial of Christs passion is our daily sacrifice.

so their text, not your gloze may prevaile. For there besides the * sacrifice of prayer and thankesgiuing, which we must then offer to God for our redemption & other his graces bestowed on vs in Christ his sonne: besides the * dedications of our soules and bodies to be a reasonable, quicke, and holy sacrifice to serue and please him: besides the * contribution and almes then giuen in the primatiue Church for the releefe of the poore and other good vses: a sacrifice no doubt very acceptable to God: I say besides these three sundry sorts of offrings incident to the Lords table, the very supper it selfe is * a publike memorial of that great and dreadful sacrifice, I meane of the death and bloodshedding of our sauior, and a most assured application of the merites of his passion, for the remission of our sins, not to the gazars on, or standers by, but to those that with faith and repentance come to the due receiuing of those mysteries.

There are fower kinds of sacrifices in the Lords supper, and not one of them is the popish sacrifice.

The visible sacrifice of bread and wine representing the Lords death S. Austen enforceth in these words, [a] Holde most firmely, neither doubt of this in any case, that the onely begotten sonne of God taking our flesh offered himselfe a sweet smelling sacrifice to God, to whom with the father and the holy ghost, the patriarks, prophets, & priests vnder the old law sacrificed brute beasts, & to whom now, in the time of the new testament, with the (*same*) father & holy spirit, the holy catholike Church throughout the world doth not cease to offer the sacrifice of bread and wine, in faith and charitie. In those carnal sacrifices there was a figuration of the flesh of Christ, which he should offer, & blood which he should shed for the remission of our sins: In this sacrifice there is a * thankesgiuing and remembrance of the flesh which he hath offered & blood which the same God hath shed for vs. With him agreeth Ireneus: Christ [b] willing his disciples to offer vnto God the first fruits of his creatures (not that God needed them, but least they should be found vnfruitfull or vnthankful) toke the creature of bread and gaue thanks, saying, this is my body. And likewise he confessed the cup which is a creature amongst vs, to be his blood; teaching the new oblation of the newe testament, which the Church receiuing frō the apostles offereth to God throughout the world. [c] We must then offer to God, & in all things yeeld thanks to God the

[a] *Aug. de fide ad Pet. cap. 19.*

The catholik Church offereth bread & wine to God for a thanksgiuing in remembrance of his sonnes death.

Our sacrifice is the giuing of thanks, & remembring of his death.

[b] *Ireneus lib. 4. cap. 32.*

[c] *Ibid. cap. 34.*

Their own masse booke contradicteth their sacrifice. *The fourth part.*

the maker with a pure minde, vnfaigned faith, stedfast hope, & feruent loue, offering the first fruits of his creatures: and this oblation the Church onely sacrificeth in puritie to the creator, offering to God of his creatures with thankesgiuing. And this we offer to him not as if he stood in need (of these presents) but rendring him thanks for these his gifts, and sanctifiyng the creature.

The Church offereth to God of his creatures with thanksgiuing: and sanctifying that which the faithfull receiue at the Lords table.

This oblation of bread & wine for a thankesgiuing to God, & a memoriall of his sons death was so confessed and vndoubted a truth in the church of Christ, til your schoolemen began to wrest both scriptures and fathers to serue their quiddities, that not onely the liturgies vnder the names of Clemens, Basil, and Chrysostome do mention it: ([a] We offer to thee our king & God this bread & this cup according to thy sons institution: [b] *tua ex tuis offerimus tibi domine*, we offer thee O Lord these thy gifts of thine owne (creatures;) which sense Ireneus [c] vrgeth against Valentinian:) but also the very missals vsed in your owne churches at this day do confirm the same. These be the words of your own offertorie: [d] Receiue holie father, God euerlasting, this vndefiled host, which I thine vnworthy seruant offer to thee my king and true God, for my sins, negligence, & offences innumerable, for al standers by, yea for all faithful christians as well liuing as departed this life, that it may helpe me & them to attaine eternall life. [e] We offer to thee O Lord this cup of saluation, intreating thy goodnes that it may be taken vp into thy sight, as a sweete smell for the sauing of vs & the whole world. [f] Receiue blessed trinitie this oblation which we offer to thee in remembrance of the passion, resurrection, & ascentiō of Christ Iesus our Lord. [g] We humbly beseech thee most mercifull father through Iesus Christ thy son our Lord that thou accept & blesse these gifts, these presents, these holy vndefiled sacrifices, which we offer to thee first for thy Church, holy & catholike &c. For al true beleuers &c. For al here present &c. For the redemptiō of their souls, & hope of saluation.

[a] *Clem. Apost. constitut. lib. 8. cap. 17.*
[b] *Liturg. Chrys. & Basil.*
[c] *Lib. 4. ca. 34.*

[d] *Offertorium misse.*
Their owne masse-booke is against the sacrifice which they defend to be in their masse.
[e] *Ibidem.*
[f] *Ibidem.*
[g] *Ibidem.*

Certainly you speake these words long before you repeat Christs institution, your masse booke doth apparently proue that which I report, if I mistake the secrets of your masse, let the shame be mine. What then offer you in this place: Christ, or the creatures of bread and wine: By your owne doctrine Christ is not present, neither any change

By their own bookes it is euident that they do not sacrifice Christ, but

The fourth part. Their owne masse booke contradicteth their sacrifice.

the creatures of bread and wine.

change made til these words, This is my body, this is my blood, be pronounced, *ergo* before consecration the creatures of bread & wine keepe their proper and earthly substance, when notwithstanding your selues offer them to God in your masses for the remission of your sinnes, redemption of your soules, and to profit the quicke and the dead by that oblation. You teach the people that nothing is offered by the priest to God the father for remission of sinnes, but Christ his sonne: your masse, where this should be done, conuinceth that you sacrifice not Christ, but the creatures of bread and wine. Be you not more than blind which see not that the prayers which you daily frequent, refute the sacrifice which you falsly pretend?

Marke this contradiction in their masse-booke to the sacrifice which the Iesuits pretend.

Phi. As though the ancient fathers did not also say that Christ himselfe is daily offred in the Church. Theo. Not in the substance which is your error, but in signification, which is their doctrine and ours. Take their interpretation with their words, and they make nothing for your total and external offring of Christ. [a] Was not Christ, saith Austen, once sacrificed in himselfe? and yet in a sacrament is he offred for the benefite of the people, not euery Paschall feast onely, but euery day. Neither doth he lie, that when the question is asked him, answereth, Christ is offred (daily.) For if sacraments had not a certaine similitude of the things, whereof they be sacraments, they should be no sacraments at all. And by reason of this similitude they vsually take the names of the things themselues. Christ is offred daily: this is true, saith Austen, but how? The communion is a sacrament of the Lords death, & sacraments haue the names of the things themselues from a certaine resemblance that is betweene them. This doctrine differeth much frō yours, and yet must Austen stand for a Christian & Catholike father, when you by your patience shall go for vpstarts.

[a] *Aug. ad Bonif. epist.* 23. Christ is offered not in substance, but in a sacrament or representation of his death.

Phil. S. Augustine spake this not of the liuely flesh and blood of Christ which we sacrifice to God the father by the priests hands for the sinnes and necessities of men: but of his death and passion represented at our masse by the holy mysteries. Theop. Indeed S. Augustine spake of that he knew: as for your conceit of sacrificing the liuely flesh and blood of Christ in substance vnder the formes of bread and wine by the priests hands, neither he, nor any good author

Christ slaine for our sins is the true sacrifice of the Lords table.

was

The Lords death is the sacrifice of the Lords supper. *The fourth part.*
Was euer acquainted with it. And to say the truth, the very spring and roote of your erroz is this, that you seeke for a sacrifice in the Lordes supper, besides the Lords death. Marke well the wordes of Cyprian. [a] The passion of the Lord is the sacrifice which we offer: Of Ambrose, [b] Our high priest is he that offred (on the crosse) a sacrifice to cleese vs: the very same we offer now; which being then offred, can not be consumed; this sacrifice is a samplar of that, we offer that very sacrifice for euer: Of Eusebius, [c] Christ after all things (ended) offred a wonderful oblation and most excellent sacrifice (on the crosse) for the saluation of vs all, and gaue vs a memorie thereof in stead of a sacrifice: we therefore offer the remembrance of that great sacrifice in the mysteries which he deliuered vs. Of Chrysost. [d] Bringing these mysteries we stop the mouthes of those that aske, how we prooue that Christ was sacrificed (on the crosse.) For if Iesus were not slaine, whose signe & token is this sacrifice? Of Austen, [e] We sacrifice to God in that onely maner, in which he commanded we should offer to him at the reuealing of the new Testament: the flesh & blood of this sacrifice was yeelded in very truth when Christ was put to death: after his ascension it is now solemnized by a sacrament of memory.

[a] *Cypr. lib. 2. epist. 3.*
[b] *Amb. in 10. cap. ep. ad Heb.*
[c] *Euseb. de demonst. Euang. lib. 1. cap. 10.*
[d] *Chrysost. in Mat. hom. 83.*
[e] *Aug. contra Faust. lib. 20. cap. 21.*

The very elements and actions of the Lordes supper, conuince no lesse. The bread which we breake, what else doth it represent, but the Lords body that was broken for vs? The cup which we drinke, what else doth it resemble saue the Lordes blood that was shed for our sakes? [f] When the host is broken, and the blood powred out of the cup into the mouthes of the faithfull, what other thing, saith Prosper, is thereby designed, than the offering of the Lordes bodie on the crosse, & the shedding of his blood frō his side? [g] As often as you shal eate this bread and drinke of this cup, you shew foorth the Lordes death till he come, saith Paul. There can be no question of this, the spirit of God hath spoken it. Thē if the death of Christ be the sacrifice which the Church offreth, it is euident that Christ is not only sacrificed at this table, but also crucified: & crucified in the selfe same sort & sense that he is sacrificed: but no mā is so mad as to defend that Christ is really put to death in these mysteries: *ergo* neither is he really sacrificed vnder the formes of bread and wine: which thing your selues haue lately ventured

The actions & elements of the supper resemble his death.
[f] *De consec. dist. 2. § cum frangitur.*
[g] *1. Cor. ca. 11.* As Christ is crucified in the mysticall supper, euen so is he offered.

 How the fathers call the Lordes supper a sacrifice.

ventured and rashly presumed without all antiquitie.

The catholike fathers I can assure you say, Christ is offred, & Christ is crucified in the Lords supper indifferently. So Hierom, [a] Christ is euery day crucified to vs. So Chrysostom, [b] The death of Christ is here performed. So Gregorie, [c] Christ dieth againe in this mysterie, & his flesh suffreth for the saluation of the people: so to conclude, Austen, [d] The Gentils now through the whole world tast & licke the passion of Christ in the sacraments of his body and blood. If you can expound this you shall not need to stagger at the rest. The Church hath no sacrifice propitiatorie besides the death of her sauiour, and therefore as she doth kill him, so she doth offer him in her mysteries. If you cannot, learne by the direction of your owne decrees, what doctrine was taught in the primitiue Church, and euen in your owne Church for 1300. yeeres touching this matter. [e] The offering of the (Lordes) flesh, by the priests hands is called the passion, death, and crucifying of Christ, *Non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*, Not in precise truth, but in a mysticall signification, or if your gloze delight you rather, [f] In this mysterie Christ dieth, that is, his death is represented; his flesh suffreth, that is, his passion is represented.

In this very sense Christ is offred daily. Chrysostome, [g] Do we not offer euery day? we do: but a memoriall of his death. We do not offer another sacrifice, but euer the same or rather we continue the remembrance of that sacrifice. Ambrose, [h] Because we were deliuered by the Lordes death, we bearing that in mind, do signifie with eating and drinking the flesh and blood that were offred for vs: It is a memoriall of our redemption. Eusebius, [i] Christ offered a wonderful sacrifice for the saluation of vs all, and we haue receiued a memoriall of that most sacred oblation to be performed at the Lordes table according to the rule of the new Testament. Augustine, [k] Christ is our high priest after the order of Melchisedec, which yeelded himselfe a slaine sacrifice for our sinnes, and gaue vs a similitude and image of that oblation to be celebrated for a remembrance of his passion, in so much that we may see that, which Melchisedec offered to God, now sacrificed in the Church of Christ throughout the world. Emissenus, [l] Considering that Christ was to take his body from our eies and place the same in the heauens, it was requisite

[a] *Hieron. in psal. 95.*
[b] *Chrysost. in Acta Apost. hom. 21.*
[c] *De consd. dist. 2. § quid sit sanguis.*
[d] *Aug. Euang. quæst. lib. 2. cap. 38.*
[e] *De consd. dist. 2. § hoc est quod dicimus.*
[f] *Gloss. de consd. dist. 2. § quid sit sanguis.*
[g] *Chrys. in 10. cap. ep. ad Heb.*
[h] *Amb. in 11. cap. epist. 1. ad Cor.*
[i] *Euseb. de demonst. Euangel. li. 1. ca. 10.*
[k] *August. 83. quæst. cap. 61.* Christ is offred at the table, that is a sacrament & similitude of his death is celebrated.
[l] *De consd. dist. 2. § quia corpus.*

How the fathers call the Lordes supper a sacrifice.

requisite he should institute the sacrament of his body and blood for vs at his last supper, that it might alwaies be continued in a mysterie, which was once offred for a ransome, and because the worke of our redemption did neuer faile, the sacrifice of our redemption might be perpetual, and that euerlasting oblation (of Christ on the crosse) might remain fresh in memorie and present for euer in grace.

This is Christian & comfortable doctrine.

Theodorete, [a] If Christ (by his owne sacrifice on the crosse) brought to passe, that other sacrifices should be superfluous, why do the priests of the new Testament execute the mysticall Lyturgie or sacrifice? It is cleare to them that are instructed in our mysteries, that we do not offer an other sacrifice, but continue the memory of that one and healthfull sacrifice. For so the Lord himselfe commanded vs, do this in my remembrance, that in beholding the figures, we should remember the paines which he suffred for vs, and beare a louing hart towards him that did vs so much fauour, & expect the receiuing of good things to come (which he promised.)

[a] *Theod. in cap. 8. ad Heb.*

Theophilact. [b] Do we then offer vnbloody sacrifices? No doubt we do: mary by being a remembrance of the Lordes death. He was once offered, and yet we offer him alwaies, or rather we celebrate the memoriall of that oblation, when he sacrificed himselfe (on the crosse.)

[b] *Theophil. in 10. cap ad Hebræos.*

Receiue this addition which they make; and we grant you that oblation, which they teach. Christ is offred, or rather a memoriall of his death and oblation is celebrated. This later correction doth expound and interprete their former assertion. You can require no plainer nor sounder doctrine. They piese not Christ with their hands, they shroud him not in accidents, they pray not for him, that God *will vouchsafe to respect and accept him as he did the gifts and (external) sacrifices of Abel, Abraham and Melchisedec, as you do in your masses: they neuer told vs the very fact and intention of the priest were meritorious; these be your absurdities and blasphemies: they did offer an [c] vnbloody sacrifice not of flesh, but of spirit and minde, [d] the self-same which Melchisedec did two thousand yeres before Christ tooke flesh, & therefore not the flesh of Christ: a [e] figuratiue sacrifice, to wit, [f] signes, samplars, similitudes and memorials of his death & bloodsheding. So that Christ is offered daily but mystically, not couered with qualities

What sacrifice the fathers taught, and offered.

* *Canon Missæ supra § propitio ac sereno vultu.*

[c] *Liturgia Basilij.*

[d] *Cypr. li. 2 ep. 3. & August. 83. quæst. ca. 3.*

[e] *Dionys. eccle. hierar. cap. 3.*

[f] *Paschas. de cons. dis. 2. § iteratur.*

The true exposition of the sacrifice at the Lords table.

and quantities of bread and wine; for those be neither mysteries nor resemblances to the death of Christ: but by the bread which is broken, by the wine which is drunke, in substance, creatures; in signification, sacraments; the Lords death is figured & proposed to the communicants, and they for their parts, no lesse people than priest, do present Christ hanging on the crosse to God the father, with a liuely faith, inward deuotiō, and humble prayer, as a most sufficient and euerlasting sacrifice for the full remission of their sinnes and assured fruition of his mercies. Other actual and propiciatorie sacrifice than this the Church of Christ neuer had, neuer taught.

How long the Church was without their kind of sacrifice.

You beleeue not me. Well, what if your owne fellowes and friends teach the same: what if the master of your sentences, what if the glozer of your decrees, what if the ringleader of your schoolemen make with vs in this question, and euince, that for twelue hundred yeres after Christ your sacrifice was not known to the world: will you giue the people leaue to bethinke themselues better, before they call you or account you Catholikes? Then heare what they say: Peter Lombard in his 4. booke and 12. distinction. I demaund whether that which the priest doth, be properly called a sacrifice or an oblation, and whether Christ be daily offered, or els were offered onely once. To this our answer is briefe: that which is offered and consecrated by the priest, is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memorie and representation of the true sacrifice, and holy oblation made on the altar of the crosse. Also Christ died once on the crosse, and there was he offred himselfe, but he is offered daily in a sacrament, because in the sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was once done. Now what this meaneth, Christ is offred in a sacrament, we need no fairer interpretation than that which your owne glozе often repeateth: [a] Christ is offered in a sacrament, **that is, his offring is represented, and a memorie of his passion celebrated.* [b] It is the same oblation which he made, **that is, a representation of the same passion.* [c] Christ is offered euery day mystically, ** that is, the oblation which Christ made for vs is represented in the sacrament of his body and blood.*

Sententiarum. lib. dist. 12. The master of the sentences is against the Iesuits in the sacrifice of their masse.

[a] *Gloss. de con. dist. 2. ¶ semel.*
[b] *§ in Christo.*
[c] *§ Iterum.*

Thom. part. 3. quæst. 13. ar. 1.

With these concurreth Thomas of Aquine. Because the celebration of this sacrament is a certaine image of Christes passion,

passion, it may conueniently be called the sacrificing of Christ. The celebration of this sacrament, is termed the immolating of Christ in two respects: first, for that, as Austen saith, resemblances are woont to be called by the names of those things whose resemblances they are; next * for that by this sacramẽt we be made partakers of the fruit of the Lords passion. Here find you no reall, locall, nor external offering of Christ to God his father by the priest for the sinnes of the people; which is your opinion at this day; you finde that the celebration of the Lordes supper may be called an oblation, first, for that it is a representation of Christes death, and sacramẽts haue the names of the things which they signifie; next, because the merites & fruits of Christs passion are by the power of his spirit diuided and bestowed on the faithful receiuers of these mysteries.

* The latter schoolemen since Thomas mistaking the former, turned these words to *opus operatum*, and taught the priests act to be the right meane to apply Christs death to the quicke & the dead. Can their doctrine be catholike that so lately was vnknowen to their owne fellowes?

Now boast of your catholike doctrine, that your prating sophists and wandering friers inuented but yesterday; now call for your souereigne sacrifice not onely repugnant to the sacred scriptures and ancient fathers, but reiected by the mint-master of your sentences; refuted by the conclusions of your seraphicall doctor; shunned by your glose-maker, and cleane thwart to the canon of your ordinarie masse. If you speed no better in the rest of your causes, a worse name than fugitiues will become you and your companions well enough, without perill of slander or breach of charitie.

These foundations lying sure; to wit, that the creatures of bread and wine are offred to God for a thanksgiuing, when they be sanctified and receiued according to his sonnes institution, and that Christ himselfe is daily offred and crucified in a mysterie, because the breaking of his bodie, and shedding of his blood on the crosse are proposed and renewed by the bread which we eate, and cup which we drinke at the Lordes table; these conclusions I say standing good we receiue the foure and twentie places which here you huddle, & the fourteen which the pen-man of your apologie hath shufled into his sixt chapter, (being for the most part the same that these are, and the rest weaker than these;) and affirme that not one of them teacheth any other sacrifice than we haue shewed and confessed, and that is no such offering as you auouch and defend at this day to be

24. places cited by the Iesuits in their Testament to no purpose, and 14. by the maker of their Apologie.

Their reall and actual sacrifice must needes be made with hands, and so the gestures of the priests hands is all the sacrifice the Iesuits haue.

in your masse. For you will haue a reall, externall, and corporall kind of offering the liue flesh of Christ by the priests hands, vnder the forms of bread and wine to God the father for the sinnes of men: and this manuell seruice or act of the priest you auouch to be meritorious and propitiatorie for those that can purchase the priests good will to be mindfull of them in his *memento*.

This is, we say, a wicked inuention of yours, not the assertion of any father: they celebrated and solemnized the Lords death by sanctifying the creatures as Christ ordained, and by diuiding them to such as were faithful and thankfull to God for the redemption of the world in the blood of his sonne: and this their incitation and prouocation of all men to faith, prayer, thanks and obedience was the acceptable seruice and sacrifice of the new testament. To this we would recall you, by telling you that God careth not for the priests hands, but for the peoples harts, & that he requireth not one mans crossing, but the whole Churches calling on him with one hart and one mouth, that he may be honored, and we comforted in the death of his sonne. And this was it that Malachie foretold, and not the priests holding vp the chalice, or cleanly conueying the paten, as he must in your sacrifice.

What sacrifice it is that God regardeth.

The Rhemish Test. fol 447. Malac. 1.

Phil. *The prophet Malachie did plainly foretell* (our sacrifice) *as S. Cyprian, S. Iustine, S. Ireneus, and other most ancient doctors and martyrs doe testifie.* Theop. Why? What said the prophet Malachie? Phil. I haue no will to you, saith our Lord of Sabaoth (to the Iewish priests;) and a gift will I not receiue of your hands. For from the rising of the sunne to the setting thereof, my name is great among the Gentils, and in euery place A CLEANE OBLATION IS OFFERED AND SACRIFICED TO MY NAME. Theop. Malachie doth not say it shal be offered at the altar, or by the priests hands, or vnder the forms of bread and wine: but a pure oblation is offered vnto my name. Phil. And what oblation can be so pure, as the bodie and blood of Christ? Theop. Neither saith he, the purest, but a pure oblation is offered. Phil. What other oblation hath the new testament, but only that? Theo. Sacrifice for sinne it hath none, but that which the sonne of God made on the crosse: mary yet the new testament teacheth vs other oblations besides that: though I confesse all

The prophesie of Malachie discussed.

our

our wordes and workes, and euen our selues must be washed and sanctified in that sacrifice; before we, or any thing that we say or doe, can be acceptable vnto God.

Phil. What oblations doth the new testament teach vs besides that? Theop. You haue not forgotten, I dare say, what Peter saith. And ye as liuely stones be made a spiritual house, and an holie priesthood, to offer vp spirituall sacrifices acceptable vnto God by Iesus Christ. Phil. Why may not S. Peter speake that of the annointed priests, and their true sacrifices? Theop. So he doth, but he meaneth all Christians, & not your shaulings. Phil. You would pick a quarel to holy oile: but you be not yet at rest frō the sacrifice. Why may not S. Peter, I pray you, speake of the blessed masse? Theo. Bicause he speaketh to all both men & women: and telleth them of a blessleder matter than your masse, that is, of the true spiritual sacrifices, in which God taketh more pleasure than in your mumbling of fruities masses.

1. Pet. 2. What sacrifices the new Testament teacheth vs to offer vnto God.

Phil. What are those? Theop. S. Paul vttereth two of them almost in one sentence. [a] Let vs therefore by him offer the sacrifice of praise alwaies to God, that is, the fruit of lips confessing his name. To doe good and distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is pleased: which liberalitie els where he calleth, [b] A sweet smelling odor, and a sacrifice acceptable and pleasant to God. A third kind of sacrifice is that which he mentioneth to the Romans: [c] I beseech you brethren by the mercies of God, that you giue vp your bodies a liuing SACRIFICE, holie and acceptable vnto God, (which is) your reasonable seruing of God. Phi. These were sacrifices of the old testament as well as of the new. For Dauid saith, [d] To thee will I sacrifice the offerings of praise, and call vpon the name of our Lord: and of the next, [e] He that sheweth mercie, offereth a sacrifice: and so of the third, [f] A sacrifice to God is a spirit, afflicting himselfe with penance. Theop. Keepe your penances to stuffe puddings. The sacrifice to God is a troubled (or a broken) spirit. Phil. We will not now striue for wordes. These you see be sacrifices of the old testament as well as of the new. Theop. And therefore the truer and purer sacrifices. For the rest were shadowes, these were none: and so those were abolished, which these were not.

[a] Hebr. 13. The sacrifice of praise.
[b] Phil. 4. Of mercie.
[c] Rom. 12. Of our selues
[d] Psal. 115.
[e] Eccl. 35.
[f] Psal. 50. These be the sacrifices of the new Testament, which God requireth at our hands, & of which Malachie speaketh.

Phil. But Malachie speaketh of a new sacrifice that was

neuer before. Theo. He speaketh of the true sacrifice, which from the beginning and so to the ende, was & shall be more acceptable to God than the bloody and externall sacrifices of the Iewes: Of a new sacrifice, that neuer was before he speaketh nothing for ought that I can see. Phil. The sacrifice which Christ made of himselfe vnder the forms of bread and wine, was a new sacrifice. Theo. Very new, if any such were made. Phil. Of that Malachie speaketh. Theo. Who told you so? Phil. S. Cyprian, S. Iustine, S. Ireneus, and others. Theo. You might do well to speake more directly for now we know not whether you alleage them to expound the prophet Malachie, or whether you make them prophets to tell what *shall continue in the Church throughout all Christian nations in stead of all Aarons offerings.* Phil. They will tell you the meaning of Malachie. Theo. They will indeed: but you neither quote them right, nor apply them right, if you cite them to shewe that your masling sacrifice was foretspoken of by the prophet Malachie.

The Iesuits' in alledging the fathers vse such cunning that a man can hardly perceiue to what end they name them. Three fathers abused by the Iesuits to peruert the words of Malachie.

Phil. No? Why? Theo. Cyprian in that epistle maketh no mention of Malachie, nor of his words: Iustinus and Ireneus alledge him; marie not for the priests act in offering the sonne of God, nor for Christs secret lodging vnder the formes of bread, but for the praiers & thanks that all the faithfull giue to God, when they come to be partakers of this mysterie. Phil. They say Malachies words are performed in the eucharist. Theo. Not by the priest hands or gestures, but by the peoples harts and voices. Phil. Those be your shifts. Theo. Go to, you shifters: is it not enough for you to beguile the simple with emptie sounds, shewes, and names, but you will resist a manifest truth when you are sure to haue it prooued to your faces?

Cyprian in that place which they cite doth not so much as speake of Malachie.

Cyprian in his 63. epistle medleth not with Malachies words, but if you would indeede learne what he thought or wrate of that prophesie, and what he counted to be the sacrifice that Malachie foretold, turne to his instructions giuen to Quirinus against the Iewes, the first booke and 16. chapter, where he proueth that the old sacrifice should be abolished, and a new succeede: and there you shall finde him expound it to be *Sacrificium laudis & iustitiæ*, the sacrifice of praise and righteousnes, and that by no worse mans authoritie than Dauids.

Cypr. ad Quirinum. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Iustinus

Iustinus I grant alleadgeth the words, and saith, God (in that speech) doth witnes, that all the sacrifices, which Christ Iesus appointed to be done in his name, at the eucharist of bread (and wine) are acceptable to him. But what sacrifices they were, which Christ deliuered and prescribed in the eucharist for his, to doe, the words of Iustinus that presently follow, doe perfectly open. *Preces quidem & gratiarum actiones bonorum perfectas solas esse & Deo gratas hostias ego quoque concedo. Hæc enim sola facienda accepernt Christiani in aridi humidique sui cibi commemoratione, in quo, mortis quam per se perpessus est Deus Dei filius memoria recolitur.* That the praiers & thanks of the good are the onely perfect sacrifices & pleasant to God I confesse. For these onely (sacrifices) haue the Christians receiued to be done in the celebration of that their (eucharisticall) food and liquor, in which the memory of the death of the sonne of GOD, who himselfe was God, is renewed. You should haue spared the very quoting of this place by mine aduise: for if all the preachers in Englande would haue laid their heads togither in words to crosse your actuall and corporall sacrificing the flesh of Christ, they could not haue done it in quicker and smarter speech.

Iust. in Dial. cum Tryphone aduers. Iudæos.

Iustinus reistraineth the words of Malachie to praiers and thanks: other sacrifice he acknowledgeth none in the Lords supper.

Ireneus maketh euen as much for you, as Iustinus did: for he not onely subuerteth your real sacrificing of Christ, when he teacheth that the Church offereth the creatures of bread and wine in token of her thankfulnes vnto God: but the very words of Malachie he expoundeth by S. Iohns authoritie for the praiers of the saints. *Benè ait, & in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo, & sacrificium purum. Incensa autem Ioh. in Apocalypsi orationes ait esse Sanctorum.* Et ideo nos quoque offerre vult, munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in cœlis. Illuc enim preces nostræ & oblationes nostræ diriguntur,* Well saith GOD (by Malachie) In euery place incense is offered to my name and a pure sacrifice. Nowe incense Iohn in his Apocalyps calleth the praiers of the saints. And therefore (GOD) will haue vs offer a gift at (his) altar continually without intermission. The altar is in heauen. Thither are our praiers and oblations directed.

Iren. lib. 4. cap. 33.
**Ibidem. ca. 34*

Ireneus expoundeth Malachies words of praier, obedience, and thankesgiuing as we doe.

Phil. Yet S. Ireneus applieth the words of Malachie to the eucharist. Theo. He doth, but that sacrifice he saith is

Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. Irenæus teacheth not the offering of Christ to his father, but of creatures for a signe of thankfulnes.

the offering vnto God the first fruits of his creatures for a thanksgiuing: and with that restriction he limiteth the word *offerimus* which he often vseth: *Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias eius creaturæ. Offerimus ei non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes donationi eius, & sanctificantes creaturam.* We must offer to God (but) the first fruits of his creatures. We offer to him not that he wanteth, but giuing him thanks for his bountifulnesse, and sanctifieng the creature. Here is a sacrifice of thanksgiuing for his mercies, and not Christ, but the creatures of bread and wine offred vnto God with praier, and other christian dueties which he nameth, as cleane thoughts, faith without hypocrisie, firme hope, feruent dilection: these are the sacrifices of the new Testament and of the Lordes table, not proper to the priest, but common to the people: nor finished with the hands, but performed with the spirit of man, which is the true seruice of the second couenant.

Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.

The rest of the fathers interpret Malachies words after the same maner.

Phil. You turne and winde the scriptures as you please: but sure the prophet Malachie directly toucheth our sacrifice. Theo. You dreame so earnestly of it, that all the fathers in Christes Church cannot pull you from it. What Cyprian, Iustine, and Irenæus write of this prophesie you doe or may vnderstand by that which is said; if the number be too small you may haue moe, to assure you that the prophet neuer thought of your reall and corporall sacrificing of Christes flesh to God the father by the priests fingers.

a *Tert. aduers. Iudeos.*

Tertullian alleadging the very wordes, a *Et in omni loco offerentur munda sacrificia nomini meo:* In euery place shall there be brought cleane sacrifices vnto my name: addeth, *Indubitatè, quod in omni terra exire habebat prædicatio Apostolorum.* Vndoubtedly (the prophet Malachie meaneth) that the preaching of the apostles was to be spred ouer all the earth. Against Marcion he saith, b *Et in omni loco sacrificium nomine meo offeretur, & sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura.* In euery place shall there be offered in my name a sacrifice, and that a cleane sacrifice, to wit, sincere praier from a pure conscience. So Eusebius. c Where (Malachie) doeth say, that incense and sacrifice are offered to God in euery place, what else meaneth he but that (it is done) in euery countrie and in all nations, which in deed were to offer

b *Tert. aduers. Marc. lib. 4.*

c *Euseb. de demonst. Euang. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

fer to the most high God the incense of prayer and sacrifice, which is called clean, no longer by blood, but by godly works. Now what those works were, Cyrill will teach you. [a] We vse sacrifices, but of the spirit and minde. For we haue a precept that leauing the grosse seruice (of the Iewes) we should yeeld a subtile, fine and spirituall sacrifice. And therefore we offer vnto God for a sweete smell, all sortes of vertues, faith, hope, charitie, iustice, continence, obedience, mildenesse, perpetual praises, & other (such) vertues. So Hierom, [b] Incense is offered to the name of the Lord in euery place; and a cleane sacrifice not in the oblations of the old Testament, but in the holinesse of Euangelicall puritie, of which incense we read in other places (as when Dauid saith: Let my praier be directed as incense in thy sight, and the lifting vp of mine hands (as) an euening sacrifice. So Augustine: [c] Heare ye (Donatistes) the Lord saying (thus) by his prophet. In euery place shall incense be yeelded to my name, and a pure sacrifice. With this sacrifice of your brethren, which God (most) respecteth, you shew your selues, by your cauilling, to be grieued, and if at any time you heare the name of the Lord to be praysed from East to West, which is the liuely sacrifice, whereof it is written, Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, your countenances hang as did that homicides (which slue his brother.)

[a] *Cyril. contra Iulianum. lib. 10.*

[b] *Hier. in Zachariam, lib. 2. cap. 8.*

[c] *August. contra liter. Petil. lib. 2. cap. 86.*

Phil. This nothing infringeth our assertion. Theoph. But this declareth the meaning of Malachie. Phil. Our oblation is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiuing. Theop. Had you kept your selues there and not runne farther to fancies of your owne framing, and victimes (as you call them) of your owne presuming, you might haue offered that cleane sacrifice foretold by Malachie, which now you doe not. Phil. You will not haue his words pertaine to the Eucharist. Theop. You will neuer speake truth so long as you may shift with facing. Phil. Confesse you then that Malachie spake of the Eucharist? Theoph. With all our harts. Phil. You be now ouer the shoes in your owne cesterne. Theoph. But it doth me no hurt, for I feele no wet. Philan. You graunt the Eucharist to be a sacrifice which your fellowes will be angrie with you for. Theop. Neither they, nor I, euer denied the Eucharist to be a sacrifice. The very name inforceth it to be the sacrifice of praise

We striue not for the word sacrifice, which the Iesuits very diligent-

ly proone, but for their kind of sacrifice, which they cannot proone by the testimonie of any one father.

praise and thankesgiuing, which is the true and liuely sacrifice of the new testament.

Phil. I thought you would backe againe. Theo. I am now as farforth as euer I was, or as any of these ancient fathers are, which haue expounded the words of Malachie. Phil. Then you must affirme it to be a sacrifice. Theoph. Leaue this foolish repeating and often inculcating that which neither benefiteth you, nor annoieth vs. The Lords table in respect of his graces & mercies there proposed to vs in an heauenly banquet which we must eate, & not sacrifice: but the duties which he requireth at our hands when we approch to his table, are sacrifices, not sacraments: as namely to offer him thanks and praise, faith and obedience, yea our bodies and soules to be liuing, holie, and acceptable sacrifices vnto him, which is our reasonable seruing of him.

In what sense the Lords supper is both a sacrament and a sacrifice.

Our duties to God are our sacrifices.

Phil. This must be done when we receiue the sacrament, but this is no part of the sacrament. Theo. These be the conditions without which God will not haue vs come to his table, and for these respects the eucharist hath his name, thereby to put vs in minde of our duties. Phil. We do not denie these sacrifices to be good and holie, and then most requisite, when we drawe nearest vnto God, as at his table, but we adde that the verie sacrament it selfe is a sacrifice, and the celebration thereof is a continuance of that oblation which Christ made in his owne person on the altar of the crosse. Theop. This we grant to be most true in that sense which S. Augustine and other ancient and catholike fathers doe auouch it: that is, because sacraments haue the names of those things whose sacraments they are. And since this is the sacrament of the Lords death and passion, we doe not sticke to say that Christ is daily crucified and sacrificed for the sins of the world: nary not really, or corporally, but by way of a mysterie; that is his crosse and blood shedding are proclaimed and confirmed in the eies of all the faithfull by these signes of his death, and seales of his truth, by which he first witnessed that his bodie should be broken, and his blood shed for the remission of our sinnes.

From these sacrifices the Eucharist hath his name.

This sacrament hath the similitude, and therefore the name of Christs death and passion.

Phil. Why then refuse you the fathers expressing their opinion of this sacrifice? Theo. Nay, why do you abuse

their

their words, to support your errors: and whersoeuer you finde the names of sacrifice and oblation in them referred to the Lords supper, why alleadge you the places with such confidence as if the fathers were at your commandement, to meane nothing but your reall sacrificing the sonne of God vnder the formes of bread and wine? Phil. What other meaning could they haue? Theo. I haue already shewed you by their owne writings what other meaning they had. Phil. You say, they call it a sacrifice because it is a signe and memoriall of his death on the crosse. Theo. That is sufficient to shew their meaning. Phil. But their words are so weightie, that a cold and naked signification, doth not answere the force of them. *The lambe of God laide vpon the table: conc. Nice. The quickning holy sacrifice: the vnbloody host and victime. Cyril. Alex. in conc. Ephes. Anath. 11. The onely inconsumptible victime, without which there is no religian. Cypr. de cæn. Dom. nu. 2. Chrys. hom. 17. ad Heb. The sacrifice of our price. Aug. confess. lib. 9. cap. 13.* Theo. What a patching you keepe to no purpose? Phil. Dare you attribute these speeches to the creatures of bread and wine? Theo. Dare you attribute them to the priests externall gestures? Is his act *the lambe of God, or the price of our ransome, or the holie & quickning sacrifice?* Phil. No, but the flesh and blood of Christ are, which the priest offereth, as we say, to God for the sins of the people.

The Ieſuits are very plentifull in heaping impertinent allegations.

The Rhemiſh Teſt. Pag. 447.

All theſe fathers ſpeake of Chriſts bodie broken, & blood ſhed on the croſſe, which are reſembled in this ſacrament.

Theo. To what ende then alleadge you these places for the priests act, which shew the worthines of Christs sacrifice, and the power of his death? Phil. Our sacrifice worketh these effects. Theo. And so doth ours. Phil. Then you be of our opinion. Theo. As though we did resist you touching the thing that is offered, and not touching the maner of offering. That Christ is the lambe of God laide on the Lords table before the eies of our minds, that his flesh wounded and blode shed for our sinnes are an holie quickning, and euer during sacrifice, and the most sufficient price of our redemption, we byde this against you, you nede not byde it against vs, we fully and faithfully teach it: The question betweene vs, is how this sacrifice once made on the crosse is daily renued in our misteries.

The power of Chriſts death the Ieſuits attribute to the prieſts act.

You will haue a reall, corporall, and locall profering of Christs flesh to God the father vnder formes of bread and wine

The Ieſuits ſacrifice.

wine made by the prieſts externall actions & geſtures for the ſins of ſuch as he liſt: this is we ſay a wicked and blaſphemous mockerie. His paſſion is the true oblation of the Church: his fleſh wounded & blood ſhed are the onely ſacrifice for ſin: which oblation that it might be alwaies in our harts and ſights, he hath commanded vs to continue in his Church, by a memorial of his owne erecting: and to apply the ſame to our ſelues by a ſtedfaſt hope in his mercies and humble praier vnto his holines as often as we approch to his table to be partakers of his death and merits. And therfore the prieſts act can no way be auailable for thoſe that ſtand by and looke on, & neither communicate with him in praier or in the participation of the miſteries. And your alleadging foure and twentie places of the fathers for this kind of ſacrifice, of which they neuer thought, ſheweth what fidelitie & ſinceritie you haue vſed in the reſt of your Rhemiſh obſeruations, which you ſent ouer but to occupy mens heads, whiles you were working an other feat.

How the death of Chriſt is both offered and applied.

Your feate was to prepare the people againſt a day.

Phil. What feat could we haue in hand, but the teſtifying of truth to our countrie men, & that we haue done to the vtter confutation of your heretical doctrine? Theop. You muſt needs confute vs, for beſides abuſing of ſcriptures which you wind like a with about your fingers: when the fathers will not ſerue your turns, you will force them euen by ſcores to depoſe what you liſt: and though they vſe but general & indifferent words, yet you will by and by quote them to be of your opinion. Phil. Where haue we ſo done? Theop. Omit the places that are paſt in this bead-roule of fathers which heere are brought, ſhew but one that euer mentioned your kind of ſacrifice, we will trouble you no farther, you ſhall ſet vp your maſſe againe. Phil. What we ſhall not. Theop. I will helpe you the beſt I can. Phil. Any of the places which we bring, is ſufficient to iuſtifie our ſacrifice. Theop. As well euery, as any. The call the Lords ſupper, miniſtred according to his inſtitution, an OBLATION and SACRIFICE, or as your pen runneth, an HOST and a VICTIME: what then?

A man may ſoon peruert the fathers by ſcores, as the Ieſuits haue done in their Teſtament.

Phil. Then we ſay truth when we teach it to be a ſacrifice, & not only a ſacrament. Theop. Then you ly the more, when you ſay that you really and corporally ſacrifice the

What ſacrifice it is the

ſonne

sonne of God vnder the formes of bread and wine: and that the priests act, though the people neither vnderstand what he saith, neither know what he doth, but gaze on him whilest he alone murmureth to himselfe in a tong vnknowne, & maketh that priuate to one which should be cõmon to al by Christs institution; is notwithstanding very profitable before God, for such as hire his pains, or please his humor: to be had in mind, when he rubbeth his memorie. Iesuits would establish.

Phil. You peruert our doctrine. Theop. If it may be my terms doe not please you, but I tell you the things which we reiect in your sacrifice. Leaue your presumptuous and meritorious application of Christs death as pleaseth the priest, leaue your reall and corporall inclosing of Christ vnder accidents & shewes of bread and wine, confesse the Lords supper to be a publike action, and pertinent to the whole Church as it was ordained, and let your praiers instruct and direct the harts of the simple, and haue their open and euident assent, and as for the name of sacrifice and oblation, it shall not offend vs. They produce the name of sacrifice vsed by the fathers, and vnderstand therby their owne fansies.

Phil. The chiefe occasion of your hatred against the daily sacrifice is this, that you doe not acknowledge the reall presence of Christ in this sacrament, and that maketh you neither to offer him, nor to adore him as we do: yea scant to abide the fathers words, wherein they witnes that he is offered, and must be adored vnder the formes of bread and wine. Theop. We hate your follies, we hate not their speeches; and yet there are reasons why we do not thinke our selues bound to take vp the frequent vse of their terms in that point, as we see you do. For first they be such words as Christ and his apostles did forbeare, and therefore our faith may stand without them. Next they be darke & obscure speeches wholy depending on the nature & signification of sacraments, which the simple doe hardly conceiue. Thirdly, we find by experience before our eies, how their phrases haue intangled your senses, whiles you greedily pursued the words, and omitted the rules that should haue mollified and directed the letter. These causes make vs the warier and the willinger to keepe to the words of the holy Ghost, though the fathers applications, if you therwithal take their expositions, doe but in other terms teach that, which we receiue and confesse to be true and sincere. The reason why we doe not vse the word, Sacrifice so often as the fathers doe. The fathers phrases beguiled the Iesuits whilest they were too eger on them.

Phil.

The word sacrifice is not vsed by the holy Ghost.

The name of sacrifice hath no warrant in the scripture.

Phil. Would you make vs beleeue that the sacrifice of the altar hath no warrant in the scripture? Theop. Shew me the place where it is so called, and then will I graunt that in the word I was deceiued. Philan. First you heard the word OBLATION in Malachie. Theo. I did, but I heare him not apply it to the sacrament. Philan. *Melchisedec by his oblation of bread and wine did properly and most singularly prefigurate this sacrifice.* Theoph. But the scripture doth not say, that either Melchisedec did sacrifice bread and wine, or that Christ at his last supper did imitate Melchisedec. Phil. He was a priest according to the order of Melchisedec. Theoph. Saint Paul sheweth in what things Melchisedec resembled Christ, as in that he was the king of righteousnesse and peace, without father, without mother, hauing neither beginning of his dayes, nor end of his life, (and) remaining a priest for euer, without partner or successour: but of sacrificing bread and wine, as you say Melchisedec did, S. Paul saith nothing. Philan. The fathers do almost euery one of them. Theop. I do not deny the resemblance to be both tolerable and vsuall among the fathers, but I say the scriptures haue no such thing.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 447.

Hebr. 7.

Philan. S. Paul himselfe maketh an whole discourse to proue the sacrament to be *the sacrifice of Christs body and blood in the Church.* Theo. Where? In his Apocalyps, which your law mentioneth? Philan. No sir, I alleage his canonicall writings. Theoph. Where may a man seeke to finde it? Phil. Looke our obseruations vpon his 10. chapter of the first to the Corinthians. Theo. Nay in your obseruations I know we shall find many things that are not in the scriptures: they were purposely made, that where your religion stood not in the text, at least it might stand in the gloze: but I would heare S. Paul say so much, or but halfe such a word, and then I were answered.

A man shall find many things in the Rhemish obseruations, which are not the text of the scripture.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 447.

The Iesuits would proue if they could tell how, that Saint Paul calleth the Lords supper a sacrifice.

Phil. *In all that discourse you may obserue, that our bread & chalice, our table and altar, the participation of our host and oblation, be compared or resembled point by point in all effects, conditions, & proprieties to the altars, hosts, sacrifices and immolations of the Iewes and Gentiles: which the apostle would not, nor could not haue done in this sacrament of the altar, rather than in other sacraments or seruice of our religion, if it onely had not bene a sacrifice and the proper worship of God among the Christians, as the other were among the*

S.Paul maketh nothing for the sacrifice of the masse. *The fourth part*

the Iewes and Heathen.

Theo. Tell me not what I may obserue, but what you can conclude. Is the word sacrifice attributed to ỹ Lords table in that chapter? Philan. By resemblance and comparison it is. Theop. Speake first whether so much be expressed by the apostle in plaine words; and then after we will examine what may be collected. Philan. In plaine words it is not, but * *points by points it is compared in all effects, conditions and proprieties to the altars, hosties, sacrifices and immolations of the Iewes and Gentiles.* Theo. Where is this *resemblance of your bread and chalice, table and altar, host, & oblation point by point in all effects, conditions and proprieties to the altars, hosties, sacrifices and immolations of Iewes and Gentiles?* Phil. In S.Paul. Theo. I see no such thing. Philan. You will not for feare you should be driuen to confesse that S. Paul calleth our host a sacrifice. Theoph. Let vs then examine S. Pauls purpose, that we may see both what he saith, and to what end he saith it.

* This point by point is not worth a blew point.

The Christians at Corinth in respect of acquaintance or aliance with others that were heathens in that citie, did not sticke, if they were inuited to go to the banquets and feasts of the pagans, which they kept in the temple of their gods, when they did sacrifice vnto them, and at which they spent such cates and wines as they had then offred to their idols. The pretence which the Christians had for their resorting to the pagans feasts was this', that they knew the idoll was nothing, and therefore giuing thanks to God for his creatures, they did eate of all things without scruple of conscience, howsoeuer it had bene bled, or to whomsoeuer it had bene offred.

Their misconstering of S. paul examined. The fault which the apostle reprooueth in the Corinthians.

This S. Paul reprooueth them for: and sheweth that though the idoll in it selfe be nothing, yet since the Gentiles did offer those things which were at their idols feasts, not to God, but to diuels, the Christians could not sit at the same tables with the pagans, reioicing, triumphing, and feasting in the names of their idols, but they must needs be partakers of their idolatrie. Now how that could stand with their comming to the Lords table, where they professed to serue him, and none but him, he wisheth them to consider.

This was partaking with idols and dishonoring of God.

The reason which he draweth frō the Lords table, (you call

call it a comparison *point by point, in all effects, conditions and proprieties, to the altars, hostes and sacrifices of the heathen*) may be either a comparison or an opposition, but liker of the twain to be rather an opposition than a comparison. For so S. Paul knitteth vp his argument. You cannot drinke (both) the Lordes cup, and the cup of diuels: you cannot be partakers (or eate) of the Lordes table, and of the table of diuels. The one you are partakers of, as you know. For the cup of thanksgiuing, which we blesse, is it not the communion (or participation) of Christes blood? The bread which we breake, is it not the communion of Christes body? You can not therefore haue any fellowship with the table or cup of diuels, but God will surely reuenge it, as the forsaking of himselfe and seruing of his enemie. This may the whole drift of S. Paul stand good and his reason forcible without your *point by point*, or your *effects, conditions, and proprieties of altars, hostes or sacrifices.*

S. pauls reason against it by way of comparison, or opposition.

If any list to make it a comparison, he may for me; and yet that way I see no cause why you should so propoxion Christes mysteries to the diuels sacrifices, that *point by point* they must answere one another in *all effects, conditions and proprieties of altars, hostes and immolations*. For this sufficeth S. Pauls intent, that where the Christians thought it a matter indifferent, and lawful to eate and drinke in the temples and at the tables of heathen idols, he by examples both of christian and Jewish religion sheweth them that though they did not sacrifice: and so take themselues to be free from idolatrie: yet seeing they reioyced and feasted with the men and meates that were addicted & consecrated vnto idols, they were partakers of their wickednesse. And therfore the thing which S. Paul vrgeth in this comparison of Christian, Jewish & Heathenish religion, is not offring or sacrificing; but in plain words eating and drinking at the same table with men of any profession, where their rites & ceremonies, be they good or bad, are vsed, as well as their offrings & immolations: & in that sense the conclusion holdeth on either side, though the things be not really sacrificed vnto God or the diuel, but dedicated or consecrated to either of them, or frequented in either of their names. For as he that eateth & drinketh at the Lords table, partaketh with him & his; so he that doth the like at

Though saint Pauls reason be framed by way of comparison, yet the Iesuits illation is not necessarie.

Eating of things consecrated vnto idols is fellowship with

the

S. Paul maketh nothing for the sacrifice of the masse. *The fourth part.*

the diuels table, linketh himselfe in the like fellowship with the diuell and his adherents, though the meats that are set on the table be not first solemnely sacrificed to the diuell, but blessed either in his name or with his ceremonies, who being a wicked spirit affecteth to be honored in like sort and equall state with the true and mighty God.

diuels, though they be not solemnly sacrificed vnto them.

Phil. S. Paul saith the Gentils did sacrifice their meats to the diuell. Theop. So much the worse for the Christians that did eat them, yet that doth not infer that the creatures at the Lords table were, *point by point, in all effects and conditions* vsed and sacrificed to him as the heathens eates were to their idols. And to draw your argumēt from the diuels table to proue that the bread & wine at the Lords table be sacrificed, is a strange kind of diuinity, if it be not worse. Certainely not the sacrifice, but the sacrament ordained by Christ to be taken & eaten from his table, doth make vs members of Christ: and ioineth vs al in one fellowship of his mysticall body: the priests sacrificing of Christs flesh doth not helpe the matter, for ought that we know, or you proue, but by such fleueleſſe, I wil not say, witleſſe conceits as these be.

The Iesuits proone by the diuels sacrifices that their masse is a sacrifice.

And yet your owne comparison ouerthroweth your owne oblation. For if in Pagan, Iewish, & euen in Christian religion, as you say, they which eat of the sacrifice be partakers of the sacrifice, we infer that in your priuate masses where the priest alone eateth and no man eateth with him, the people haue no part in that sacrifice: and so your oblatiō, if it be any, auaileth no man but your selues, because no man eateth of it besides your selues, which is more against your profit, than the name of sacrifice would do you good, if you could euince it by S. Paul.

No man partaker of their sacrifice, besides the priest because no man eateth of it but the priest.

Phil. God helpe you maisters: ye be so addicted to the belly, that you thinke of nothing, but of eating & drinking. The sacrifice you admit not; the sacrament you adore not: but if you may eat & drinke, then are you safe. Theo. This diuinity will better become the diuels table whence you lately fet your sacrifice, than the Lords sacraments or the seruants of Christ. To eat & drinke at his table is not our inuention but his institution: and therefore no point of gluttony, as you lewdly surmise, but of pietie, which you scant beleeue: as appeareth by your abolishing that or-

To eat and drinke at Christs table, is Christs ordinance: to sacrifice is not.

der which Christ left, and deuising an other of your owne without any warrant from him. For where Christ said, take yé, eat ye, you like not that, but haue changed it into Looke ye, adore ye, telling the people they do God good seruice when they giue his diuine honor to dead and senseleſſe creatures.

Adoration of the sacrament. The Iesuits pretending to adore Christ, adore the creatures of bread and wine.

Phil. No sir, we teach them to adore Christ and not the creatures of bread and wine. Theop. You first imagine the creatures to be Christ, & then you giue them diuine honor, as if they were Christ: but if they be creatures still, how doth your false imagination excuse you from idolatrie? Phi. We be sure they be not. For Christ said of them This is my body, and this is my bloud; and therefore honoring that which the priest holdeth in his hands, & lifteth vp after consecration, we be sure we honor Christ and not the creatures of bread and wine. Theop. So S. Paul said, The rocke was Christ, and yet to worship that visible rocke with diuine honor, had bene idolatry.

No differēce betweene these two speeches: the rocke was Christ, and this is my body.

Phil. The speeches be nothing like. Theop. Then tell vs the difference. Phil. Christ spake the one *actiuely and presently*: the other was but a collection of things past long before made by S. Paul. And againe the one is in the new Testament, the other in the old. Theop. You might haue added that the one was stone, the other bread: the one in the desert, the other in the city. Phil. Keepe your trifling distinctions for your selues. Theop. They will no way but be ioined cheeke by cheeke with yours. Christ, you say, spake the one: and who spake the other in Paul but Christ? Paul said of himselfe that * Christ speaketh in him: & Christ saith of his Apostles, * It is not you that speake but the spirit of your father that speaketh in you. And therefore you must receiue that which Paul spake * not as the word of men, but, as it is in deede, the word of God: and that can not wāt truth because the word of God is truth. Phil. We do not deny but he spake truth. Theo. Then haue we plainer proofe that the stony rocke in the desert was Christ: than you haue that the bread on the Lords table is Christ. For Christ doth not say in precise termes that the bread was his body, but only, this is my body. And as for the diuersity of the two Testamēts, that maketh nothing to this issue. For if the rocke of the old Testament were

* 2. Cor. 13.
* Matth. 10.
* 1. Thess. 2.
We haue plainer words that the rocke was Christ than they haue that the bread is Christ.
Pauls speech doth interpret Christs words.

Christ,

Christ, the bread of the new Testament can be no more: & therefore diuine adoration was as due to the rocke then as it is to the bread now.

Phil. By no meanes. For the rocke was not transubstantiated into Christ as the bread is. Theop. If Paules words be true without changing the rocke into Christ, why may not the words of Christ be likewise true without turning the substãce of bread into the substance of his body? Phi. We tel you the reason. The one is substantially conuerted into Christs flesh, & so was not the other. Theo. This is your fansie, to dreame of a difference where none is: the affirmations be like, why should not the adorations be like? And if you could not worship the rock, without committing idolatry though the rocke were Christ, how can you giue diuine honor to the bread & wine since they be Christ euen after the same sort that the rock was?

Why do they not adore the priest as well as the pixe?

Or, if that comparison do not please you, why do you worship the pix wherin ỹ bread is, & so the chalice wherin the wine is, & not the priest ỹ by your doctrine doth create & eat Christ? Phi. We worship neither the pix, nor the chalice, but Christ that is contained in them both. Theo. And is not the same Christ that was contained in thẽ both, inclosed in the priests body when he eateth & drinketh your sacrifice? Ph. Yes. The. And as really cõtained in his body as in your golden box or gilden chalice? Phil. But yet we adore not ỹ flesh of Christ after it is once entered ỹ mouth of mã. The. You do not I know, but why should you not? Why suffer you Christ in any place to be without ỹ honor, ỹ is due vnto him? Will you serue him where please you, & ouerskip him at your discretions? Phil. Should we adore him, whẽ we know not where he is? Theo. You be as sure he is in the priest as in the pixe: for you see him in neither: why then do you adore him in the one, & not in the other?

That which was contained in the pixe is inclosed in the priests body.

Phi. I thinke you would not haue vs adore our sauior. The. I would not haue you adore him when & where you only list, much lesse to adore a peece of bread in his stead: be first sure you haue him & then adore him whersoeuer you find him. Phil. So we do. The. You do not. You adore him not in the priest. Phil. We see him not. Theop. Will you not adore him till you see him? How then do you see him in the chalice, or in ỹ pix? Ph. There we be certain he is. The. You

Christ must not be adored at our discretion, but at all times and in all places.

be as certaine of the other. Phil. The fathers will vs to *adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries, but not in other mens bodies.* Thepo. Do they will you to adore the mysteries themselues, I meane the mysticall and sacramentall signes? Phil. Not the signes themselues, they be but accidents and not to be adored, but the sacrament it selfe they teach vs to adore. Theo. With diuine honor? Phi. With what else? Theop. Adoration, if it be attributed in any father to the mysticall signes is that kind of reuerence which we yeeld to things that be sanctified for Gods vse, and not godly honor. Phil. I smell a rat. Theop. You were best then looke to your host: for that of all others, that is a most dangerous beast to your deuotion. Phil. Why? Theop. I wil tell you that anone, in the meane time what was it, that troubled your wits? Phi. With a sly distinction of twofold adoration you thinke to slip the fathers which we wil bring against you for the worshipping of the blessed sacrament. The. Is that all your feare? Phil. That is a way to wrangle, and to make the people beleeue our doctrine touching adoration of the sacrament is not catholike. Theop. Set aside one father, whom your selues shall not deny but that he speaketh of the substance of bread and wine: and in the rest, which you bring we wil vse no such aduantage. Phil. What will you not do? Theop. We wil not choke you with that second acception of adoration: shew that the fathers adored the sacrament, or taught the people so to do, we require no more. Phil. That I will presently.

If a rat shuld eat the host, it would make a foule worke amõg the Iesuits. No father teacheth that the sacrament should be adored.

The Rhemish Test. *fol.* 453. *nu.* 29. [not discerning the body. Halfe this would serue if any part of it were to the purpose. * A smooth tale of Robin Hood will prooue the adoration of the sacramẽt

S. Augustine saith epist. 118. *c.* 3. *that it is he that the Apostle saith shalbe damned, that doth not by singular veneration or adoration make a difference betweene this meat and all others. And againe in Psal.* 91. *No man eateth it before he adore it. And S. Ambros. lib.* 3. *c.* 12. *de spir. sanct. We adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries. S. Chrys. hom.* 24. *in* 1. *Cor. We adore him on the altar, as the sages did in the manger. S. Nazianzen in epitap. Gorgon. My sister called vpon him which is worshipped vpon the altar. Theod. Dial.* 2. *In confes. The mystical tokens be adored. S. Denis this Apostle scholler, made solemne inuocation of the sacrament after consecration. Eccl. Hierar. c.* 3. *part.* 3. *in princ. & before the receiuing, the whole church of God crieth vpon it, Domine non sum dignus, Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori. Lambe of God, that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy on vs. * And for better discerning of this diuine meat, we are called from common profane houses to Gods church:*

church: for this, we are forbidden to make it in vulgar apparell, and are appointed sacred solemne vestiments. Hier. in Epitap. Nepot. & lib. 2. adv. Pel. ca. 9. Paulinus ep. 12. ad Seuer. Io. Diac. in vit. D. Greg. li. 3. ca. 59. For this is the hallowing of Corporals and chalices. Ambr. 2. off. ca. 28. Nazian. Orat. ad Arianos: Optatus li. 6. in initio. For this profane tables are remoued, and altars consecrated. Aug. Serm. de temp. 255. For this, the verie priests themselues are honorable, chast, sacred, Hier. ep. 1. ad Heliodor. ca. 17. li. 1. adv. Iouin. ca. 19. Ambr. in 1. Tim. 3. For this the people is forbidden to touch it with common hands. Nazian. orat. ad Arian. in initio. For this great care & solicitude is taken, that no part of either kind fall to the ground, Cyril. Hieros. mystag. 5. in fine. Orig. ho. 13. in ca. 25. Exod. For this sacred prouision is made, that if any hosts or parts of the sacrament do remaine vnreceiued, they be most religiously reserued with all honor and diligence possible, and for this, examination of consciences, confession, continencie, and (as S. Augustine saith) receiuing it fasting. Thus do we Catholiks & the church of God discerne the holy body & blood by S. Pauls rule, not only from your prophane bread & wine (which not by any secret abuse of your curats or clearks, but by the verie order of your booke, the minister, if anie remaine after your Communion, may take home with him to his owne vse, & therfore it is no more holie by your owne iudgement, than the rest of his meates,) but from all other either vulgar or sanctified meates, as the catechumens bread, and our vsuall holie bread. Theop. If I had thought we should haue had adoration of the sacrament proued, & heere commeth* hallowing of coapes, corporals, chalices, altars, priests, pixes, and (not at al, or last of all) the hallowing of soules, which in wise mens account deserued to go alone, or at least first in ꝑ Kalender. For your often & curious cleansing of the out sides of coates, cups, stones, hands, & such like implemẽts, sauoreth of the phariſies holines, who supposed then as you do now, that God is highly serued with such solemne prouision and sacred solicitude, though this be more than euer Christ at his last supper had care for, or mind of, for ought that we find by report of the Gospell. Mary this is not our purpose. You must proue your adoration of the sacrament, let hallowing of vestments & altars alone till another time: and persue that which is denied. Phil. So we do. Haue you not heere* S. Austen, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, S. Nazianzene, Theodoret, & S. Denys, that ꝑ sacrament should be adored? Theop. Theodoret is not in your bookes, that

Epi. 118. ca. 6.

as well as this that heere ensueth.

*The Phariſies and the Iesuits meet iust in this kind of holines.

This number is sufficient if they speake to the matter.

The fourth part. No Father teacheth the adoration of the sacrament.

he is not sainted with the rest: yet is he an ancient and learned writer: but take your pleasure: the rest well deserue it, and therefore I am not angrie with it, though S. Paul extend the name Saint to the hearers, as well as to the teachers, and to the liuing as well as to the dead. Phil. You would be Saints. Theo. God graunt vs to be his seruants. Phil. You must change your faith first. Theo. Why? We worship no creatures in stead of Christ, as you do. Phil. Will that lying neuer be left? Theo. Would God for your own sakes it were a lie, but I feare it is too true. Phil. Christ we adore, creatures we do not. Theo. The sacraments you adore, and those be creatures: as in Baptisme the water, in the Lords supper, the bread and wine, Phil. We adore the B. sacrament of the Altar, as we learned of the Catholike Fathers: creatures we adore none. Theop. Of what Fathers did you learne it? Phil. I haue told you, of S. Austen, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, S. Nazianzene, Theodoret, & S. Denys. Theo. Set Theodoret aside (who writing in Greeke, vseth the word adoration for an externall regard and reuerence, such as we giue to the bookes and vessels that are sanctified to diuine vses, though more amplie to the sacraments ordained by God himselfe: and saith, that the mysticall signes themselues remaining in their former (and earthly) substance, are adored, that is reuerently and religiously handled, as becometh so great mysteries:) I say set him aside, and not one of the rest so much as toucheth y which you should proue.

They suppose creatures to be Christ: and then at all aduentures they adore them in his stead.

All these Fathers are impertinent to this purpose. Not one of them besides Theodoret speaketh of the externall Sacrament.

Phil. They say the Sacrament must be adored. Theop. They say Christ must be adored. Phil. Yea, but *in the mysteries*, and *on the altar*. Theo. So Christ is to be adored, in heauen, in his Church, & most of all in our owne hearts and bodies: will you thence collect that either heauen, or y temple, or our selues are to be adored? Phil. But neither heauen, nor the temple are sacraments. Theo. Yet Christ is adored in them, though they be not in like sort with him, and so may Christ be adored in the mysteries, though the mysteries themselues may haue no such honor.

It is one to adore Christ which is in the mysteries, and another to adore the mysteries themselues which no father teacheth.

The Rhemish Test. *fol.* 453. *Epist.* 118. *ca.* 3.

Phil. *S. Austen saith, It is he that the Apostle saith should be damned that doth not by singular veneration or adoration make a difference betweene this meate and all others.* Theop. S. Austen in that place speaketh not one word of adoration. He saith: The Apostle

Saint Auguſtine was far from adoring the Sacrament. Apoſtle affirmeth it to be vnworthilie receiued of them, *qui hoc non diſcernebant à cæteris cibis veneratione ſingulariter debita*, which did not diſcerne it from other meates with the veneration (that was properlie or) ſingularlie due (vnto it.) Phil. **Verie well. Singular veneration is all one with diuine adoration.** Theop. **In your corrupted iudgements.** Phil. **What elſe is it?** Theo. Veneration is a word that S. Auſten **fourdeth all the ſignes and ſacraments of the old and new Teſtament**, adoration **he reſerueth only to God. Of veneration he ſaith**, *Qui veneratur ſignum vtile diuinitus inſtitutum, non hoc veneratur quod videtur & tranſit, ſed illud potius, quo talia cuncta referenda ſunt.* He that reuerenceth a ſigne that is profitable, and ordained by God, reuerenceth not the thing which is viſible and tranſitorie, but that rather, to which all ſuch (ſignes) are referred. **And ſo concludeth namely of Baptiſme and the Lords Supper.** *Quæ vnuſquiſque cum percipit quo referantur imbutus agnoſcit, vt ea non carnali ſeruitute, ſed ſpirituali potius libertate veneretur.* Which (two Sacraments) when euerie Chriſtian receiueth, he knoweth, being once partaker of them, whether to refer them, that he may reuerence them with a ſpirituall libertie, rather than with a carnall ſeruitude.

S. Auguſtine peruerted by the Ieſuits.

Aug. de Doct. Chri. li. 3. ca. 9.

Ibidem.

S. Auguſtine alloweth veneration but not adoratiõ to this or anie other Sacrament.

And leaſt you ſhould not vnderſtand what difference he putteth betweene the corporall creature, and the heauenlie brightneſſe in this, and ſo in other Sacraments, he ſaith farther: *Ea demum eſt miſerabilis animæ ſeruitus ſigna pro rebus accipere, nec ſupra creaturam corpoream oculum mentis ad hauriendum æternum lumen leuare non poſſe.* That is a miſerable bondage of the ſoule, to take the ſignes (or Sacraments as you do) for the things themſelues, and not to be able to lift vp the eie of the mind aboue the corporall creature to perceiue the eternall brightneſſe.

Ibidem. li. 3. cap. 5.

Not to diſtinguiſh the ſignes from the things is a miſerable ſeruitude of the ſoule.

Of adoration he ſaith, *Recte ſcribitur hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne ſe adoraret, ſed vnum Deum, ſub quo eſſet ei & ille conſeruus.* It is verie well recorded in the ſcriptures that a man was prohibited by an Angell to adore him, but onlie God, vnder whome he him-ſelfe was a fellow ſeruant vnto God. **And therefore he ſaith**, * *Ecce vnum Deum colo*, Behold, I worſhip (and adore) none but God: **and thence he deriueth the name of religion**, *Quod ei vni religet animas noſtras.* Becauſe it relieth our ſoules on him alone. **So that veneratiõ**

Auguſt. de vera Religio. cap. 54.

Adoration due only vnto God.

* *Ibidem.*

Ibidem.

 Saint Augustine was far from adoring the Sacrament.

you may giue to sacraments, adoration you may not, and yet you finelie conuey the one into S. Augustines text iointlie with the other, as if they were both found in his words which they are not.

Phil. He saith *singular veneration*. Theop. You saie so, but he saieth not so: his words are, *Veneratione singulariter debita*, with that veneration which is due (onlie or) singularlie to this Sacrament. Phil. And what is that but adoration? Theop. If you might be iudges, it should be nothing else but S. Augustine saith, Not to be contemned, is the veneration due vnto it. *Contemptum solum non vult cibus ille*: that meate misliketh onlie contempt: that is either to be dailie receiued without regard, or to be still refused vpon pretence of vnworthinesse. And that being the case of which S. Augustine disputeth, your cunning seruеth you, in steede of examining themselues, before they receiue it, which S. Augustine meaneth, to set the people not at all to receiue it, but to fall downe and adore it with diuine honour in Christes place, which is as wilfull a contempt of his ordinance, and as shamefull an abuse of his sacraments as can be committed.

August. epist. 118. What veneration is due to this Sacrament.

Phil. The same father in an other place saith of the sacrament, No man eateth it before he adore it. Theop. Are you not desperatlie set, that to defile your selues with open idolatrie, will force the fathers to fit your humours against their owne speeches? S. Augustine saith of Christes flesh which he toke of the virgine Marie, *Nemo illam carnem manducat nisi prius adorauerit*. No man eateth that flesh of Christ vnlesse he first adore it: you make no more bones at the matter, but strike THE FLESH (of Christ) out of Saint Augustines words, and refer adoration to the corporall creature, which the priest holdeth in his fingers. Is not this, trow you, found dealing in the greatest mysteries of our saluation, and imminent perill of your damnation, purposely to shut your eies least you should see the truth, or agnise the rashnesse of your new found adoration? What haue Saint Augustines words to do with your adoring the mysticall signes, when he directlie nameth the flesh of Christ, which is both eaten with the spirit, and adored in the spirit: yea, the verie eating of it, is the adoring of it, since it is not eaten

In Psal. 98.

What S. Augustine spake of Christes flesh, the Iesuits turne to their host.

The true eating of Christs flesh is all one with the adoring of it.

eaten but by beleeuing, hoping and reioicing in it, which are the chiefe branches of Gods diuine honor.

Phil. As though the flesh of Christ were not really closed in the forme of bread, and corporally eaten with the mouth of man? Theop. One error must needs draw on an other, or rather your reall & carnal presence is the ground-worke of all your errors and abuses in the masse. Phil. The deniall of it is the high way to all your heresies and blasphemies against the doctrine of the Church: and for our parts, til you leaue that, we looke for no better at your hands. Theop. Looke to your owne feet, least whiles you watch our hands, your legs slip into the pit of destruction. Phil. We be past all feare of that. Theop. And so be those that are past all recouerie: but yet for the saluing of other mens soules, if not of yours, we will first weigh the proofes of your adoration, and after not sticke to suruey the parts of your transubstantiation. Go on therefore with your former authorities.

The ground of all their errors and abuses in the masse is their reall presence.

Phil. S. Ambrose saith, *We adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries. Theop. Verely and *so do we, but the mysteries and sacraments themselues we do not adore, neither did S. Ambrose euer teach any man to adore them. Phil. I see you mistake vs. You think we adore the formes of bread and wine, where in deed we do not, but rather we adore Christ the sonne of the liuing God, and second person in trinitie in those mysteries, as S. Ambrose saith, or as we speake more vsually vnder those *formes of bread and wine.

*De spirit. sanct. lib. 3. cap. 12.

*We adore Christ in them: we adore not the mysteries themselues.

Theop. I mistake you not, I know you adore that which is locally and really inclosed within the compasse of your host and chalice, supposing it in matter and substance to be the glorious body of Christ, apparelled with accidents of bread and wine, as whitenesse, roundnes, sweetnesse, moistnesse, and such like proprieties of bread and wine; but your foundation we say is false, and therefore your building must needs be ruinous. Christ is present in the mysteries not by the materiall substance of his body closed within the formes of bread and wine, but by a diuine and spirituall vertue and efficience, not mixing his substance with the elements, but entering the harts of the faithfull, and nourishing them with his spirit and grace

The accidents of bread and wine be absurdities, they be no mysteries.

How Christ is present in the mysteries.

grace to eternall life, the elements abiding in their proper and former essence and substance. And therefore when you adore them, as if they were Christ in nature and substance, which in truth they are not, you worship not Christ, but giue his honor to creatures, and in stead of washing your sinnes away by the death & blood of Christ, you kindle the wrath of God against you, by mistaking his sonne, and adoring the elements with diuine honor in lue of Christ.

This is not to adore Christ, but the creatures

Phil. Tush, we regard not these words of yours: we haue assurance from Christ himselfe that it is his body, and so long we passe not for any thing that you can alledge or obiect against vs. Theop. But if you misconster his words to make a dead and corruptible creature to be the second person in trinitie, and giue it that honor which is due to the glorious and immortall God, what assurance can you haue that Christ Iesus will put vp this reproch at your hands, & not auenge himselfe on you, as on proud idolaters?

The misconstruction of Christes words leadeth them to this idolatry.

Phil. Are you well in your wits to vrge vs so often with open idolatrie, whereas we shew you so plaine proofs of our defence? Theop. Plaine quoth you? In good faith they be such as no meane scholer would stumble at. Christ you proue, is adored *in the mysteries, and on the altar*. Why should he not be adored in all places, and in all his gifts, and for all the monuments of his grace & mercie bequeathed vs in this life, that he may prepare vs for the next? And if this rule be generall, how great cause haue we to adore him in the water, where he cleanseth vs from our sinnes: and at the table, where he feedeth and strengtheneth our soules and spirits with their proper nourishment, which is the precious ransome that was paid to recouer vs from death and hell, and to bring vs to his immortall light and blisse? What christian hart recounting his aboundant goodnesse and fatherly readinesse with his owne stripes to heale vs, with his owne blood to wash vs, with his owne death to quicken vs, will not be resolued into prayers and teares, to yeld all honor and adoration to him that doth offer vs these treasures at and on his table?

Christ is adored in the mysteries, though he be not locally inclosed in them.

Phil. These be goodly words to bleare mens eies, where in

in deed you deny him to be present either at, or on the altar. Theop. We confesse him to be there present with all his gifts and blessings to him, that will behold him with the eie of faith, and reach out the hand of his soule to apprehend him in greater might and maiestie, than you do, when you shroud him with your formes of bread and wine, and pale him round with a pixe as it were with a sepulchre. Mary locall dimension or inclusion within the compasse of the host or chalice we appoint him none: his truth is annexed to the sacraments, and his power united to the creatures after a wonderfull and inspeakeable manner, by the mighty working of the holy ghost: but yet we must not direct his diuine honor and seruice to any part of the altar, or circumference of the visible creatures: we must rather Lift vp our harts as the faithfull were alwaies admonished in this sacrament, and take heed that we do not basely bend our eies on the bread or wine to seeke Christ in them, and vnderneath them, much lesse worship them in stead of him, which is the next waie to dishonor him, and deifie them againste the verye rules and principles of our faith.

We shut him not vp in the compasse of the host, but by faith we behold and inioy his presence at his table.

This presence is fruitfull and effectual, theirs is not.

We must lift vp our harts, not to the host, but vnto heauen.

Philand. But Saint Chrysostom saith, We adore him on the altar, as the sages did in the manger: and Saint Nazianzene saith of his sister Gorgonia, she called on him which is worshipped on the altar. Theoph. What words soeuer Chrysostome and Nazianzene vse to expresse the place where Christ is serued and adored: yet this is euident, that they attribute adoration not to the visible element or sacrament, but vnto Christ, who may well be said to be worshipped on the table or altar, for so much as there is the fruit, force and effect of his heauenly grace and truth proposed vnto all, and from thence the prayers and thanks of all are offered vnto him by the religious hart and voice of the pastor that standeth at the Lords table to be the mouth of all, and yet you deale vntruly with both those fathers, as you do almost with all the rest of the writers that passe your pen.

Chrysost. in 1. Cor. hom. 24. Nazianz. in epitaph. Gorgo.

Christ is honored and serued on the altar, though he be not corporally fastned to the host.

Chrysostoms words are, *Tu non in præsepe id, sed in altari vides.* Thou seest (his body) not in a manger, but on the altar. Nowe betweene seeing and adoring, there is good

Chrysostom corrupted by the Iesuits.

difference, if you be not so blind, that you can see nothing. Phil. He speaketh it to that end, that we should adore it as the sages did when they found him in a manger. Theop. He hath some words tending to this end, that we should adore the body of Christ, since the wicked and barbarous Magi did yeeld him that honor, but he ioineth no such words together as you cite: he saith not, we adore him on the altar, but let vs that be citizens of heauen, at least imitate those Barbarians. Phil. That is in adoring Christ. Theop. As if we doubted of that? But where is, on the altar, which you haue added of your owne, without your authors consent?

Chrysost. in 1. Cor. hom. 24.

Phil. He saith, thou seest him on the altar. Theop. But neither with corporall eies, nor vnder the formes of bread and wine. And that well appeereth in the very same place, when he saith: *Ascende igitur ad cœli portas, & tunc quod dicimus intueberis*. Clime vp to the gates of heauen, and then thou shalt see that which we now say. To which end he told them before, that becomming eagles in this life, they must flie vp to heauen it selfe, or rather aboue the heauens. For where the carcase is (saith Christ) there will the eagles be. The Lordes bodie (is) the carcase in respect of the death (which he suffered.) Eagles (Christ) calleth vs to shew vs that he must flie on high, which will come to this body, and euer mount vpward, and haue the eie of his mind most bright, to behold the son of righteousnes. He that teacheth you to ascend to the highest heauens there to adore Christ, neuer ment you should adore the host in the priests hands in steed of Christ: and as he neuer ment it, so he neuer spake it, though you haue plaied some ligier de main to make his words sound to that sense.

We must get vp to heauen with the wings of faith, before we can rightly adore Christ, as Chrysostom would haue vs to adore him.

We may behold the host with lesse ado, if that had bene Chrysostoms meaning.

Phil. Nazianzenes sister called on him that (is) worshipped vpon the altar. Theop. She did so: but when she made her praiers to Christ, there was neither priest by, nor pix there, that you should dreame she made her praiers to the host. Nazianzene saith she went to the Church νυκτὸς ἀωρίαν τηρήσασα in the darke of the night, and knœling close to the altar, she did inuocate, τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενον, him that is honored thereon: not meaning the host, which at that instant was not on the altar: but Christ who is truly said to be honored on the altar or table, because his mercies are

Nazianz. in epitaph. Gorgo.

Christ is truly said to be

are there laid forth in the mysteries, and the praiers and supplications of all the faithfull offered chiefly from that place vnto him, though he sit in heauen according to the materiall substance of his humane body.

honored on the altar, because his mercies are thence deliuered vnto vs and our praiers from thence offered vnto him sitting in heauen.

Phil. *He is honored on the altar*; that is say you the altar is the place whence honor is giuen vnto him, what sleights you haue to auoid the fathers? Theo. Haue you no worse to inforce them, and you shall do them lesse wrong than you do. When the woman of Samaria said to Christ, Our fathers worshipped (God) in this hill, did she meane that God was in the hill, or that the worship was there done vnto him? When it was said to Moses, *Ye shall serue God vpon this mountaine: was that mountaine before hand allotted to God, or to his seruice? So Christ is honored on earth, though he be in heauen, because the earth is the place where he is honored and serued. And yet we doubt not but Christ himselfe is also present euen *in the mysteries and on the altar* or table of the Lord, albeit not in that corporall and carnall manner which you conceiue. And therefore though the words carie a double sense, yet we admit them both, so you adore Christ and not the creatures of bread and wine in his stede, which Nazianzen was farre from allowing, and his sister from doing.

*Ioan.4.

*Exod.3.

Christ is honored on earth, & yet that doth not prooue him to be personally on earth.

For speaking in the same place of the mysticall elements, which you would haue the people to adore as Christ, he saith, εἴπου τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ χεὶρ ἐθησαύρισεν, τοῦτο καταμιγνῦσα τοῖς δάκρυσι. If any where (about her) she found part of the figures of the sacred bodie & blood which her hād had laid vp in store, watering that with teares (not adoring it with diuine worship) she departed presentlie cured of her disease. That which you affirme to be the reall and naturall flesh and blood of Christ, she had about her, as manie men and women vsed in the primitiue church to carie the same about them, and yet she did not adore that which she had in her hand, but him that is serued and honored on the altar or table of the Lord.

Nazianzens sister had the sacrament about her, which she did not adore, but him that was serued on the sacred table.

Phil. You pare these places with certaine circumstances I know not how. But S. Denys *the Apostles scholer, made a solemne inuocation of the sacrament after consecration* in these words: But thou, O diuine and most holie sacrament, shew,

Eccles. Hierarch. cap.3.

The fourth part. Dionysius made no inuocation of the sacrament.

shew (thy selfe) plainely to vs, and brighten the eies of our mind with thy singular light that can not be couered. You aske proofe for adoration of the sacrament, * we shew you where the Apostles scholler praied to the blessed sacrament in expresse words, and higher adoration than praier there can be none. What would you more? Theop. We would haue you regard if not your consciences before God, yet your credits before men. Phil. Do we not so thinke you; when we come with saint Pauls scholler, and teach the people to do as he did? Theoph. O wicked and willfull corruption! Phil. Corruption? Why? What? Wherein? Theop. The praier which he maketh to the sonne of God, you wrest to the corporall and externall creatures. Phil. No sir, that shift will not serue. * His words be, But thou O diuine and most holy sacrament, which he spake (after consecration,) and yet you will not acknowledge them, you be so furiously bent against the blessed sacrament.

*We will shew you where you haue corrupted this father in expresse words.

* If these be not his words, then you be furiously bent to forge.

Theop. *After consecration* whats that? Was he at masse when he made this praier? Phil. He *made this inuocation of the sacrament after consecration*. Theop. Did ye euer read the words? Phil. Twenty times. Theop. Where was the host, when he made this praier? Phil. What can I tell? To the host he made it. Theop. Was he praying at the altar, or writing in his study when he vttered these words? Phil. What is that to vs? Theop. You say, he praied to the host, and that after consecration: where he good man was busie at his booke, and beseeching God to lighten his vnderstanding that he might write the truth. Phil. Wheresoeuer he was, he saith, O thou diuine and most holie Sacrament.

You neuer read them once. The Iesuits say *this inuocation of the sacrament was made after consecration*, as if Dionysius had beene mumbling a masse and not writing a booke.

Theop. Did he write in Latin or in Greeke? Phil. In Greeke. What then? Theop. The word Sacrament is not Greeke. Phil. No. μυστήριον is the Greeke word: but that in Latin is the Sacrament. Theop. Graunt the Greeke word were μυστήριον, are there no mysteries besides the Sacrament? Phil. Yes. There are mysteries that are not the Sacrament. Theoph. You shall otherwise not onelie enlarge the limits of your Masse to containe your seuen Sacraments, but also multiplie the number of your seuen Sacraments, to seuen thousand times seuen. For

If the Greek word had bin μυστήριον, as it is not, that was no cause for you to wrest it to the Sacrament.

all

all secrets and wonders in heauen, earth and hel, which passe the reach or knowledge of the naturall or regenerate man, be mysteries. Phil. In deede a mysterie is a secrete, as well as a sacrament. Theop. And that in euil things as well as in good. As [a] the mysterie of iniquitie, [b] the mysterie of the woman and beast, on which the whore of Babylon sate. Phil. All this is true.

a 2.Thes.2.
b Apoc.17.

Theop. And as in euill, so in good things, Saint Paul saith often, The mysterie of God and of Christ. As when he signifieth to the Colossians his care for them to [c] know the mysterie of god euen the father, and of Christ, and so the [d] mysterie of faith, [e] of the Gospell, [f] of Godlines, and such like. Phil. Very well. Theop. As these be mysteries because they be secrets aboue our naturall capacitie though reuciled vnto vs by God in his word, so is the nature of God a most incomprehensible mysterie, namely the mysterie of the blessed trinitie, which is neither expressеable in our words, nor conceiueable with our harts. Phil. This we doubt not of. Theop. So is there the mysterie of Christs incarnatiō, of his death & passion, of his resurrection and ascension, and of a thousand such, which Christ calleth the [g] mysteries of the kingdome of God, and Paul meaneth when he saith, Let a man so esteeme vs as the ministers of Christ & disposers of Gods [h] mysteries. And for that cause the whole gospel is called [i] a mysterie hid since the world began and from all ages, but now made manifest to his Saints.

The mysterie of the sacrament of the altar.
c Colos.2.
d 1.Tim.3.
e Ephes.6.
f 1.Tim.3.
The diuine and humane natures of Christ are most wonderfull mysteries.
g Mat.13.
h 1.Cor.4.
i Colos.1.

Phil. This is not to our purpose. Theop. I thinke it be not: you haue vtterly peruerted the words of Dionysius, (if that be his worke, and those were his words which you alleage,) and nowe you are loth to see it. Phil. Conuince vs before you condemne vs. Theop. What other conuictiō nede we than your owne conclusion? Dionysius speaking to Christ saith, at lest as you suppose, Thou diuine and most holy mysterie, repleniſh the eyes of our soules with (thy) singular and vnextinguished light. You, because the word mysterie when it is applied to corporall & externall creatures doth somtimes signifie a sacrament, haue robbed Christ of his honor, and giuen it to the element of bread, and slaundered that writer, whatsoeuer he was, for an open idolater like to your selues. Are not the people well holpe vp to trust such gamsters as you be, that leade them

The Iesuits ignorance in wrestling Dionysius.

to so dangerous impietie with such manifest impudency?

The Iesuits meanes to defend their errors, be as wicked as their errors.

Phil. Your railing vaine is come vpon you. Theop. And what vaine is come on you that will rather make a shipwracke of your owne and other mens saluations, than you will seeme to relent from your errors? Phil. It is no error. Theop. It is an impious and haynous error: and you bolster it vp with as euill and wicked meanes, that is by corrupting and forcing other mens writings to beare out your doings.

He may treat of the sacrament, & yet speake to Christ because Christ is the truth and perfection of the sacraments.

Phil. Dionysius in that whole chapter treateth of nothing but of the sacrament. Theop. And the sacrament consisting of two parts, an earthly and an heauenly: the heauenly part of the sacrament is Christ. Why might he not therefore make his praier vnto Christ to direct his pen, before he assaied to treat of those mysteries? Phil. So he did, but yet intending to pray to Christ, he speaketh to him in the sacrament. Theop. It is one thing to pray to the sacrament, as you though falsely say, Saint Denys did; and an other thing to pray to him that is euery where present in that he is God and hath a speciall kinde of operation by the power and grace of his flesh and blood in the sacred mysteries as he is man vnited in the same person with God. And yet these words do not import him to be in the sacrament. Certainely Christs diuine and humane nature were most wonderfull mysteries before this sacrament was ordained: and all the words that your author vseth if they were, as you cite them, are onely these, Thou diuine and most holy mysterie, which agree to Christ without any respect of the sacrament, more properly and truly than to your host or chalice.

Do you not peruert the words when you force them for adoration of corruptible creatures against the authors meaning?

Phil. Yet they may be taken as spoken to the sacrament: and therefore we did not peruert them, we did but preferre that construction before the other. Theop. That is, where diuine honor was giuen to Christ, you deriue it from him to the host. Phil. Not from him, but finding him truly & corporally present in the sacrament, there we honor him where we find him. Theop. Your doings we knowe: but Dionysius words haue no such sence. Phil. They may haue; & that sufficeth vs. Theop. But if by them you will proue so great a matter as this is, which we now haue in hand: they must necessarily enforce your exposition & not indiffe-

indifferently beare an other as well as yours or rather better.

This answer might suffice, if Dionysius had vsed the word μυστήριον, as you suppose he did: but now his text is, ἀλλ' ὦ θειοτάτη καὶ ἱερὰ τελετὴ τὰ περικείμενά σοι συμβολικῶς ἀμφιέσματα τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκαλυψαμένη τηλαυγῶς ἡμῖν ἀναδείχθητι. But O most diuine and holy expiation (or sacrifice) reueiling the enigmaticall couerings, which are figuratiuely adiacent vnto thee, be opened clearly vnto vs: Or if any man like rather to haue it an apostrophe, to a thing lacking life, such as the learned are wel acquainted with, and the scriptures often vse: he may interpret it neerer to the right signification of the word τελετὴ, and say, but O most diuine and sacred rite or institution, referring it to that manner and order of celebrating the Lords supper, which Christ first ordained, and may properly be called τελετὴ. Howsoeuer it is euident he maketh no inuocation of the host or chalice, nor speaketh to them, but calleth them ἀμφιέσματα τῶν αἰνιγμάτων συμβολικῶς περικείμενα, ænigmaticall vailes or integuments figuratiuely adherent or annexed to the perfection of ye mysteries. A second exposition of Dionysius his words. Dionysius distinguisheth the elements from that which he speaketh to.

Phil. Run you for refuge to the rhetoricians? Theop. As though the scriptures were not full of the like speeches? Ioshua said, Thou sun stand still in Gibeon, and thou moone in the valley of Aialon. And so the man of Iudah, O altar, altar, thus saith the Lord, behold. And Esay himselfe began his prophesie with, Heare O heauens, and harken O earth. Phil. Those were speeches, not praiers; as this is. Theop. They be all imperatiue moodes, as well as this, & so is that saying of Dauid, Lift vp your heads ye gates, & be ye lift vp, you euerlasting dores, & the king of glory shal come in; which yet is no praier to the dores. The moode of it self is not precatiue, except the person be such, as we must not command but onely intreat: & being vsed to things without life, it sheweth the desire of our hart touching them, not any supplication vnto them. And therefore you do not only the diuines, but also the grammarians wrong when you conclude an inuocation of the sacrament out of Dionysius words, because the verbes be imperatiue. For the word τελετὴ containeth the whole action, institution, & celebration of the Lords supper, yea the inward grace as well as the outward elements: & Dionysius might say to

Iosu.10. 3.Kings 13. Esa.1. Psal.24.

The imperatiue moode is no praier except the person be such as we may not otherwise speake vnto but by praier

Christs ordinance ἀναῴγηται, be opened vnto vs, without inuocation of the host or chalice, as well as Dauid said, ἐπάρθητε be you lifted vp, to the gates, and yet made them no gods.

Christ is not really couered with the vailes of bread and wine, but figuratiuely represented and truly receiued by them.

Phil. Yet by this place you see, Christ is couered with the formes of bread & wine, as with garments, & that is word for word our opinion. Theo. Adde συμβολικῶς, figuratiuely as your author doth, & then both your real presence is ouerthrowne, & the doctrine which we teach clearly established. For we confesse that Christ worketh in vs, & presenteth himselfe vnto vs in these mysteries, as it were in certaine vailes and couerings. Which mystically by way of signification & spirituall operation containe & cloth his grace & truth, but not really, nor by materiall or corporall inclusion, as you affirme: and so himselfe expresseth his mind in this very chapter, ὅπερ δίνται τῷ θείῳ συνάπτειν ἱερῷ σεβασμίων συμβόλων, δι' ὧν ὁ χειρὸς σημαίνεται μετέχεται. The reuerent (or venerable) signes, by which Christ IS SIGNIFIED & imparted vnto vs, being set on the altar: Christ is signified and receiued by these signes and figures, & to him, not to the sacrament, spake Dionysius (if that were his worke,) but that Christ is locally or substantially closed within the formes of bread and wine, or that he praied to the host and chalice, Dionysius hath no such sense nor words.

Dionys. eccles. hierarch. ca. 3.

Phil. To Christ he spake, we doubt it not, mary when he was couered with signes and figures of bread & wine. Theop. Signes and figures the ancient fathers do not take for shewes and accidents as you do, but for substantiall and vsuall creatures, such as you may not adore. Phil. We say no. Theop. Of that anon: in the meane time, well you may thinke that had you bene in Dionysius place, you would haue praied to the sacrament, but his words import no such matter.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 453. *This is right Iesuiticall religion to cry thus vpon a dumb and dead creature-

Phil. Why should not he as well as the rest of the godly? *The whole Church * crieth vpon it, Domine non sum dignus, Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori: Lambe of God, that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy on vs.* Theop. Whom meane you by the whole Church; your selues, or all the godly since Christ? Phil. Neuer aske that question: they did as we do, and we do as they did. Theop. If you speake of your selues, then here is the witnesse of your owne mouth,

mouth, that you CRY VPON IT, (I meane on your host which in substance is a base and corruptible creature,) O Lord, O God, O Lambe of God that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercie on vs. What greater sinne did they commit which said to a stocke, thou art my father, and to a stone, thou hast begotten me; whome the holy Ghost hath traduced for a memorable and yet detestable crew of idolaters? Whether it is greater to be a father, or to be a God? to beget, or to take away the sinnes of the world? They said the one, you say the other: Who can forbid the banes but that you should be coupled with them, if not preferred before them as more outragious in dishonoring God than they were?

No blasphemy.

Ier. 2.

The Iewish and heathen idolaters were neuer so grosse.

Phil. Do we not this to Christ, and is he not worthy of it? Theop. Why then do you cry on it, and not on him? Phil. We be perswaded that when we call on it, we call on him. Theop. So were they that tooke a stocke for their father, & a stone for their maker. They thought they worshipped God, and not the image. Phil. But we be sure that Christ made this to be himselfe, when he said, this is my body. Theop. He said, I am the dore, I am the vine, and yet neither dore, nor vine are really and personally the son of God. Phil. He spake those things in parables, and by way of resemblance: this he spake in plaine truth without all figures: and therefore this must be substantially turned into Christ, though that be not. Theop. You make your reall and corporall presence a refuge for your erroneous and absurd assertions: but if that be false as well as the rest, then are you plunged ouer head and eares in the mire and sinke of sinne and heresie.

If it be a figuratiue speech as a non shall be prooued, you shall cough me the rankest idolaters that euer were on the face of the earth.

Phil. If God be not in heauen, we shall neuer come there: but if he be, we can not misse our way. For hath the whole Church thinke you lien in sinne and heresie till your new doctrine came lately from Geneua? Theop. Indeed I thinke this reason is euen as good as the most of those which your friends haue freshly sent vs from Rhemes; but abuse not your selues with such stately follies: God may well be in heauen and is no doubt, and yet you neuer come there for refusing the right way thither.

Phil. We go the same way that the whole Church since Christes time went before vs. Theoph. This pride

The Iesuits crake they

The fourth part. Origen and Chrysostom lengthened by the Iesuits

haue the whole church with them, when they haue not so much as one father for the greatest points of their religiō.

so bewitcheth you, that you can not see how farre you be fallen from the faith of Christs Church, which was in ancient and vncorrupted ages. Phil. As though we did not ioine with them in this and all other points of religion. Theop. You ioine with them as darke night doth with day light. Phil. Haue we not their full consent for those things which you impugne? Theop. As namely for adoration of the sacrament, where you pretend the whole Church, and shew not one man that euer taught of the sacrament that it should be adored.

Phil. Was not the whole Church taught to say vnto it, and cry vpon it, *Domine non sum dignus*, Lord I am not worthy? Theop. Proue that this or any other inuocation or adoration was vsed To it, as you say, and you shall go free for all. Phil. Origen *hom. 5. in diuers.* When thou eatest, (saith he) and drinkest the body and blood of our Lord, he entereth vnder thy roofe. Thou also therefore humbling thy selfe, say, Lord I am not worthy. So said * S. Chrysostome in his masse.

The Rhemish Testa. pag. 21. nu. 8. *Domine non sum dignus.*

**Liturg. S. Chrysost. Grec. sub finem.*

Theo. This they were taught to say, but to what were they taught to say it? Phil. To the sacrament. Theop. Who saith so besides you? Phil. Origen and S. Chrysostom. Theop. Perhaps they taught the people that kind of praier when they did communicate at the Lords table: but did they teach the people to say so to the sacrament? Phil. Euen thus to cry Vpon it, and thus to say Vnto it, Lord I am not worthy.

Origen and Chrysostom abused for inuocation of the sacrament.

Looke the places when you will, and you shall find it to be other wise.

Theop. We would gladly heare that of their owne mouthes, we trust not yours. Phil. Looke the places and you shall find it to be as we say. Theop. We haue viewed the places and find you to be liars. Phil. Are not those Origens words which we rehearse? Theop. Origen hath the words which you cite, but he teacheth not the people to direct them to the sacrament. Phil. To whom then? Theop. To whom, but to Christ the sonne of God? Phil. And he is in the sacrament. Theop. Their assertions, not your additions, are the things we aske for. That these and all other parts of diuine honor are due to Christ, no Christian may doubt; but that the same may be directed and applied to the host, that is your blasphemy, no father euer taught it.

Origen

Origen discussing the Centurions fact and faith telleth his audience that Christ entereth vnder the roofs of al beleeuers two waies; first by his ministers, then by his mysteries. *Intras & nunc Dominus sub tectum credentium duplici figura vel more.* The Lord euen at this day entereth the roofe of those that beleeue after two sorts or maners. For when holy and acceptable pastors of the Church to God enter our housen, euen then and there the Lord entereth by them, and be thou so affected, as if thou receiuedst the Lord himselfe. An other way is, when thou receiuest that holie meat, and eatest and drinkest the bodie and bloud of the Lord, for then the Lord entereth thy roofe also. Thou therefore humbling thy selfe, imitate the Centurion and say: Lord I am not worthy, that thou shouldest come vnder my roofe.

How Christ at this day entereth our roofe. *Orig. hom. 5. ad diuers.*

Christ entereth the soule and not the mouth of man.

This must be said, as well when the preacher entereth our house, as when we receiue the sacrament: for it is plaine by Origen that Christ commeth vnder our roofe in both these cases, and we are not worthy in either of them or in any other case, that the sonne of God should come vnder our roofe. Is then it were madnes to defie the preacher, because Christ vouchsafeth to come in him and with him, or to salute him with the diuine honor due to Christ and to say to a mortall man, Lord I am not worthy: so can it be no lesse impiety to say to the dead creatures in which or with which we receiue Christ from his table, Lord I am not worthy.

We must say Lord I am not worthy, to Christ, and not to the sacrament: for the Centurion said it to Christs person.

Christ is more truly & substantially in vs than in the sacrament.

Phil. Do you thinke that Christ is none otherwise in the sacrament, than he is in a mortall man? Theop. He is more truly, really and naturally in those men that be his members than he is in the elements that be vsed at his table. Phil. O shamefull heresie! Is any mortall man transsubstantiated into Christ, as the elements are by power of consecration? Theop. That which I say is most true; men are the members of Christ, bread is not: Christ abideth in them and they in him, in the bread he doth not: he will raise them in the last day, the bread he will not: they shall raigne with him for euer, the bread shall not. And therefore take backe your shamefull error of transsubstantiating the elements into Christ, since he is more really in vs than in the pixe or chalice, and yet we are not substan-

That Christ dwelleth really and corporally in vs, See Chrysostom *hom. 83. in Matt. Cyril. in Johan. lib. 10. cap. 13. & lib. 11. ca. 26. Hil. de Trinit. lib. 8.* but that he dwelleth so in the sacrament the Iesuits shall neuer proue.

tially conuerted into him.

Phil. I will neuer beleeue this whiles I haue a day to liue. Theop. Neither do I meane in this place to enter that discourse: yet for the confirmation of it, I send you to Chrysostom, Cyrill, and Hilarie, who will teach you so much in plaine words, that Christ is in vs really, naturally, corporally, carnally, substantially, which of the sacrament you shall neuer be able to proue. For the sacrament is no part of his mysticall body, as we are, and therfore we are knit vnto him euen by the truth of his & our nature, flesh, and substance, as members of the same body to their head, the sacrament is not, but onely annexed as a signe to the heauenly grace, and vertue of Christ mightily present, & truly entering the soule of euery man that is fitly prepared with faith and repentance to receiue and lodge so worthy a ghest.

Christ entereth not our mouths, whé he commeth vnder our roofe.

Phil. The sacrament is turned into the reall and naturall flesh of Christ, and so are not we. Theop. If that were true, when the sacrament is turned by naturall digestion into the nourishment of our bodies, the flesh and bloud of Christ must likewise be conuerted into the substance of our bodies: but that is so blasphemous and impious that you dare not abide it; and therefore Christ entereth not our mouthes, when he commeth vnder our roofe, but possesseth our soules and replenisheth them with his heauenly presence and power of grace and life: neither must we say to the sacrament, Lord I am not worthy; since that is an earthly & corruptible creature: but to Christ himselfe who hath promised in his gospell that he and his * father will come and dwell with vs, and performeth the same by the hearing of his word, and receiuing of his sacraments, by which meanes he commeth and * dwelleth in our harts by faith, as S. Paul affirmeth, and not in our mouths or bellies by any locall and reall comprehension as you imagine.

* Ioan. 14.

* Ephes. 3.

Phil. We do not deny that Christ commeth by his word vnto vs; but the sacraments haue a speciall presence of his, which the word hath not. Theoph. The sacraments take their force onely and wholy from the word, neither is the word any whit the stronger or better for the visible signes, but our weakenes is staied and supported by them

them and they indued with power & vertue by the word to sanctifie the receiuer, where it is beleeued. And therefore Christ commeth and dwelleth in vs, as truly by his word as by his sacraments, and if you compare them, more truly by his word, than by the signes and seales of his word.

Phil. We eat his flesh and drinke his bloud in the sacrament, in the word we do not. Theop. We eat his flesh and drinke his bloud more truly in the word, than in the sacramentall and mysticall signes. S. Hierome saith, * *Ego corpus Iesu Euangelium puto: & quando dicit, qui non comederit carnem meam, & biberit sanguinem meum luet & in mysterio possit intelligi, tamen verius corpus Christi & sanguis eius sermo scripturarum est.* The body of Iesus I thinke to be the gospell, and when he saith, he that doth not eat my flesh and drinke my bloud, though this may be vnderstood of the sacrament, yet the word of the scriptures is more truly the body and bloud of Christ. S. Augustine saith: * Beleeue and thou hast eaten: to beleeue in him, is to eat the liuely bread: & that he calleth of the twaine the truer kind of eating the flesh and drinking the bloud of Christ. For repeating these words of our sauior, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me and I in him, he saith, *Offendit quid sit non sacramenta tenus sed reuera corpus Christi manducare.* Christ sheweth what it is to eat his flesh, not by way of a sacrament, but in deede (or truly.) So that the flesh and bloud of Christ are MORE TRVLY in the members and words of Christ than in the sacraments; and yet your selues teach no man to say to the preacher, or the scriptures, Lord I am not worthie.

Christ dwelleth in vs as truly by his word, as by his sacraments.

* *Hieron. in Psal.* 147.

The flesh of Christ is eate more truly in his word tha in the sacraments.

* *De Cons. dist.* 2. § *vt quid paras. August. de ciuit. Dei. lib.* 21. *cap.* 25.

Phi. Chrysostom in his masse said the very same words, to the sacrament. Theop. How know you what he said, that died so long before you? Phil. You shall find them in his Liturgie. Theoph. Well we may hereafter, when you haue put them in; but as yet we find no such words at all in his Liturgie. Philand. The Greeke examplar hath them. Theop. Not these which either Erasmus or Leo Thuscus had when they translated it into Latine: if you haue gotten new copies contrary to the old, reason is you publish them, and proue the credits of them before we regard them. Phil So we will. Theop. And with

No such words are found in Chrysostoms Liturgy.

all you must shew that he speaketh these words to the sacrament: otherwise they conclude nothing for you, no more than Origens words did in the like case, when he taught men to say them to Christ at the sacred communion. Phil. That is your cuasion: for both Origen & S. Chrysostome said it to the sacrament. Theop. That is your intrusion: for neither Origen nor Chrysostome hath any such reference.

The words may be there and yet not spoken to the sacrament.

Phil. See the books. Theop. Neuer appeale to the sight of the books, but produce the words. This is your cunning in your Rhemish Testament to bid vs often [a] (See) the fathers, and [b] (so the rest:) but we haue seene them, where you come in thickest with them, and there find nothing for your false and erroneous fancies. And therefore either alleage their words, when you vse their names, or say you saw them not: we list not at your bidding to go seeke for oisters in the Ocean. Phil. You feare to be confounded by them, and that is the cause you will not (See) them. Theop. They be not our, but your allegations, and did they make for you, we should soone haue tidings of you: marie now their words comming short of your assertions, to beare out the matter you send the reader to the names and workes of many fathers, where he must picke out what he can at his fingers ends, and in the meane time not be able to charge you with corrupting them, since you bid him (See) them, but told him not what he should find in them. This is a way to quote what authorities you list, be they neuer so impertinent, and yet to amaze the simple with the number, and weary the learned with not expressing what words you take hold of, and what they seeke for: which in questions of faith were very needfull.

[a] *Pag.* 21. *lin.* 12. *pag.* 463. *lin.* 11.
[b] *Pag.* 452. *lib.* 30.
The Iesuits bid vs see the fathers, but they do not tell vs what we shall find there.

It is not enough to wil vs to see the fathers: they must say to what end they alleage them.

Phil. They say as we tell you, auoid it how you can. Theo. They say no such thing: and though Origen, as you haue heard be far enough from it, yet Chrysostome in the place which you cite is farther off, I meane, from directing his praiers to the sacrament.

Chrysostom praieth to Christ in heauen, not to the sacrament.

Making his supplications to God after consecration, he saith, * *Ipse Domine cælitus respice ad seruos tuos inclinantes tibi capita sua.* Thou Lord looke from heauen on thy seruants that bow their neckes vnto thee. And againe, *Attende Domine Iesu Christe Deus noster de sancto habitaculo tuo, & de throno gloriæ*

* *Lyturg. Chrysost. Ibidem.*

gloriæ regni tui, & veni ad sanctificandum nos qui in excelsis vna cum patre sedes, & hic nobiscum inuisibiliter ades. Behold Lord Iesu Christ, our God, FROM thy holie habitation, and FROM the throne of the glorie of thy kingdome, and come to sanctifie vs, who sittest in the heauens with thy father; and art heere with vs inuisiblie. He would haue Christ behold the people from heauen, not from the Sacrament.

He desireth the sonne of God to behold his seruants from heauen, not from the sacrament, and from thence he looketh for sanctification, not from the patene or chalice.

Phil. He saith that Christ is also present with vs heere on earth, though after an inuisible manner, which we take to be vnder the formes of bread and wine. Theop. That Christ is present with vs heere on earth, we firmelie beleeue, to our great comfort. Where two or three, saith our Sauiour, are gathered together in my name, I am in the middest of them: and againe, Loe I am alwaie with you vntill the end of the world: but that he is corporallie present vnder the formes of bread and wine, that is neither auouched by Chrysostom, nor admitted by vs; it is your vaine and fruitlesse fansie. Mat. 18. Mat. 28.

Phil. How can his bodie be present but bodilie? Theop. These words of Chrysostome infer not, that Christes bodie is present, but that Christ is present. And since Christ consisteth of two natures, the diuine may be present though the humane be not. Christ absent, saith Austen, is also present. For vnlesse he were present, he could not be held of vs our selues. But because it is true that he saith, Lo I am with you for euer vnto the end of the world, he is both departed, and yet heere. He is returned (whence he came) and hath not yet forsaken vs. For his bodie he hath caried into heauen, but his (diuine) maiestie he hath not taken from the world. How Christ is present with vs. *August. in Iohan. tract.* 50. His diuinitie is present with vs.

Neither is his diuine power only present with vs, but also we haue his humane nature manie waies with vs in this world. *Habes Christum in præsenti & in futuro. In præsenti per fidem, in præsenti per signum Christi, in præsenti per Baptismatis Sacramentum, in præsenti per altaris cibum & potum.* Thou hast Christ, saith Austen, in this world, and in the next. In this world by faith, in this world by the signe of Christ, in this world by the Sacrament of Baptisme, in this world by the meate and drinke of the altar. *Idem Ibidem.* His humanitie present with vs many waies, though not in substance.

By these things we haue

him

him in this world not realliе, locallie, or corporallie, but truelie, comfortablie and effectuallie, so as our bodies, soules and spirits be sanctified and preserued by him against the day of redemption, when we shall see him and enioie him face to face in that fulnesse and perfectiō which we now are assured of by faith, and prepared for by cleanesse and meekenesse of the inward man.

The Rhe. test. *pag.* 453. The auncient Church did exactlie distinguish the sacramēt from Christ.

The whole Church therefore neuer * *cried vpon the* Sacrament, *Lord I am not worthie, Lord be mercifull to me a sinner: Lambe of God that takest awaie the sinnes of the world, haue mercie on vs:* You do sinfullie slaunder them, they did exactlie and precislie distinguish the corruptible creature from the eternall creator, and taught all men to lift vp their hearts from the elements, which were before their eies, to him that is in heauen, and shall come from thence and from no place else to iudge the world.

a *De Catech. rudibus. ca.* 26.

Saint Austen will haue the rude ones to be taught that the Sacraments, are a *Signacula rerum diuinarum visibilia, sed res inuisibiles in eis honorari:* Visible seales of things diuine, but the things inuisible to be honored in thē. And as if the case were so plaine that no man could well doubt thereof, he saith, b *Si ad ipsas res visibiles quibus Sacramenta tractantur, animum conferamus, quis nesciat eas esse corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod per illas agitur, quis non videat, non posse corrumpi?* If we looke to the visible things (or elements) by which the Sacraments are perfourmed, who can be ignorant that they are corruptible? But if we looke to that which is done by them, who doth not see, that that can not be corrupted? Saint Ambrose saith, c *Venisti ad Altare, vidisti Sacramenta posita super Altare, & ipsam quidem miratus es creaturam. Tamen creatura solemnis & nota.* Thou camest to the Altar and saweste the Sacraments placed on the Altar and maruelledst at the verie creature: yet is it an vsuall and knowne creature. Origen purposelie treating what part of the sacrament did sanctifie the receiuer, saith; d *Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei & obsecrationem, iuxta id quod habet materiale in ventrem abit & in secessum ejicitur. Nec materia panis, sed super illum sermo est qui prodest non indigne Domino comedenti illum. Hæc de typico Symbolicóque corpore.* The meate which is sanctified (at the Lords table) by the word of God, and praier, as touching the materiall (parts) which it hath, goeth into the bellie and so foorth

b *De Baptis. lib.* 3. *cap.* 10.

c *Ambr. de Sacrament. li.* 4. *cap.* 3.

d *Orig. in* 15. *Matt.*

foorth by the priuie: neither is the matter of bread it, that profiteth the worthie receiuer, but the word rehearsed ouer it. This I speake of the typicall and figuratiue bodie.*

For this cause the great Councell of Nice directed the whole Church to lift vp their vnderstanding aboue the bread & wine which they saw; and by faith to cõceiue the lamb of God slaine for þ sinnes of men, & proposed & exhibited on the Lords table in those misteries: their words be

The whole church cried on the people to lift vp their hearts.

a μὴ τοί προσκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ παρεστῶτες προσέχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες ἐμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν; πίστει νοήσωμεν ὅτι τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν ἀμνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ αἴροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. Let vs not baselie bend our minds on the bread and cup, that are set before our eies (at the Lords supper) but lifting vp our thoughts, let vs by faith behold *on (or in) the sacred table the Lamb of God taking awaie the sinne of the world. Which admonition the Church euer after obserued, by crying vpon the people to lift vp their harts, not to the Sacraments which they saw, but from them to him that liued and raigned in heauen; whome they adored in equall degree with the father and the holie Ghost; and whome they beheld and touched with the eies and hands of their faith, but not with their corporall limmes or senses.

a Concil. Nice.

* ἐπὶ signifieth *in* as well as *on*.

b *Quomodo in cælum mittam manum vt ibi sedentem teneam? Mitte fidem & tenuisti.* How shall I send vp my hand to heauen, to reach (Christ) sitting there? Send thy faith (saith Austen) and THOV HOLDEST HIM (fast enough.) c *Fide Christus tangitur, fide Christus videtur: non corpore tangitur, non oculis comprehenditur.* By faith (saith Ambrose) Christ is touched, by faith Christ is seene: he is not touched with our bodie, not viewed with our eies. And therefore Chrysostom saith, d He must flie (not to the Sacrament, but) on hie that will come to this bodie: * euen to heauen it selfe, or rather aboue the heauens: for where the bodie is, there also (will) the Eagles (be.)

b *Aug. in Iohan. tract.* 50. Christ is both seene and touched by faith.
c *Ambr. in Luc. li. 6. ca. 8. de filia princ. Synag. resusci.*
d *Chrysin 1. Cor. hom. 24.*
* *Ibidem.*

Phil. The Councell of Nice saith, The Lambe of God is on the sacred table: where then did they seeke him or made they praiers vnto him, but on the Altar? Theop. They lifted vp their hearts to him that sate in heauen, and from heauen looke downe vpon thẽ, & their praiers, before they could please God, were directed to the same place & person that their hearts were. You must therefore either fasten their

Christ is on the table, because his death is solemnized in the misteries on the table.

The mysticall signes must be reuerenced,

their hearts and faiths to the Sacrament, or suffer their prayers together with their affections to ascend to heauen [a] where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, and [b] from whence we looke for (our) sauiour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ.

[a] Colos. 3.
[b] Phil. 3.

Phil. All the places which are yet alleaged against you, you haue shifted off, by referring the speeches to Christ him-selfe sitting in heauen, and as you saie not in the sacrament: but Theodorets words are so cleare, that no shift will serue. He speaketh of the verie mysticall signes and sacraments which are seene with eies, and touched with hands, and of them he saith: *Intelliguntur ea esse, quæ facta sunt, & creduntur, & adorantur vt quæ illa sint, quæ creduntur.* The Sacraments, are vnderstood to be the things which they are made, and are beleeued and ADORED as being the same which they are beleeued.

Theod. dial. 2.

Theop. Only Theodoret of all the fathers that euer mentioned adoration, spake of the Sacrament it selfe. The rest direct their words to Christ raigning in glorie, not to the host or chalice in the priests hand. He in deed speaketh of the mysticall signes, which the rest did not. Phil. Then yet there is one Father for the adoration of the Sacrament: you said we had none. Theop. Would you proue so high a point of religion, as this is, to be Catholike by one only Father, and such an one as you thinke not worthy to be called a Saint? Phil. These exceptions are but dilatorie, & quite besides ỹ matter. Do you graunt that he saith the mysticall signes must be adored? Theop. He saith so. Phil. And such bystarts as you are, would be credited against him, whē you say the sacrament is not to be adored. Theop. We reason not about our credit, but about your conclusion. Phil. That is too plaine for your stoare. Theop. Why do you then conceale it so long?

Not one of the fathers which they bring speaketh of the externall sacrament saue onlie Theodoret.

The mystical signes must be adored, but not with diuine honor.

Phil. You shall soone heare it, and haue your bellie full of it. The mysticall tokens be adored, saith that auncient father Theodoret. Marke now how nimblie we come within you, and ouerthrow you in plaine field. If you denie it, we haue heere antiquitie for it: if you graunt it, then are you worse than miscreants for holding all this while against it. Theop. With such weapōs I thinke Alexander ỹ great did conquer the world. Phi. When you come to a non plus, then you fall to idle talke. But leaue digressing, and

These men can play with shadowes verie prettie.

giue

giue vs a short & direct answer, which we know for your harts you can not. Theop. You know much; but if you knew your selues and your owne weakenes, it were better. Phil. Did I not tel you this place would ouerthrow you? Theop. Because he saith the substance of bread and wine must be adored.

Phil. He saith no such thing; but the mysticall tokens must be adored. And what are the mysticall tokens but the mysteries themselues, which are all one with the sacrament? Theop. Can you take the top and the taile, and leaue out the middle so cunningly? Phil. We leaue out nothing. Theop. Theodorets words are, *Neque enim signa mystica post sanctificationem recedunt à sua natura. Manent enim in priore substantia, & figura & forma: & videri & tangi possunt sicut & prius: intelliguntur autem ea esse quæ facta sunt, & creduntur & adorantur vt quæ illa sint, quæ creduntur.* The mysticall signes after consecration do not depart from their owne nature. For they remaine in their former substance, and figure & forme, and may be seene and touched as they were before: but they are vnderstood to be those things which they are made, and are beleeued AND ADORED as being the things which they are beleeued.

The mysticall tokens remaining in their former substance must be adored. *Theod. dial. 2.*

The mysticall signes, not departing from their owne nature but remaining in their former substance are adored. By this you may proue, if you be so disposed, that the creatures of bread and wine must be adored, which perhaps in your Church is no fault, because it is so often: but the Church of Christ abhorreth it as a wicked impietie to adore any dead or dumbe creature. And therefore you must be driuen as well as we, to seeke for another, and farther meaning in Theodoret: otherwise you will shake the foundation of your owne faith with your owne antiquitie, more than you shall do ours.

If they wil adore the substance of bread, Theodorets words will helpe them forward, but not otherwise.

Our answere is easie. The mysticall signes, he saith, are adored, but not with diuine honour: and adoration with the Grecians as also with the scriptures, when it is applied to mortall men or creatures, signifieth only a reuerent regard of their places or vses.

Adored is sometimes as much as reuerenced.

Your owne Law saith: *In hoc sensu possumus, quamlibet rem sacram adorare, id est reuerentiam exhibere.* In this sense we may adore anie sacred thing whatsoeuer, that is, giue it (due) reuerence.

De consist. 3. § venerabiles in glossa. ¶ cum.

reuerence. So that you vtterly ouerthrow both your adoration and your transubstantiation, when you brought Theodoret to tell vs that the substance of bread is adored (that is reuerenced) and yet remaineth after consecration. For if it remaine, what adore you but the substance of a dead creature? And that if you do, how many steps are you frō open idolatry? Thus though we crake not of our conquests as you do, we returne your authorities for adoring the sacrament, as either impertinent, or insufficient, and giue vs cause to consider that your worshipping it with diuine honor, is no catholike or ancient veritie, but a pernicious and wicked noueltie.

The Iesuits authorities for adoration of the sacrament, proue no such thing

Phil. Is it wickednes to worship Christ? Theop. You defile the name of Christ, and spoile him of his worship, by giuing them both to senseleste creatures. Phil. How often shall we beat this into your dull heads, that we giue this honor to the sacrament, and not to senseleste creatures? Theop. And how often shall we ring this into your deafe eares, that the sacrament in corporall matter and substance is a senseleste and corruptible creature? Phi. Did not Christ say this is my body? Theoph. You must proue the speech to be literall, as well as the words to be his. Phil. Is not the letter plaine, this is my body? Theop. The letter is so plaine, that it killeth the carnall interpreter; and hath driuen you whiles you would neds refuse the figuratiue and spirituall constructions of Christs words, to these absurdities and enormities, which haue euen ouerwhelmed your Church.

The reall presence.

This is my body, doth not infer the reall presence.

Phil. Can you wish for plainer words than these, this is my bodie? Theoph. I could wish that in expounding these words, you did relie rather on the Catholike Fathers, then on your vncatholike fansies. Phil. All the Fathers with one voice come with vs in this doctrine. Theo. You do but dreame of a drie Summer. Not one of the auncient Fathers euer spake of your reall presence, or the literall sense of these words, on which you build the rest. Phil. Will you haue a thousand places for that purpose; or if varietie of writers do rather content you, will you haue three or four hundreth seuerall Fathers, al auncient & Catholike in diuers ages and countries? shal depose for our doctrine in this point? Theop. I can enter a course to saue

Not the words, but the exposition of the words is the thing that we striue for. The Iesuits maie soone bring a thousand authorities for this point, and not one to the purpose.

you

you pains, & to make a redier dispatch if you will be ruled by me. Phil. What is it? Theo. Bring vs but one father for 800. yeers that euer taught your transubstantiation, & we will count it catholike. Phil. What talke you of one? You shall haue one hundreth of as auncient and catholike writers, as any were in the Church of Christ for a thousand yeeres after his ascending to heauen. Theop. You were best take it, when you be well offered. One faire and sufficient authoritie shall please vs better, than a cartloade of names abused, and places peruerted.

Phil. It is as easie for vs to bring them by whole hundreds. A man that once supplied the same roome which you do nowe, hath produced two hundreth of them in his Diacosion Martyrion: Vernierus, an other of our side, hath alleaged 318. seuerall and sundrie writers: as many as there were bishops in the great councel of Nice: Garetius a man of singular reading hath gathered foure hundred fortie fiue good and substantiall authors, euen from Melchizedech, to this present age, besides Poets, women councels, miracles, visions, Iewes, Ethnicks, and heretickes, which all beare witnes to our doctrine. And if you haue not seene the bookes, I will lend you them for your instruction: I could be content I tell you to be at any cost to win a soul, and wish to you no worse than to my selfe. The papists in this question thinke to conquere with number, if not with strength of places.

Theop. Your kindnes without cause, is but seruice without thanks. I haue seene your Diacosion Martyrion, *your great and vniuersall councell militant touching the truth of the most diuine sacrament of the Eucharist assembled* by *Vernierus* and your *nine orders* and ranks of I know not whom, digested by Garetius: besides the labors and trauils of many others your adherents: and reading them all, I find not one father that euer dreampt of your materiall & corporall conuersion of the elements into Christ for 800. yeeres and byward. Hyperbolicall speaches I find in Chrysostom, and some hard similitudes in Damascene and others: but a manifest testimony for the real & carnall presence, which you defend, I find non: & as for the fathers which be any thing ancient they go clearely & exactly with vs in this question. The papists heap vp places for their reall presence by hundreths, and not one to the purpose.

Phil. With you? By this a man may perceiue you neuer saw them, or at lest neuer read them. My selfe can alleage you 500. places, whereof you shall not answere one, but by

It were more wisdome for them to vnderstand what they alledge than to alledge they know not what.

mere shifts and iestes and of tropes and figures and such like mockeries. Theop. It were paines better bestowed for you to vnderstand what you alleage, than to alleage that which you vnderstand not. You may wrest & misuse 500. places of the fathers, as your friends before you haue done, in this point; & your selues in other questions haue shewed the like actiuitie. But that the substance of the bread vanisheth by consecratiõ, & the substance of Christs body really succeedeth vnder the same dimentions and accidents of bread and wine, and entereth our mouthes locally compriſed within those formes; for this you shall neuer shew vs any one father greeke or latin, with in the compasse of 800. yeers after Christ.

We striue not for Christs presence in the mysteries but for the manner of his presence.

Phil. A thousand authorities can we bring you with a wet finger that shall clearely conuince the presence of Christ in the sacrament. Theop. And not one of them shall conclud that maner of presence which you maintain. Phil. As for the maner of his being there, it forceth not much, so you grant him to be really and verily present. Theop. His presence there can dow you litle good, except the maner of his presence be likewise expressed and auouched by the places which you would bring. Phil. If he be present, *ergo* the substance of his flesh is present: and that must needs be corporally and locally compriſed in the formes of bread & wine. Theop. What father saith so besides your selues? Phil. They al say, he is present. Theop. And so dow we. Phil. In words you say it, but when you come to the push, you deny the truth and effect of his presence.

The presẽce which the Iesuits hold the fathers neuer heard of.

Theop. We dow not looke you should vnderstand vs that vnderstand not your selues. You haue framed of your owne heades a certaine maner of Christs presence in the supper without the direction or consent of any learned or auncient father: and that of all others the grosseſt & absurdeſt that could be deuised: and now you no sooner heare the name of Christs body or blood in the mysteries, but you straight way grow to a speciall conceite, that your reall and carnall presence is there confirmed & confessed. And this made your builders of Babel, as they posted through the fathers, to note euery place and person, that did but mention The body of Christ as a witnes for transubstantiation: where if it would haue pleased you & your fellowes to

Garetius, Vernierus, and the reſt, if a father do but name *the body of Christ*, bring

haue

haue weighed the rules and cautions of the fathers together with their spæches and exhortations, & not to haue hunted after your owne fancies in their phrases, but marked and remembred their instructions, how they would be taken and vnderstood, when they speake of the christian mysteries, you should haue saued a great deale of labour, which now you haue spent to no purpose, & gained securitie from this difficultie, which hath sotted your schooles and Churches with a most pernicious and yet a monsterous error.

him in by & by for a witnes on their side, & then they muster them by hundreths.

Phil. And we say that you be so blinded with presumption and rebellion against the Church of God, that you will not yeld to all the fathers that euer wrate of this matter since Christes time, but because they now and then speake of signes and figures, you *turne all to tropes and metaphors, as if neither Christ himselfe, nor any of his apostles, or their successors, the godly teachers and pastors of his Church had euer spoken properly or plainly of this sacrament, but all in clouds and riddles, such as neither priest nor people, that should come after, could possibly conceiue, and none to this day had vnderstood, til you came lately to trouble the world with heresie and iniquitie.

* You turne all from the things themselues to the signes, & that is the cause of your error.

Theo. Take your pleasures, your tongs be your owne, who can tame them if you will not containe them: You haue learned of your fathers to [a] whet them like swords, & to [b] smite with them: and to shoote forth your arrowes, euen, bitter words; but the mouth that rageth with lies (and slanders) as the wise man forewarneth, destroieth the soule; & in the meane time your errors are nothing diminished or excused by your taunts or teeth-gaules.

[a] Psal. 64.
[b] Ier. 18. Wisd. 1.

As touching the matter it self, sacraments of their own nature, and by their first and chiefest erection, are visible signes of inuisible graces; so that if they be no signes, they be no sacraments: and though the signes must be diligently distinguished from the things, yet for good causes in teaching and writing, doe the signes beare the names of the things themselues, whose signes they are, in so much that no father speaking or writing of the bread or wine after they be once made sacraments, giueth thē any other name, than the body & blood of Christ; not that in earthly matter or essence they be really conuerted into those diuine things

These two rules must be obserued in reading the fathers tou-

ching this matter, else we shall infinitely erre.

as you falsly gather, but for that remaining in their former and vsual both nature & substance, they haue in them, and cary with them the fruit, effect, and force of Christes flesh wounded, and blood shed for the remission of our sinnes. And because the people should regard not the creatures which they see, but the graces which they beleeue, therfore the fathers euery where without exception cal the elemẽts by the names of the inward and heauenly vertues, that are annexed to them, and conferred with them by the truth of his word, and power of his spirit. This is the first rule, which you should haue obserued.

To mistake the signes for the things themselues, must needes breed a monsterous error.

The next is that whensoeuer they teach & propose the dignitie, proprietie or efficacie of the sacrament, they mean not the creatures, which our eies & tasts doe better iudge of, than their tong or wits can teach vs, but that other diuine, life-giuing and soule-sauing part of the sacrament, which our harts by faith take holde on, and possesse more really & effectually, than if it were chammed in our mouths or buried in our stomaks, as you grossely conceiue of those things which be most high & heauenly. These two rules remembred, a very meane scholer may soone discharge the burden of all your allegations. For either you mistake the one part for the other, supposing that to be corporal which in deed is spirituall: or else you vrge the name which the signe beareth for similitude, as earnestly to all intents as if it were the thing it selfe, which causeth you to misconster so many textes, and to strain so farre from trueth, that no sound can recall you.

All their allegations are answered with these two obseruations.

Phi. Away with your new found obseruations: The catholike Church hath the spirit of truth promised for her direction, and therefore she will none of your wise inuentions to qualifie the fathers speeches. Learne you rather at her handes to beleeue the wordes of Christ, who first appointed this sacrament, and pronounced it to be himselfe, without signe or figure, when he said, this is my body, and this is my blood, not spiritual or metaphorical, but the same body, which was broken, & the same blood which was shed for remission of sinnes: and that I trust you will confesse was his naturall, and locall, both body and blood.

The literall pressing of these words is the ground of all their error.

Theo. The question is not, whether that were his naturall body, which suffered on the crosse, but when he said of

Christ did not make the

the

the bread, this is my body, whether he substantially changed the dead element into himselfe, and made the creature become the creator, or whether he annexed his truth to the signe, and grace to the sacrament, which required both the word of Christ to make the promise: & his power, to performe the speech. And therefore we beleeue and acknowledge the words of our saviour to be very needful in ordaining this sacrament, euen in such maner and order as they were spoken: that the signs might haue the fruits and effects of his body and blood: but that he changed substances with the bread and wine, or deified the creatures, that his speech doth not inferre: & that as yet we do not beleeue except you can shew vs how the flesh of Christ, which was first made of woman, is now become to be made of bread, & a dead & senseless creature exalted to be the sonne of God.

bread a God, but added grace to the signe that it might become a sacrament.

Phil. We do not say the bread is substantially conuerted into Christ, or made the sonne of God: but the bread is abolished, and in the place thereof commeth the glorious flesh of our Lord and saviour, who is the sonne of God. And in that sense we hold the creator is now where the creature was: but the dead element is not made the sonne of God: you would faine catch vs at such an aduantage.

If bread be not made the sonne of God, then sure the bread is not made Christ.

Theo. How you can auoid it, I yet perceiue not: for if the bread be now Christ, which before it was not, *ergo* the bread is made Christ, and by consequent a dead element is now become or made the sonne of God, which I thinke will hardly stand with the very first grounds of Christian religion.

If the bread be Christ, it must needs be made Christ: for before it was not Christ.

Phil. You presse the letter against both reason and truth. For the one is said to be conuerted or changed into the other, because the one displaceth and succeedeth the other: and so is it a change rather of the one for the other, than a conuersion of the one into the other: if you take conuersion properly, as the philosophers do. Theop. Christ doth not say, where the bread was, there is now my body, but this (bread) is my body. And since before consecration it was not his body, and now by repeating the words, is become his body: the conclusion is euident, that by your opinion ꝑ bread is made Christ, & so become the son of God.

Christ doth not say, This is changed for or with my body, but This is my bodie.

Phi. You thinke to snare vs with schoole-tricks: but setting your sophismes aside, we plainly beleeue ꝑ sacrament

is Christ. Theop. You must beleeue the bread is Christ, which as yet the articles of our Creede will not suffer vs to do, I meane, not to thinke that a dead and dumbe creature may be God. Phil. Do we say the bread is God? The. You must averre it, if you sticke to the letter of Christs words, for he said of the bread, as you inforce it, this is my selfe: now, he was God.

If the bread be Christ, ergo it is God: for he is God.

Phil. I thought I should be euen with you at landes end. Christ did not say this bread is my bodie, but this is my body, where nowe is the force of your argument? Theop. Euen where it was. Phil. Why? Christ said, this is, not meaning bread, or any other creature. Theop. That this must be somewhat, else nothing was the body of Christ, and so you lose not onely the bread, but also the body. Phil. I say he said, this is, and that must needes be somwhat, it can not be nothing. Theo. It is well you haue found it. I said so before you. Then this is my bodie. What this? Was it bread that he spake of: or something else? Phil. He spake of that, which he had in his hands. Theo. You meane, not long before. Phil. In deede you say he had at that present, when he spake the words, nothing in his hands, & so you would haue nothing to be his body.

THIS in Christs words must needs note somwhat.

THIS must be this somewhat and not this nothing.

Theoph. Hinder not our course with matter impertinent to this place. The demonstratiue THIS noteth that which Christ then gaue to his disciples, as well as that which (you thinke) he then held in his hands. Chose whether you will, of force the thing must be all one. For that which he held that he gaue, and of that which he first held and after gaue, he said, this is my body. Phil. He did so. Theoph. What was it? Phil. Somewhat it was, whatsoeuer it was. Theo. What somewhat doe you say it was? Phil. What if I cannot tell? Theo. Then must you seeke farther for your changing of substances: The words of Christ, if you know not wher of he spake, prooue no conuersion of the bread into his body. For vnlesse THIS be taken to import the bread, the bread by these words can not be changed: and if not by these, then surely by none.

The Iesuits be loth to tel vs what is meant by THIS in the words of Christ.

This indeede is the right literall sense of our sauiours words,

Phil. I see your drift: you set about to force me to confesse that by the strict coherence of our sauiours words * the bread is Christ: and since that proposition in precise speech is vntrue, you would come in with your figures. Theo.

And

And your drift is as open, that hauing deuised a reall and carnall presence to your selues by colour of Christs words, and perceiuing the same to be no way consequent to the letter, which you pretend: least you should be disproued to your faces, you will not admit the perfect and plaine context of Christs words: but stande houering about other sophisticall illusions, which will not helpe you. For we haue the full confession of scriptures & fathers against you, that the pronoune (THIS) in Christs words must be restrained to the bread and to nothing else.

& since that is apparently false, the figuratiue sense must take place.

The Lord tooke bread, and when he had giuen thanks he brake (no doubt the bread that he tooke) & gaue to the disciples (the selfesame that he brake) saying, take ye, eat ye (this that I giue you) This is my body. What THIS could our sauior meane, but THIS that he gaue, THIS that he brake, THIS that he tooke, which by the witnes of the scripture it selfe was bread? If you suppose that he tooke bread, but brake it not: or brake it, but gaue it not: or gaue it his disciples to eate, but told them not this, which he gaue them, but some other thing besides that was his body, you make the Lords supper a merry iest, where the latter end starteth from the beginning, and the middle from them both. The pronoune THIS of it selfe inferreth nothing, and therefore except you name the bread which Christ pointed vnto, when he spake these words, you confirme not the faiths, but amase the wits of your followers.

Matth. 26.

The connexion of the gospell refereth THIS to the bread in the words of Christ.

THIS of it selfe inferreth nothing, and therfore must be guided by the circumstances of the text.

S. Paul proposing the Lords supper to the church of Corinth expresseth that very word which we say the circumstances of the Gospell import. As [a] often as ye shall eate (saith he) This bread, & drinke this cup, you shew foorth the Lords death till he come. The [b] bread, which he brake, is it not the communion of Christs body? [c] Let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eate of that bread and drinke of that cup: for whosoeuer shall eate this bread and drinke the cup of the Lord vnworthily, shall be guiltie of the body & blood of the Lord. So that as well by the coherence of the former words in the description of the Lords supper, as by the manifest adiecton which S. Paul putteth to the demonstratiue, we conclude our sauior pronounced of the bread, that it was his body.

[a] 1. Cor. 11.
[b] 1. Cor. 10.
[c] 1. Cor. 11.

Saint Paul in plain speech ioineth THIS to the bread.

The referring of THIS to the bread all the catholike fathers refer

The fourth part. The papists say THIS in the words

THIS to the bread.

fathers that euer wrate with pen in the Church of God, acknowledge with one consent. Iustinus, [a] We be taught, that the sanctified food (which nourisheth our flesh and our blood) is the flesh and blood of that Iesu. Tertullian, [b] So Christ taught vs, calling bread his bodie, and discussing the words of the supper, [c] Why, saith he, doth (Christ there) cal bread his bodie? Austen, [d] That which your faith requireth to be taught, the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup his blood. Cyprian, [e] Our Lord at his table gaue (to the disciples) with his owne hands bread & wine: on the crosse he yeelded his body to the soldiers hands to be wounded, that (his apostles) might teach (all) nations how bread & wine were (his) flesh and blood. Ireneus, [f] How shall it appeere to them that the bread (on which they giue thanks) is the body of their Lord, & the cup his blood, if they grant not Christ to be the sonne of the creator of the world? [g] How did the Lord rightly, if an other were his father, taking bread of this condition, that is vsuall amongst vs, confesse it to be his body? Hierom, [h] Let vs learne that the bread which the Lord brake & gaue to his disciples, is the Lords body, himselfe saiyng to them, take ye, eate ye, this is my body. Athan. or at the least the cõmentary that is extant in his name, [i] What is the bread? the body of Christ. Epiphan. [k] Of that which is round in figure and senseless in power, the Lord would say by grace, this is my (body.) Cyrill, [l] Christ thus auoucheth and saith of the bread, this is my body. Theodoret, [m] In the very giuing of the mysteries, he called bread his body.

[a] *Iust. Apo. 2.*

[b] *Tert. aduers. Iudæos.*

[c] *Idem lib. 4. contra Marcionem.*

[d] *De cons. dist. 2. § qui mandueat.*

[e] *Cyp. de vncl. Chrismat.*

[f] *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.*

[g] *Idem lib. 4. cap. 57.*

[h] *Hier. ad Hebidiam. qu. 2.*

[i] *Athan. in 1. Cor. cap. 11.*

[k] *Epiph. in Anchorato.*

[l] *Cyril. catechis. mystag. 4.*

[m] *Theod. dia. 1.*

The Iesuits loose al hope of their transubstantiation, if THIS in the words of Christ do not note the bread.

And of all others your selues may not shrink from this resolution of Christs words: the surest hold of your reall presence, though it be not much, standeth onely on this settle. For what words haue you besides those, to proue that the bread is changed from his former substance: Verily none. Then if in these words, which should work the change, there be no mention at all of bread: how can that, which is no way comprised in them, be changed by them? So miraculous a change cannot be wrought by silence, but rather (if any such be) by the power of Christs words, & in those words must the thing at least be named, that shal be changed. Again the demonstratiue THIS must needes note that which was there present on the Lords table, before the words of consecration were wholy repeated: & the flesh

flesh of Christ could not be present vnder the likenesse of bread without or before consecration: *ergo* the pronoune inferreth not Christ, but the bread, which by your owne positions is not abolished, but [a] *in vltimo instanti prolationis verborum*, in the very last end and instant of vttring these words. And therfore remaine in his owne nature when the first word was pronounced.

[a] *De consi. dist. 2. § ante benedictionem, Glossa Ibid.*

Which some not the meanest men of your side foresaw very well howsoeuer you since haue taken other counsell, & therfore they say: [b] *Dicendum est, quod hoc demonstrat substantiam panis*, We must behold, saith Gerson, that the pronoune THIS, doth demonstrate the substance of bread: and Steuen Gardiner: [c] *Christus ait euidenter hoc est corpus meum demonstrans panem*: Christ saith plainly this is my body, pointing to the bread. Notwithstãding afterward he changed his mind in this, as in many other things & came to [d] *Indiuidũ vagum*: as if Christ had said THIS (what is it, I can not tel, but it must nedes be somwhat) is my body. Occam and other profound fellows of your side bethinking thẽselues how your opiniõ might best agree with the words of Christ, say the pronoune THIS must be referred to the [e] body of Christ, as if our sauior had said, this (my body) is my body. To make al cocksure, & coronel of your schoolmen, I mean the gloze resolueth the dout on this wise: [f] *Solet quæri quid demõstretur per pronomen hoc*, It is a common question what is ment by the pronoune THIS: whether bread or the body of Christ? Not bread, for that is not the body of Christ: nor yet the body of Christ, for it appereth not, that there is any trãsubstantiatiõ. til the words be al pronounced. To this demand I say that by the word THIS, *nothing is ment, but it is there put materially (without any signification at all.) Thus you turned and tossed the words of Christ so long till you brought all that the Lord did and said at his last supper to plaine nothing. With such vnchristian toies were your schools fraughted, and the world deceiued: such monsters you hatched when once you left the direction of the scriptures & fathers, and fell to broaching your owne gesses. But you must either admit our explication (this bread is my body) for the right ordering & perfitting of Christs words, or else dissent frõ the manifest scriptures, from all the catholike fathers, and with shame enough from your owne fellowes and fansies.

[b] *Gerson cons. Floretum li. 4.*

[c] *Gard. contra diabol. sophist.*

[d] *In his Marc. Anton. Const.*

[e] *Occam in 4. senten. dist. 13.*

[f] *De consi. dist. 2. § timorem Glossa ibidem.*

* Then haue the Iesuits small hold in the literall sense of Christs words for their transubstantiation. That this is the right purport of Christs words, it can not be doubted.

Philan. We sticke not so much at the filling vp of the wordes which Christ spake, as at the construing & expounding of them. You delude them with tropes and significations, as if Christ had been speaking parables, and not ordaining sacraments. We say there must be a reall truth & actiue force in them to performe the letter as it lieth. For in scripture so long as the letter may possibly be true, we may not flie to figures. Theo. In that you say right. We must imbrace the sense which is occurrant in the letter before all others, if it agree with faith and good maners: but if it crosse either of them, we must beware the letter, least it kill: and seeke for an other and deeper sense which must needs be figuratiue. That direction S. Augustine giueth to all men, when they read the scriptures. [a] *Ille omnino modus est (locutionis inueniendæ propriáne an figurata sit) vt quicquid in sermone diuino neque ad morum honestatem, nec ad fidei veritatem propriè referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas.* This is the perfect way (to discerne whether a speech be proper or figuratiue) that whatsoeuer in the word of God cannot be properly referred either to integritie of maners or veritie of faith, thou resolue thy selfe, it is figuratiue.

So long as the letter is true we may not flie to figures: but if that be false we kill our soules except we flie to figures.

[a] *Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

When the speech must be figuratiue.

Phil. That prescription is very sound, but it furthereth not your figuratiue sense. For the letter of these wordes, which we stand for, is neither against faith nor good maners. Theo. The literal acception of these wordes as they lie, this (bread) is my body, is first impossible by your owne confessiō; next blasphemous by the plaine leuel of our creed; & lastly barbarous by the very touch and instinct of mans nature. Phil. Charge you Christ with so many foule ouersights in speaking the wordes? Theop. The wordes which Christ spake, be gracious & religious we know: but where there may be brought a double construction of them, a carnall or a spiritual: a literall or a sacramentall: the literall construction, which you will needs defend to deface the other, is we say reproued as no part of our sauiours meaning, by these three barres which we proposed. Phil. You propose much, but you proue litle. Theo. I should proue euen as much as you do, if I should proue nothing: but that which I proposed, shal not want proofe.

The literall coherence of these words, (This bread is my bodie) is impossible, blasphemous and barbarous.

To reproue the misconsterer is to reuerence the speaker.

[b] *De consdist. 2. § panis est in Altari. Glossa ibidem.*

The first, your owne friends will helpe me to proue. Your law saith, [b] *Hoc tamen est impossibile, quod panis sit corpus Christi:*

Christi: Yet this is impossible, that bread should be the body of Christ. Why striue you then for that which your selues grant is not possible to be true? Why forsake you the mystical interpretation which is possible? What greater vanitie can you shew, than to cleaue to that sense which you see cannot stand? If it be bread, how can it be Christ? If it be Christ, how can it be bread?

Not possible by their own confession, that bread should be the bodie of Christ.

The second is as cleare. For if bread in proper & precise speech be the flesh of Christ, *ergo* bread is also the seed of Dauid: *ergo* bread was fastned to the crosse for our sinnes: *ergo* bread was buried, rose the third day from death, & now sitteth in heauen at the right hand of God the father: nay, no question, if bread be Christ, then is bread the sonne of God, & second person in the sacred trinitie: Which how wel your stomacks can digest we know not, in truth our harts trēble to heare an earthly, dead, & corruptible creature, by your literal and carnal deuotion, aduanced to be the Lord of life and grace, the maker of heauen & earth, yea the liuing and euerlasting God: & yet if bread be truly & properly Christ, these monstrous impieties you cannot auoid.

To say that bread is Christ in proper speech is horrible blasphemie.

Thirdly, what could you deuise more iniurious and odious to christian mildnes and maners, than the letter of these words: eate you (this is) my flesh; drinke you (this is) my blood. Had you beene willed in as plaine termes to crucifie Christ, as you be willed to eate his flesh, you would not I trust haue presently banded your selues with the Iewes to put him to death, but rather haue staggered at the letter, & sought for some farther and other meaning: ye be now willed to eate his flesh and drinke his blood which is a precept far more hainous and horrible in christian behauior and religion, if you follow the letter, as Austen affirmeth. [a] It appeareth more horrible to eate mans flesh, thā to kill it; to drinke mans blood than to shed it. And againe, (The Capernites) [b] were more excusable, that could not abide the words of Christ, which they vnderstood not, being (in deed) horrible (in that they were spoken) as a blessing, not as a cursing: [c] They thought, saith Cyril, Christ had inuited them to eate the rawe flesh of a man, and drinke blood, which things be horrible to the very eares. Why then presse you the letter, which is hainous, and forget that the speech cannot be religious, except it be figuratiue?

To eat flesh in proper speech is against nature and far from all pietie.

[a] *Aug. contra aduers. legis & Prophetas lib. 2. cap. 9.*
[b] *Idem contra eundem. lib. 1. cap. 24.*
[c] *Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 4. cap. 22.*

Verily

Verily S. Austen concludeth the speech to be figuratiue for this only reason. [a] If the scripture seem to command any vile or il fact, the speech is figuratiue. Except ye eate the flesh of the son of man, & drinke his blood, you shal haue no life in you: *facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere*, Christ seemeth to command a wicked & sinful act: *figura est ergo*, It is therfore a figuratiue speech, commanding vs to be partakers of the Lords passion, & sweetly & profitably to keepe in mind that his flesh was crucified & wounded for vs. If then the reall eating of Christs flesh with our mouthes, & actuall drinking of his blood with our lips be wicked & hainous, why presse you the letter of these words, eate you, this is my body: drinke you, this is my blood, against truth, against faith, against nature, neither possibility, nor christianity, nor cõmon honestie suffering your exposition to be good, & S. Austen in plain termes concluding, It is therfore a figure of speech.

[a] *August. de doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 16.* To eate flesh is an heinous act: *ergo* Christs words are figuratiue. This is Saint Austens reason, if the Iesuits can refute him, let them.

Phil. Sir you be misconstered al this while. The verbe, which coupleth both parts of the propositiõ togither, doth not here signifie this to be simply that, but this to be really changed in that, as if our lord had said, THIS (bread) is (now become) my bodie, that is substãtially changed into my body. Theo. Sir you shuffle the words of Christ to serue your dreames, and yet you scape not the rocks which you thought to shunne. If the bread must be changed in substance, that is become no bread, afore it be the body of Christ, *ergo* bread is not the body of Christ, and so your construction is a plaine contradiction to the letter which you would interpret. For Christ said, this (bread) is my body: that cannot be true, say you, vnlesse the bread lose first his substance, & cease indeed to be bread: and so where Christ said (this) bread is my body, you expound his words in this sort, that it must first be no bread afore it can be his body. Besides in absurditie there is no difference whether you say, bread is Christ, or bread is made Christ, & changed into Christ. For that which is made Christ, without all question, is Christ: and so the same blasphemies are consequent to this exposition, that were dependant on ỹ former.

Where Christ said, This bread is my bodie: the Iesuits say, This must be no bread before it can be my bodie.

It is as great blasphemie for the bread to be turned into Christ, as to be Christ.

Phil. Well, yet the bread may be abolished, & Christs body succeed in the place where the bread was, without any of those inconueniences. Theo. Thither are you fain to fly, when you be hardly pressed with the sequels of the literall sense:

sense: but in the meane time you forget that you be cleane gone from the words of Christ, which you pretended to folow. He said this is my body, you, to expound his speech say THIS must first vanish away, and then my body shall succeed in the same place, & be couered with the same accidents, though THIS neither in shew, nor substance, be my body.

The Iesuits would faine shift to haue the letter stand true, but it will not be.

Phil. This is sophistry, which the catholike fathers were neuer acquainted with. The. If it be any, it is yours and not ours: you first forsoke the exposition of Christs words which the learned & godly fathers with one accord witnessed & deliuered: & then stumbling at the letter, you hatched your carnall & locall presence against scriptures & fathers: & when the words of Christ would not fit your fansies, you racked & wrenched thē till you brought both them to nothing, & your selues to a maze, that you knewe not what you said: whereas if you had continued their interpretation, you had cleared the words of Christ from al perplexities, inioied the fruits of the Lords table without peril of idolatry or impietie, eased your selues of those absurdities, which you be now plunged in by hard to þ eares.

The Iesuits vrging the letter step fardest from the letter.

It is a world to see their Schoolmen tosse the words of Christ from post to piller: and at length to leaue thē as men in a maze.

Phil. What interpretation meane you? Theoph. That which the fathers generally beleeued & publikely taught in the Church of Christ. Phil. And what exposition was that, but the same which we now vrge, & you resist? Theo. Shew but one ancient father þ euer affirmed the words of Christ, this is my body, at his last supper were properly spoken, or literally to be take, & we wil receiue your sense.

Not one of the ancient fathers euer affirmed the words of Christ to be literall.

Phil. What you wil not? Theo. What need you repeat it, when you heare vs offer it? Phil. Not a father, that euer auouched these words of Christ, this is my body, to be properly spoken, or literally taken? Theo. Not a father, that is ancient. Phil. How would you lie, if you might be let alone? I can name you presently a good number of them that in exquisite termes shal affirme the words of Christ to be literal. The. Shal they be ancient? Phil. I cannot tel what you meane by ancient, you would haue them belike before Christ was borne. Theop. As though there were not difference both in the ages and credites of those writers, that haue gone before vs in the Church of Christ.

These later Grecians that presse the letter do it no far other purposes than the Iesuits do.

Phil. They shal be ancient. Theo. Damascene perhaps and

and Theophilact. Phil. Yea Epiphanius, Euthymius and many others. Theop. Many others: is a note aboue cla: These foure affirme that Christ did not say, this is the image or figure of my body: but this is my body: which we confesse was needfull for the first ordainer and institutor of the sacrament to say: Mary by those words our sauior did not meane to abolish the substance of breade, or wine, but to vnite the force and fruite of his flesh crucified, and bloodshed for our sins, to the elements, that receiuing the one, we might through faith, be partakers of the other, by the working of his spirit, and power of the word which he then spake: much lesse did these later writers (the eldest of them being more than 700. yeres after Christ) intende to gainesay the fathers that were before them of greater iudgement and deeper knowledge: howsoeuer in shew they seeme loth, that Christs words should be recalled to a bare & naked figure, which for our parts, we do not.

Why Christ was to say This is my bodie, & not this is the figure of my bodie.

Phil. A bare figure? nay they will haue no figure in the words of Christ: & to that end they vrge the very letter, as excluding all tropes & figures which you now take vp in a spleene to frustrate our proofes. Theop. Did the fathers meane to frustrate your proofes, when they tooke vp this doctrine many hundreths, before you or your reall presence were heard of? Phil. Doe they teach the words of Christ, eate, this is my bodie, to be figuratiue?

All the ancient fathers with one consent affirme the words of Christ to be figuratiue.

Theo. I haue shewed you causes sufficient to fray the godly from the letter, which doth rather kill than quicken the carnall interpreters, yet am I content to forgo them all, if in expounding the words of Christ figuratiuely, the catholike and ancient fathers do not make expressely with vs and against you directly.

Tertul. lib. 4. contr. Marc.

Tertullian. [a] The bread, which was taken and giuen to the disciples Christ made his body by saying, This is my bodie, that is, the figure of my bodie. Why doth (Christ) call bread his bodie? (Marcion) vnderstandeth not this was an old figure of the body of Christ speaking by Ieremie: they laide their hands togither against me, saying, com, let vs cast wood on his bread, that is, the crosse on his bodie. Therefore the lightner of antiquities in calling the bread his body, fully declared what he would then (at his last supper) haue the

bread

bread to signifie. Augustine discussing the words of Moses, the soul of al flesh is his blood. [a] The thing saith he, that doth signifie cómonly taketh the name of the thing, that is thereby signified: as it is written, the seauen eares of corne (which Pharao dreampt of) be seauen yeers: he said not they signifie seauen yeers: & the seauen kine be seauen yeers, & many such speeches. So was it said (by Paul) the rocke was Christ: he said not, the rocke did signifie Christ, but as if it had been the selfe same thing, which by substance it was not, but by signification. Euen so the blood because it signifieth the soul, is after * the maner of sacraments called the soule. [b] I can interprete this precept to consist of a signe (or figure) for the Lord did not sticke to say, this is my body, when he gaue the signe of his bodie. And speaking in Christs person, he saieth, [c] This body which you see, you shal not eate, neither shal you drinke the blood, which they that crucifie me, shall shed; I haue commended a sacrament vnto you: that (sacrament) spiritually vnderstood shall quicken you. [d] It is therefore (as you heard before out of the same father) a figure) or speech) commanding vs to be partakers of the Lords passion. For the Lord at his supper, saith he, [e] commended and deliuered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. Cyprian, [f] The Lord at his last supper gaue bread and wine with his owne hands, on the crosse he gaue his body to be wounded by the soldiers hands, that syncere truth secretly printed in his apostles might teach the nations how bread and wine were (his) flesh and blood, and how the causes agreed with their effects, and different names and kinds might be reduced to one essence, and the (signes) signifieng and the things signified might be called by the same names.

Origen, [g] There is in the very gospell a letter that doth kill: not onely in the old testament is there a deadly letter found, but in the new testament there is a letter that doth kil him, which doth not spiritually conceiue the things that be spoken. For if you take this saiyng, (except ye eate my flesh and drinke my blood) according to the letter, this letter killeth. And againe, [h] Not the matter of bread, but the word recited ouer it, doth profit the woorthy receiuer. This I speak of the typical & figuratiue body. Ambrose, [i] It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified & buried, this therfore is the sacrament of that true flesh. The Lord Iesus himselfe saith, this is

[a] *Aug. in Leuit. quæst. 57.*

[b] *Idem contra Adimant. cap. 12.*

* The maner of sacraments is to haue figuratiue speeches.

[c] *Idem in psal. 98.*

[d] *Idem de doct. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

[e] *Idem in psal. 3.*

[f] *Cypr. de vnctio. Christ.*

The Lord taught his disciples at his last supper how the signes & the things might haue the same names.

[g] *Orig. in Leu. homil. 7.*

[h] *Idem in cap. 15. Matth.*

[i] *Ambros. de iis qui initiantur mysteriis cap. 9.*

is my body. Before the blessing of (these) heauenly words it is called another kind of thing, after consecration the body of Christ is (thereby) signified. [a] In eating and drinking (at the Lords table) We signifie the body and blood (of Christ) that were offred for vs. [b] The new Testament is confirmed by blood, in a figure of which (blood) We receiue the mysticall cup. The priest (in the Church seruice) saith, Make this oblation ascribed reasonable and acceptable for vs, which is the figure of the body & blood of our Lord Iesus. Hierom, [c] Whē the paschall lambe was eaten, Iesus taketh bread which strengtheneth the hart of man, and goeth to the true sacrament of the passeouer, that as Melchisedec had done offring bread and wine in a prefiguration of him, so he likewise might represent the truth of his body and blood. [d] For Iesus tooke bread, and giuing thanks, brake it, transfiguring his body into the bread. Chrysostome, [e] This table hath he prepared for his seruants, that he might euery day for a similitude of the body and blood of Christ, shew forth in a sacrament vnto vs bread and wine after the maner of Melchisedec. [f] Before it be sanctified, we call it bread, but the diuine grace once sanctifieng the same by the ministerie of the priest, it is deliuered from the name of bread, & counted worthy to be called the Lords body, though the nature of bread continue there still. So that [g] in the sanctified vessell, there is not the true body of Christ, but a mysterie of his body is there contained. Nazianzene, [h] Let vs be partakers of the passeouer, figuratiuely notwithstanding as yet: though this passeouer be more manifest than the former. Theodoret. [i] Our sauior in deed chāged the names, and called his body, by the name of the signe, & the sign by the name of his body. The reason wherof is manifest to those that are acquainted with the diuine mysteries. He would haue the receiuers of these heauenly mysteries, not looke to the nature of the things, which are seene: but hearing the alteration of names, beleeue the change which is made there by grace. For he that called his naturall body wheate and bread, and named himselfe a vine: the same Lord honored the signes (and elements of bread and wine) which we see, with the name of his body, and blood, not changing the nature (of the signes) but casting grace vnto nature. Prosper, [k] The diuine bread, which is the flesh of Christ, is after a sort called the body of Christ, being in deed (but) the sacrament

[a] *Idem in 1. Cor. 11.*
[b] *Idem de Sacramentis li. 4. cap. 5.*
[c] *Hier. in 26. Matth.*
[d] *Idem in 14. Marci.*
[e] *Chrysost. in Psal. 22.*
[f] *Idem ad Cæsarium Monachum.*
[g] *Author operis imperfect. in Matth. hom. 11.*
[h] *Nazian. in orat. de pasch.*
[i] *Theod. dial. 1.* Our sauior at his last supper changed the names, not the substāces of the elements: then must needes the speech be figuratiue.
[k] *De consecra. dist. 2. § hoc est. Prosper.*

ment of Christs bodie. Which wordes your owne law thus expoundeth. The [a] diuine bread which truly representeth the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ, but improperlie: wherefore it is said after a sort (which is) *non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*, not in exactnes of truth, but in a mysterie of signification. So that this is the meaning, it is called the body of Christ: that is (the body of Christ is thereby) signified. Bede, [b] The solemnities of the old passeouer being ended, Christ commeth to the new, which the Church is desirous to continue in remembrance of her redemption, that in stead of the flesh and blood of a lambe, he substituting the sacrament (or sacred signe) of his flesh and blood in the figure of bread and wine, might shew himselfe to be the same, to whom the Lord sware and will not repent, thou art a priest after the order of Melchisedec. Druthmarus. [c] The Lord gaue his disciples the sacrament of his body for the remission of sinnes, that being mindfull of his deed, they might alwaies in a figure do that, which he was to do for them, and not forget his loue. This is my body, that is in a sacrament. Wine maketh glad and increaseth blood, and for that cause the blood of Christ is aptly figured therby. Bertram. [d] That bread and wine is figuratiuely the body & blood of Christ: the maner thereof is in a figure and representation: *in mysterio, non veritate*: in a mysterie, not in truth and plaine speech.

[a] *Glossa Ilidem.*

[b] *Beda in Lucam, cap. 22.*

[c] *Christ. Druthmarus in Matth.*

[d] *Bertram de corp. & sang. Dom.*

Phill. You thinke to win the spurres, but you may chãce to lose bootes and all. These places which you bring, haue a shew before the simple, but there is no pith nor substance in them: and with one puffe we can blow them all away.

Theo. It must be such a puffe then, as wherewith you first blew away Christ and his gospel, & brought in your owne decrees to ouerrule both God and man with the breath of your mouthes. Phi. You scoffe, my meaning is that I can crosse thẽ all with one answer. Theo. If they were spirites, you might driue thẽ away with crossing, but being ancient & godly fathers, they wil tel on their tales to your reproofe crosse you what you will or can, in their waies. Phi. I wil not crosse it in their way, but in yours. Theop. When you will: wherefore serue my feete but to tosse it out of the way, or at least to step ouer it, that it hinder not my way?

Though the Iesuits haue not one ancient father for their literall sense, yet they wil help the matter with bragging.

Phil. All these fathers affirme the bread to be a sign & figure of Christs body: this we grant, and thereto adde, that it

figure & the truth to be all one.

it is both a figure, and the truth it selfe. You may be gone, you haue your errand. Did I not tell you, I would soone dispatch you? Theop. You be very pleasurable whatsoeuer the matter be: but had you no better skill to dispatch men of their liues, than you haue to defeate vs of our authorities, many a thousand should now liue, that you haue slaine. Phil. You would runne to by-quarels; but I must hold you to the state. Theo. In deed that was alwaies the surest answer that you gaue vs. The rest was nothing: no more is this.

Though the figure might be also the truth, as it cannot, yet a figuratiue speech can no way be proper.

For first it is apparently false that in sacraments the signe & the truth may be all one thing. Next if that might be, yet doth it not disappoint any one of these testimonies. For they do not onely witnes that the bread is a signe of Christes body, but also that Christes words were figuratiue, & that in deliuering the mysteries he called the bread his body, by way of signification, similitude, representation, after the maner of sacraments, in a signe not according to the letter, but in a spirituall and mysticall vnderstanding, and if you respect the precise speech, improperly, and figuratiuely. And though the signe might happily be one thing with the truth it selfe, as you affirme without all truth; yet may not a figuratiue speech be properly taken, nor the letter vsged against the spiritual meaning, lest that which was spoken to quicken the inward man, subuert the faith and indanger the soule, which in mistaking a figure of speech must needs insue, as S. Augustine sheweth. [a] *In principio cauendum est ne figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet, quod ait Apostolus, litera occidit, spiritus autem viuificat. Cum enim figuratè dictum sic accipitur tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. Neque vlla mors animæ congruentius appellatur.* The first thing that you must beware is this: that you take not a figuratiue speech according to the letter. To that belongeth the apostles admonition, the letter killeth, the spirit quickeneth. For when we take that which is figuratiuely spoken, as if it were properly spoken, it is a carnall sense: neither is there any thing more rightly called the death of the soule.

Will it please the Iesuits to learne that the speech is figuratiue, *ergo* not proper.

[a] *De doct. Chr. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

To take a figuratiue speech according to the letter killeth the soule.

In vaine then do you thinke to shift off the matter with this foolish conceit, that one and the same thing may be both a truth and a figure. For were that so, yet cannot a figu-

a figuratiue speech be literally taken without killing the soule: and the fathers which I produced affirme the mind and speech of our sauiour, in calling the bread his body, was spiritual, figuratiue and mystical, by way of signification, such as is vsed in sacraments, not literall nor carnall, according to the strict sound and order of the words: Marie now your answer, besides that it is altogether idle, is vtterly false. For in this sacrament as in all others, there is great difference betwixt the signes and the things themselues, and the distinct properties of ech are so sensible, that if your wits be not laid vp for holydaies, you cannot but perceiue them. The signes are visible, the things inuisible; the signes are earthly, the things heauenly; the signes corruptible, the things immortall; the signes corporall, the things spiritual. The signes are one thing, the truth is not the same, but an other thing, and euen by plaine Arithmetike, they be two things, and not one.

The signe in no sacrament can be the thing it selfe.

The signe & the truth must be two things.

The Eucharist, as Irenæus teacheth, [a] Consisteth of two things, an earthly and an heauenly. [b] This is it that we say, this is it that we seeke by all means, saith Austen, to approue (to wit) that the sacrifice of the Church is made of two and consisteth of two things, *sacramento & re sacramenti*: of the sacred signe, and the thing it selfe. For sacraments are [c] *signa rerum, aliud existentia, aliud significantia*, signes of truthes, being one thing in themselues, and signifieng another. It were no figure, saith Chrysostome, if all things incident to the truth were to be found in it: much lesse if it were the truth it selfe. [d] Sacraments haue a certaine similitude (but no identitie) with the things whose signes they be. If therefore [e] To take the signes for the things be a miserable seruitude of the soule, as Austen noteth, what is it to affirme the signes to be the things themselues, but a wilfull blindnes of hart, choosing rather to rush into any brake with danger both of credite and conscience, than to acknowledge the truth once disdained and refused?

[a] *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.*
[b] *De cons. dist. 2. § hoc est.*
[c] *Aug. contra Maximinum. lib. 3. cap. 22.*
[d] *Chrys. in Gen. hom. 35.*
[e] *Aug. ep. 23. De doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

Phil. I haue yet an other answer in store. Theop. If that be no better than this, your store is litle worth. Phil. The most part of the fathers which you bring, speake not of Christes words, when he did institute the sacrament, but declare his meaning in the 6 of S. Iohns gospell when the Capernites stumbled at his doctrine. Theop. You

The sixt of S. Iohns Gospell directeth the words of Christ at his last supper.

The fourth part. The 6. of Iohn expoundeth the words of the supper.

may keepe this still in store for the goodnes of it. Tertullian, Austen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Hierom, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Prosper, Bede, Bertram, Druthmarus, and your owne law speake directly of the sacrament: and so doth Origen, when he calleth the bread on the Lords table, the typical & figuratiue body: onely that place of his mentioneth the 6. of Iohn, where he saith, If you take this saying according to the letter, this letter killeth.

Phil. Mary sir, that place is the chiefest: and how closely you could conuey it in amongst the rest, to make men beleeue he spake that of the sacrament, which is nothing so. Theo. Why? doth not the 6. of Iohn foretell and declare the same kind of eating Christs flesh & drinking his blood, which was after performed by Christ at his last supper when he said, This is my body, this is my blood? Phil. Doth it say you?

Theo. I do not say, Christ speaketh in the 6. of Iohn of the materiall elements of bread and wine, which were then first ordained to be pledges of his inuisible graces, when the supper was first instituted: and therefore not spoken of before that time: but this is it which I affirm, and in this the learned and ancient fathers agree with me, that where this mysterie consisteth of two parts, an earthly matter, and an heauenly vertue: the 6. of S. Iohn treateth not of the signes, but of the things themselues: not of the figures representing, but of the truth represented: not of that which is corporally proposed, but of that which is ghostly receiued in the Lords supper, which is the better and diuiner part of this sacrament: and that the disciples there learned, in what sort themselues and all the faithful after them should eate the Lords flesh & drink the Lords blood at his table, to be thereby quickned, nourished, & incorporated with him, as members of his mysticall body. So that if any doubt arise, not touching the creatures of bread & wine, but touching the flesh & blood of Christ, which are the principal partes of this mysterie; the solution & explication of euery such doubt must be fet from the place, where the Lord first reuealed this secret, rebuked the Capernites for the misconstruction of his words, and taught his disciples how they should be both fruitful partakers of his flesh, and rightful interpreters of his speech.

The sixt of S. Iohn doth not teach the eating of the signes at the Lords table, but the eating of the things themselues.

The things themselues that are proposed and receiued at the Lords table were fully declared by our Sauior in the sixt of S. Iohn.

Phil.

The fathers refer the 6. of Iohn to the Lords supper. *The fourth part.*

Phil. You would faine haue it so: but we meane to barre you that chance. Theo. You cannot barre vs, but you must barre Chrysostome, Cyprian, Cyril, Austen, and others, that confesse the same truth before vs. The fathers are all of that opinion.

[a] How chanced, saith Chrysostome, the (disciples) were not troubled when they heard this: take, eate, this is my body? Because (their master) had debated the same matter largely & profoundly before. For at first whē he spake of these things many were offended at the very words. So Cyprian, [b] To the sonnes of Abraham doing the works of Abraham the high priest bringeth foorth bread and wine, saying, this is my body. There arose before this, as we read in the gospell of Iohn, a question touching the noueltie of this speech, and at the doctrine of this mysterie the hearers were amazed. So Cyril, [c] The (Capernites) before they beleeue, question busily with him. Therefore the Lord did not tell them how that might be, but exhorteth them to seeke for it with faith: mary to the beleeuing disciples, he gaue pieces of bread, saying: take ye, eate ye, this is my body: likewise the cup he deliuered round, saying: drinke ye all of this. Thou seest, that to those which asked without faith, he did not opē the maner of this mysterie, but to those which beleeued, yea when they did not aske, he declared the same. And Augustine: [d] When Christ spake of the sacrament of his body and blood, they said this speech is hard. Who can heare it?

[a] *Chryſ. hom. 83. in Matt.* The same matter before debated.

[b] *Cyp. de cœna Domini.* The same speech handled in the sixt of Iohn.

[c] *Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

[d] *Aug. contra aduerſ. legis & Prophet. lib. 1. cap. 24.*

You see by the constant opinion of these fathers, that our sauiour in the sixt of Iohn taught his disciples what maner of eating his flesh & drinking his blood, they should expect at his last supper, and that they therfore started not at these words, this is my body, because they learned of him before what to looke for, and well remembred his interpretation of himselfe, when the Capernites staggered at the like speech. Then perforce what sense the words of Christ in the sixt of Iohn do beare, the same must the words of the supper retaine: but there Christ teacheth the spirituall eating of his flesh by faith, his words be figuratiue: *ergo* the Lords supper doth not import any corporall eating of his flesh, nor literall exposition of his words. And why? The performance may no way differ from the promise. The promise made by Christ in the sixt of Iohn (the bread which I will giue, is my flesh) was figuratiue: the

If the flesh of Christ be eaten in the

Lords supper as he taught it should be in the sixt of Iohn, then must the words of the supper be expounded by the sixt of Iohn: & the one being figuratiue, the other cannot be literall.

words then of the supper THIS (which I now giue) is my body performing the same must likewise be figuratiue. For seales do not alter or infringe, but strengthen & confirme that which was promised. The creatures of bread & wine Christ ordained at his last supper to be sacraments and seales of his former promises vttered in the sixth of Iohn, *ergo* they change not his meaning expressed before: That was spirituall & signratiue: therefore the words of the supper cannot be corporall nor literall. And the words of Origen expounding the sixt of Iohn, are a iust proofe, that if in the words of the supper you follow the letter, that letter killeth.

The bread must be eaten corporally at the Lords table though the flesh of christ cannot be eaten there or elsewhere but onely spiritually.

Phil. This cannot be. Christ in the sixt of Iohn, you say, teacheth a spirituall and figuratiue kind of eating his flesh, and in deliuering the sacrament we be sure he spake of a corporall not of a spirituall eating his body. For when our Lord said take, eate, this is my body, did he not meane they should take it with their handes, and eate it with their mouthes? And therefore either the one place doth not serue to expounde the other, or else in both places is prescribed a reall and corporall eating the flesh of Christ, and drinking his blood: which we rather embrace as the likeliest. Theo. In those words take and eate, spoken at the last supper, he ment, no doubt, the corporall taking and eating of that creature which he gaue them: and when he added this is my body, which he told them before they must eate, if they would haue any life in them, he recalled to their minds, as Chrysostom noteth, the doctrine he had taught them of eating his flesh and drinking his blood: in which because they were well instructed by the Capernites error and their masters declaration of himselfe (that the words, which he spake, were spirit and life) they neither started nor stumbled at his speech, but presently perceiued the Lord was ordaining a sacrament to confirme their faith, & not hiding his flesh vnder accidents or any other couerts to enter their mouthes, for which grossenes the Capernits were before reproued.

The bread must be eaten corporally, and the flesh of Christ spiritually: *ergo* the bread is not his bodie but by a figure of speech vsuall to this and other sacraments.

Christs exposition therfore in the sixt of Iohn, was purposely made to confute the carnall Iewes, who when they hard of eating of mans flesh & drinking blood, dreamt of no kind of eating and drinking but with their bodily iawes

iawes and lips, and for that cause murmured, as if they had been inuited to some barbarous and brutish act: and next to teach the disciples that indured his words, in what sort they should looke for a diuiner and purer kind of eating the flesh of Christ, and drinking his blood, by beleeuing, hoping and reioicing in his flesh that was wounded, and blood that was shed for their sins. This he assured, & ratified vnto them, by ordaining afterward a sacrament, which they should visibly see, but inuisibly vnderstand: & corporally receiue, but spiritually interpret: in beleeuing the same by the power of his word and spirit to haue in it, & carry with it the fulnes of his truth & mercy, openly sealed with those pledges of his promises, & instruments of his grace, least their faith should faint by reason of his departure & absence from them, or their harts faile them as if they were destitute of his protection and fauor, amidst so many troubles as should inclose them.

The Lords supper addeth seales and assurances to the promise made in the sixt of Iohn, but altereth not the doctrine.

Phil. If you will needs haue the sixt of S. Iohn to pertaine to the sacrament: then is there, say we, a reall & corporall kind of eating established in that chapt. For Christ in plaine speech saith, [a] my flesh is meat indeed, & my blood is drinke indeed. Theop. It is well that you bethink your selfe at last: you were about to dissent both from the fathers and from our owne fellowes. For the fathers as I haue shewed you, confesse that the disciples were by the words of Christ in this place instructed how they should eate his flesh and drinke his blood, euen in the sacrament: & that made them vnderstand him when he saide, take, eate, this is my body, drinke ye all of this, this is my blood; and as for the men of your side, they run all to this issue, that the sixt of Iohn not onely treateth of the sacrament, but also strongly concludeth your reall presence, and externall eating of Christs flesh with bodily partes, as with teeth, throte, and such like: in so much that if you go that way, which you were about, you go alone.

You must needs haue it so, except you will dissent from all your felowes and from the fathers. Ioan. 6.

The papists very greedily tie the sixt of Iohn to the sacrament, litle thinking it would ouerthrow their reall presence.

Your friend master Harding with a present courage, as his maner is, saith: [b] We cannot finde where our Lord performed the promise which he made in the sixt chapter of Iohn: the bread which I will giue is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world, but onely in his last supper. Steuen Gardiner his master vttered euen the very same words

[a] *Artic. 5. diuis. 2. contra epist. Sarum.*
[b] *Part. 3. obiect. 1. in Marco Constantio.*

before him. *Promisit Dominus se daturum nobis in pane carnem suam, dicens, panis, quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita. Sed quod promisit Christus, non legimus eum præstitisse nisi in cœna.* The Lord promised that he would giue vs his flesh in bread, when he said, the bread that I will giue is my flesh, which I will giue for the life of the world. But that which Christ promised we doo not read that he perfourmed, except it were in the supper. And though they both ouerlash, whē they say he perfourmed it onely in the supper, yet in this you may not vary from them, that he perfourmed that promise of his, and verified that doctrine of his in the supper. For so the fathers said before them as I haue proued: & so your late testament vpō the sixt of S. Iohn saith of al their side, *The catholikes teach these words to be spoken of the sacrament.*

That Christ performed this promise ONELY in the supper, is as false, as it is true that he did there performe it.

The Rhemish Test. fol. 236. nu. 53 [*you shal haue no life.*

If the sixt of Iohn be figuratiue, then the words of the supper are also figuratiue: but the 6. of Iohn is figuratiue: *ergo.*

Phil. We doo so. Theop. Then what exposition the learned and ancient fathers made of Christs words in the sixt of Iohn, the same they intended & referred to the words of the supper: But the words of Christ teaching vs in the sixt of Iohn that we must eate his flesh & drinke his blood, before we can haue any life in vs, are by the common consent of al the fathers Allegoricall, mysticall & figuratiue, *ergo* the figuratiue interpretatiō of Christs words in the supper is catholike. Phil. Thinke you we are so foolish as to beleeue that the fathers were the authors of your figures? Theo. Choose whether you will beleeue vs or no, we speake no more than we mean to proue. Clemens Alexan. The Lord in the Gospell of Iohn when he said, eate ye my flesh & drink ye my blood, he called that by an allegory, meat and drinke, which is euidently ment of (our) faith & (his) promise. Tertu. He pronoūced his flesh to be that heauenly bread, vrging thē al along (that discourse) with an allegory of needful foods to remēber their fathers that preferred the bread & flesh of Egypt before the diuine vocation. Origen, Our Lord & sauior saith, except you eat my flesh, & drink my blood, you shall not haue life in you. My flesh is truly meat and my blood is truly drink. He that can no skill of these things may perhaps turne his eare frō them, as they did which said: how can he giue vs his flesh to eat? who can hear it? & they departed frō him. But you, if you be the children of the Church, if you acquainted with mysteries (& sacraments) of the Gospell acknowledge the things that we say, they be the Lords. Acknowledge that there

Clemen. Alex. pedag. lib. ca. 6.

Tertul. de resurrect. carnis.

Origen. in Leu. hom. 7.

there be figures in the diuine bookes, and therefore examine them as spirituall men, not as carnall, and vnderstand what is said. If you conster these things as carnall men, they hurt you, they do not nourish you. Chrysostom, The words that I speak to you are spirit, that is, spirituall, hauing nothing that is carnall in them. If a man should carnally take them he should gaine nothing. What is carnally to vnderstand them? Simply as they be spoken, neither to seeke any farther. For the things which we see, must not so be iudged of, but all mysteries (and sacraments) must be considered with the inward eies, that is spiritually.

The figuratiue sense is the spiritual sense: the literall is carnall. *Chrysin Joh. hom. 46.* To vnderstand the words simply as they lie is to vnderstand them carnally.

Phil. Spiritually we grant we must vnderstand them, but not figuratiuely. Theo. What is spiritually, but figuratiuely? Eating and drinking are corporall actions, not spirituall; and properly performed with the parts of our bodies, not with the powers of our soules. Since then by the constant confession of all the fathers, the Lord throughout this chapter did not refer eating & drinking to the bodies of his disciples, but vnto their soules: and ment their faith, & not their teeth: it is apparent that the words of our sauior are allegorical & figuratiue. I meane translated and deriued by an allegory from the body to the mind, from chamming to beleeuing, from swallowing to remembring; to be short, from the flesh of his disciples, to their spirits, & in that respect called spirituall. The maner of eating there specified is spirituall, the words there vsed are mysticall, to wit, not litterall but allegorical: and so the fathers mainly teach.

The words in S. Iohn are figuratiue, bicause eating and drinking are referred not to the bodies but to the soules of the faithfull.

Basil, [a] Taste & see how sweet the Lord is. We haue often marked that the powers of the soule are called by the same names by which the members of the body are. Becausse then our Lord is the true bread, & his flesh is meat indeed, it must be that the sweetnes of that delicious bread be felt of vs by meanes of a spirituall taste. There is a certaine mouth of the mind & soule within man, which is nourished by the word of life, the bread I meane which came from heauen. Origen, [b] To euery part (or power) of the soule Christ becommeth euery thing. Therfore he is called the true light, that the eies of the soule may haue wherwith to be lightned, therfore the word, that the eares (of the soul) may haue what to hear, therfore the bread of life, that the taste of the soul may haue

[a] *Basil. in psal. 33.*

The inward man eateth the flesh of Christ.

[b] *Orig. in cant. canticorum hom. 2.* The soule must relesh the bread of life.

The fourth part.

In S. Iohn the maner of eating is spirituall, what to resh. Tertullian, [a] The words that I haue spoken to you, be spirit and life. Making his word to quicken by reason his word is spirit and life: he called the same word his flesh, because the word was made flesh, and so for the procuring of life was to be desired (yea) TO BE DEVOVRED WITH HEARING, CHEWED WITH VNDERSTANDING, AND DIGESTED WITH BELEEVING. Cyprian. [b] The master of this ordinaunce (and feast) said, that except we did eate (his flesh) and drinke his blood, we should haue no life in vs; directing vs with a spirituall instruction and opening our wits for the conceiuing of so great a matter, thereby to let vs vnderstand, that our abiding in him is eating, and (our) drinking is as it were an incorporating with him in that (mutuall) seruices are yeelded, wils ioyned, and affections vnited. The eating therefore of this flesh, is a certaine coueting and desiring to abide in him. Athanasius. [c] Therefore doth he mention his ascending into heauen, to pull from them their corporall cogitations, (and thinking on his flesh,) and that they might thenceforth learne that the flesh of which he spake, was celestiall foode from heauen, and spirituall nourishment which he giueth. Augustine. [d] Why prepareſt thou thy teeth and thy bellie? BELEEVE AND THOV HAST EATEN. [e] To beleeue in him, this is to eate the liuing bread. HE THAT BELEEVETH, EATETH. He is inuisiblie fed, because he is inuisiblie regenerated. He is inwardly a babe, inwardly new. In what part he is renewed, in that part is he nourished. Bernard **that in respect of antiquitie liued but yesterday can teach you the meaning of this place.** [f] When they heard him say, except you eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood; they said this is an hard speach, and departed from him. And what is to eate his flesh and drinke his blood, but to communicate with his passions, and imitate that conuersation which he led (here) in flesh?

The text it selfe doth in sight conuince so much: The Lord oftentimes expoundeth his owne words purposely to this effect, [g] Worke not for the meate which perisheth, but for the meate which dureth to eternall life, [h] and this is the worke of God, that you beleeue in him whom he hath sent. [h] I am that bread of life, he that commeth to me (**not by walking, but by beleeuing**) shall not hunger, he that beleeueth

[a] *Tertul. de resurrect. carnis.*

This way Christ is eaten, and not with teeth and iawes.

[b] *Cypr. de cœna Domini.*

What it is to eate Christ.

[c] *Athan. in hoc quicunque dixerit verbū in filium hominis.*

[d] *Auz. tract. in Ioh. 25.*

[e] *Ibid. tract. 26.*

[f] *Bernar. in psal. qui habitat. sermo. 3.* The very text confirmeth the fathers speeches.

Iohannis sexto

[g] *vers. 27.*

[h] *vers. 29.*

[i] *vers. 35.*

Non ambulando sed credendo ad Christum currimus. Auz. tract. 26. in Iohan.

leeueth in me, shall neuer thirst. Hunger and thirst are no way quenched, but with eating and drinking. Then how can the beleeuer but still hunger, and still thirst, except we grant that he, which beleeueth, both eateth and drinketh? [a] Verily, verily, I say vnto you, except you eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, you haue no life in you. He then which hath life, per consequence eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood: but he that beleeueth hath eternal life, as our sauior affirmeth in the same place with no lesse vehemencie, [b] Verily, verily, I say vnto you, he that beleeueth in me, hath euerlasting life; *ergo* he that beleeueth, eateth the flesh and drinketh the blood of Christ. For if eating and drinking in this place were referred to the mouth and teeth, how could Iudas, or any other of the wicked that is once partaker of the Lordes table, perish? The wordes of Christ be plaine. [c] Your fathers did eate Manna in the wildernes, and are dead: If any man eate of this bread he shal liue for euer: [d] whosoeuer eateth my flesh & drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. But the wicked notwithstanding the corporall chāming of this sacrament die the death of sinners, *ergo* they neither eat þ flesh of Christ, nor drinke his blood, not because their teeth or iawes faile them, but by reason they want faith which is the right and proper instrument of spiritual eating. Since then man [e] beleeueth with his hart vnto righteousnes, as Paul teacheth, not with his iawes nor lips; *ergo* the soule of man which only beleeueth; onely doth eate the flesh of Christ; and our bodies which haue no means to beleeue, can neither eat nor drink in that sort and sense that our sauior there speaketh of.

[a] *vers.* 53.

Beleeuing prooued to be eating.

[b] *vers.* 47.

[c] *vers.* 51.

[d] *vers.* 54.

The wicked doe not eate, though they grind with their teeth and swalow with their iawes neuer so fast.

[e] Rom. 10.

You cannot with honestie step from so manifest, both scriptures and fathers, as these be that I haue brought; or if you can dally with so good and graue witnesses in so weightie matters, I trust the godly will be fully resolued, that the maner of eating Christes flesh and drinking his blood, which the Lord himselfe first proposed in the sixt of Iohn, was not LITERAL NOR CORPORAL, as the Capernites vnderstand him and were deceiued, but ALLEGORICALL AND SPIRITVALL. ALLEGORICALL in respect of the wordes which be not there precisely taken in their vsuall signification for grinding with the teeth, and straining downe the throte, but figuratiuely spoken, and

The maner of eating Christs flesh is spiritual by faith and vnderstanding; the words expressing it be allegoricall.

The fourth part. In S. Iohn the the maner of eating is spirituall, and impoꝛt as much as confessing and imbꝛacing with hart and inward affection. SPIRITVALL, because not our mouths, but our minds, not our bellies, but our spirites are nourished with the flesh and blood of Chꝛist, & that not by chewing noꝛ swalowing, but by remembꝛing and beleꝛuing that his body was wounded, and his blood shed foꝛ our perfect and eternall redemption.

If the supper be correspondent to the doctrine of our Sauior in the sixt of Iohn, the maner of eating Christs flesh must be spirituall by faith, not corporall with teeth, & the words, This is my bodie, figuratiue.

Now the Lords supper is coꝛrespondent not contrarie to the sixt of Iohn, as we sawe before by the verdict of the fathers, & confession of your selues: therfoꝛe the Lords table teacheth no literall noꝛ carnall, but a spirituall & misticall eating of the flesh of Chꝛist and dꝛinking of his blood: which you cannot obserue so long as you pꝛesse the letter of these woꝛds: Take, eate, this is my body. Foꝛ taking and eating in the supper be coꝛporall actions, euen as bꝛeaking the bꝛead and deliuering the cup are. Then if the woꝛds this is my body be literal, the consequent is inuitable, that the flesh of Chꝛist is really taken with handes, actually bꝛused with teeth, coꝛporally lodged in the belly: But this eꝛroꝛ the Lord in his owne person confuted, and the catholike fathers refell as impious, irreligious and haynous, *ergo* the woꝛds of the supper this is my body, be not literall, but rather answerable to the doctrine pꝛoposed in the sixt of Iohn, which is nothing lesse than literall.

This is a poore shift: for sacramentall eating is no more but eating the sacred signe of that heauenly food.

Phil. You make but a double maner of eating Chꝛists flesh, where you should make a triple. A carnal, spirituall, *and sacramental. A carnal, which the Capernits deampt of, when they supposed they should haue eaten rawe flesh to sight and tast as they did other meats. A spirituall, by faith and bnderstanding; in which soꝛt euery good man may eate the flesh of Chꝛist & dꝛinke his blood at any time without the mysteries. A sacramentall, as when we eate the flesh of Chꝛist bnder the foꝛmes of bꝛead and wine: though we neither see noꝛ taste flesh oꝛ blood. Of these thꝛee soꝛts the sixt of S. Iohns Gospell refelleth onely the carnall, which the Capernits grossely fell to, when they heard our sauioꝛ speake of the sacrament.

The Iesuits would faine get from the Capernites if they could tell how.

Theoph. I blame you not, if you be loth to be counted Capernits. They were repꝛoued by our sauioꝛ as grosse mistakers of his speech; and lewd foꝛsakers of his fellowship: but would God you were as willing to leaue their

erroz, as you be to refuse their name. Phil. We be farder than you, from their opinion. And you be rather Capernits: that aske how can he giue vs his flesh to eate, and will not beleeue any eating of Christs body with the mouth, except your eies and tongs may first discerne and taste the same. Theo. We aske not him, how he can do any thing that he will; but we aske you, how you know both his will and his word are changed since he rebuked the Capernits for their grossenes? Phil. We do not say that either his will or his word are changed.

Theop. Then the doctrin of eating his flesh & drinking his blood, which he deliuered in the 6 of Iohn, remaineth in the same force & strength, that it did at first, when he reuealed it to his disciples. Phil. It doth. Theo. And the same exposition of his words, which he then annexed to them, abideth good for euer. Phil. What else? Theo. And he, that deuiseth or teacheth any other manner of eating his flesh or drinking his blood at his last supper, than is there declared & confirmed by himselfe, is either a Capernite or worse. Phil. He is. Theo. But that eating which he there taught, was by faith & vnderstanding; & they that murmured at him & departed from him thought he had ment eating with the mouth and teeth: what lacke you then of the Capernits erroz, when you affirme that the naturall and substancial body of Christ is really eaten with teeth, & locally discendeth into the stomack, which is the way that all other meats do passe, when they nourish the body?

What Christ spake of the soule, the Capernites vnderstood of the bodie: let the Iesuits therfore dresse & hide the flesh of Christ how they can fro their sight & taste, so long as they will eate it with teeth and iawes, they shal be Capernites.

Phil. We defie both you and them: we doe not incline to their erroz. We eate Christ in a mysterie by faith: and though we taste and see nothing but bread and wine, yet do we prefer the truth of his promise before the iudgment of our senses, which you doe not. And therefore you falsely slander vs, when you charge vs with the carnall opinion of the Capernits. Theop. I can yeeld you no freer choice, than if you like not their companie, to leaue their erroz. You must not looke to misconster the words of Christ as they did, and take scorne to be called as they were. Phil. I tell you, we do not teare the flesh of Christ with our teeth, as they thought they should.

Theop. You hold that the flesh of Christ entreth your mouths, & is really bruised (though somwhat fauorablie) with

It skilleth not how Christs flesh

be couered, but with what part it is eaten ſoule or bodie.

with your teeth, and locally diſcendeth down your throtes into the cloſet of your bellies. What differ you now from the Capernits? What kind of eating were they rebuked for, if not for this?

Man hath but two kinds of eating as himſelfe conſiſteth of two parts: for ech part one,

No kinds of eating, than by minde or by mouth, with faith or with teeth, that is, corporall, or ſpirituall, you can not imagine. Man hath no mo parts but a ſoule & a bodie, therfore he can vſe no kind of eating, but either with his ſoule, or with his body. You muſt new frame men, which is paſt your reach, before you can chalenge this diuiſion as vnſufficient: ech part hath his kind and ſort of eating. Nowe which of theſe twaine did the Capernits faſten on; the ſpirituall or the corporall kind of eating the fleſh of Chriſt? Not the ſpirituall, for they [a] beleeued not as the ſcripture ſaith of them, and they which lacke faith, lack the right and true meanes of ſpirituall eating. Beſides, our ſauior went about to teach them the ſpirituall eating of his fleſh and drinking of his blood, for ſo doth himſelfe expound his own words, and his whole Church after him did teſtifie that his meaning.

[a] Iohn. 6.

Which of thoſe twaine will the Ieſuits chooſe, but they muſt either forge their corporall eating with teeth, or ioine arme in arme with the Capernites.

If then the Capernits lighted on the ſame maner of eating, which Chriſt propoſed to them, they deſerued rather praiſe than blame: but they miſtoke the words of Chriſt, and were rebuked of him, *ergo* they thought on the corporal eating of Chriſts fleſh with teeth and iawes which is the ſelfe ſame point that you affirme in your doctrine.

Then you differ from the Capernites in ſeeing but not in eating the fleſh of Chriſt. Whether a man may not carnally eate that which he neither ſeeth nor taſteth: let the Ieſuits conſult the Cookes.

Phi. We neither ſee nor taſt the fleſh of Chriſt, which they dreampt they ſhould, & therfore we be moſt free from their madnes. Theo. You chaw the fleſh of Chriſt actually with your teeth & ſwallow the ſame down your throats: & theſe be the proper actions & right inſtruments of externall and capernitical eating, your eies & your taſte be not: eis blind men and ſuch as by reaſon of ſickenes can taſt nothing, by your diuinitie can eate nothing: & meats ſo deuiſed & handled by art that we can neither by ſight nor taſt diſcern the, if your rule be good, be neither corporally taken nor eaten, which is ſo falſe that we nede not refute you, cookes and paſtlers will laugh you to ſcorn. Grinding with teeth and ſwallowing downe the throat that it may deſcend to ỹ ſtomack is the very definition of carnal eating: and ſince you concur with the Capernits in thoſe two points notwithſtanding

standing you vary from them in sight & tast, yet your opinion establisheth a corporall eating of Christs flesh and a literall peruerting of his words no lesse than theirs did.

And which of the learned fathers I pray you, did euer put this difference betweene the words of Christ and the capernites error, that where they thought they should haue both eaten and seene his flesh, the Lord ment that indeed they should as they thought eate the same with their teeth and iawes, mary they should not see nor tast it. Was this the meaning of our sauior when he said, The wordes that I speake to you be spirit and life? Did his Church after him so conster his words? [a] The things that he spake were not carnall but spirituall, saith Athanasius. [b] They were spirituall hauing nothing in them that was carnall, as Chrysostome and Theophilact witnes. [c] Examine them as spirituall men, saith Origen, not as carnall. The letter doth kill him that doth not spiritually weigh the things that are spoken. [d] Christ giueth vs a spirituall instruction, saith Cyprian: and Austen, [e] Vnderstand you spiritually that which I haue spoken. [f] Christ here calleth the spirit, the spirituall vnderstanding of those things that he spake, saith Oecumenius. [g] What is spirit & life, saith Bede? They must be vnderstood spiritually. What is now left for you and your fellowes, but either to be coupled with the Capernits for your literal pressing the words of Christ and corporal eating of his flesh, or else to proue, which you can hardly do, that your teeth and iawes be not carnall as the Capernits were, but spirituall. Your mouthes and bellies I trow be flesh and not spirit; members of the body, no parts of the mind; in them consisteth neither faith nor deuotion, and therefore vnlesse you can transubstantiate your soules into your iawes, and your harts into your throates, your receiuing of Christ in at mouth, and chamming his flesh with teeth that it may passe to your stomacks, is neither spirituall nor mysticall, but a carnall & right Capernitical kind of eating.

Phil. Why do you twite vs with the Capernits whom we so often haue disclaimed? They feared least they shuld eate rawe flesh: we haue no such feare. Theo. The flesh of Christ, which you eate, cannot be reall if it be not raw: and therfore your stomacks may be stronger to digest it than theirs were, but you eate the flesh of a liue man with your mouthes

[a] *Athan. in illud quicunque dixerit verbũ in filium hominis.*
[b] *Chrys. in Johan. hom. 46.*
[c] *Theophil. in 6. Johannis.*
[d] *Orig. in Leu. hom. 7.*
[e] *Cypr. de cœna Domini.*
[f] *August. in psal. 98.*
[g] *Oecum. in 6. Iohannis.*
[h] *Beda in 6. Iohannis.*

If Christ meant the soule of man should eate his flesh by faith, they be Capernites that bring their mouths to eate it, though they neither see it nor tast it.

mouthes which they feared they should, & were deceiued.

Phil. They thought they should haue eaten Christ by peece-meale. Theo. And is your opinion any whit the better, because you eate him whole at one mozsel? Phil. This is prophane scoffing. Theop. Take heed that yours be not worse than prophane eating of that which is diuine & holy. Phil. We eate his flesh in a mysterie. Theo. What mysterie lieth in your mouthes & bellies? Phil. Is it not a great mysterie that Christ is eaten vnder the formes of bread & wine? The. None at all, if you set your teeth and iawes on worke to eate him as the Capernites thought they should when they peruerted the words of Christ. Phi. They supposed they should haue seene & tasted mans flesh, which is horrible. Theo. Eating as I haue shewed you, doth consist not in seeing or tasting, but in thamming and swalowing: & since you therein consent with the Capernites, though you could alleage twentie diuersities betweene their maner of eating and yours, yet both are corporal and contrary to that doctrine which Christ deliuered in the 6. of Iohn. For that, as I haue proued, was intended & referred to ỹ soules and spirits of men, not to their throtes or entrals: & therfore well in couering the body of Christ, & deluding your senses, you may differ from the Capernites: but in preparing your teeth and iawes for the flesh of Christ, & in drawing his words from their mysticall and figuratiue sense, you ioyne with the Capernites against al the catholike fathers that euer wrate in the Church of Christ.

There may be many differences in eating, but all eating the flesh of Christ with teeth and iawes is Capernitical.

Phil. Haue we, thinke you, *no fathers with vs, as well for the literall construction of Christs words, as for the *corporal eating of his flesh in the sacrament? Corporall I call it, not because we see it or taste it, as we doe other meates, but because we be sure it entreth our mouthes when we receiue our rites, and is really contained in our bodies. Theoph. You may abuse some fathers to make a shew: but otherwise you haue no ground in them either of your literall vnderstanding Christs speech, or corporall eating of Christs flesh. Phi. Haue we not? * S. Damascen, S. Epiphanius, Theophilact, Euthymius and others earnestly presse the literal construction of Christs words against your signs and figures: and as for eating the flesh of Christ with our very mouthes, S. Austen, S. Chrysostom,

* Not one that is ancient.

* For that you misconster some that be ancient, but their true meaning is against it.

* Mo saints than euer were in the kalendar.

ſtom, S. Leo, S. Gregory, S. Cyril, Tertullian and others are reſolute, whom I truſt you wil not condemn for Capernites. By this way the ſimple learne what to looke for at your hands, that wil outface ſo plain a truth. Theo. He that wil be good at outfacing, let him ſtudy your teſtament, and he need none other teacher: but what truth is it that we outface?

Phi. Neuer father, you ſaid, auouched the literall ſenſe of Chriſts words. The. I ſaid no ancient father, of which number I do not account theſe late Grecians to be. And therfore if they did contradict that which Tertullian, Auſten, Origen, Chryſoſtom and others did teach long before them, we would not regard them: but as yet I ſee no ſuch thing proued by them. Fower late Grecians vrge the letter, but to no ſuch end as the Ieſuits do.

Phi. The proofe is eaſie. S. Damaſcene rehearſing the words of Chriſt, This is my body, immediately addeth, not a figure of my body, but my body; not a figure of my blood, but my blood. S. Epiphanius likewiſe, (Chriſt) ſaid, take, eate, this is my body. He ſaid not take, eate the image of my body. And Theophilact, Bread is the very body of our Lord, & not a figure correſpondent. For he ſaid not this is a figure, but this is my body. And ſo Euthymius, Chriſt ſaid not theſe are ſignes of my body, but theſe are my body. Theſe be manifeſt places: & yet ſuch is your impudencie that you affirme no father euer vrged the literal force of Chriſts words. *Damaſ. lib. 4. cap. 14.* *Nicen. Synod. 2. act. 10. 6.* *Theophil. in 26. Matth.* *Euthimius in Matt. cap. 64.*

And ſo for the corporal eating of Chriſts fleſh with our mouthes: S. Auſten ſaith, It hath pleaſed the holy Ghoſt that in the honour of ſo great a ſacrament, our Lordes body ſhould enter into the mouth before other meates. And S. Chryſoſtome, Our mouth hath gotten no ſmall honor receiuing our Lords bodie. And S. Gregorie, (The blood of the lambe) is ſucked not onely by the mouth of the hart, but alſo by the mouth of the body. And S. Leo, That is receiued by the mouth which is beleeued by the heart. And Tertullian, (Our) fleſh doth feed on the bodie and blood of our Lord. And S. Cyril, It was needfull that this rude & earthly body ſhould be recouered to immortalitie by touch, taſte, and food of the ſame kind with it ſelfe. You aſke for fathers: here they be both many in number & ancient in time to diſcharge vs that we be no Capernits: and to refel your fooliſh vant, that all antiquitie were of the very ſame mind that *Augu. ep. 118.* *Chryſ. homil. 29. in 2. Cor.* *De conſ. diſt. 2. § quid ſit.* *Leo ſerm. 6. de ieiunio 7. menſis.* *Tertul. de reſurrect. carnis.* *Cyril. lib. 4. cap. 14. in Iohan.*

It may be you neuer vnderstood them.

that you are now. * If it may be you neuer heard the places before: if you did not I wil pardon your ignorance so you repent your rashnes,

Theoph. Yes sir, I haue seene them, & it may be weighed them better than euer you did. And notwithstāding your magnificence, it will appeare you be not free from ignorance, whatsoeuer you be from impudencie. Phil. I will burne my clothes to my shirt, if euer you answere them. Theo. But saue your skin from the fire, though you spare not other mens blood nor bones. Phil. We* vse you but as heretikes should be vsed. Theop. If it be heresie for vs to serue God according to the gospel of his sonne, what is it for you to serue him with your owne medlees? Phil. You would flie the field rather than your life, but I must keepe you to it. Theo. You run so fast from God and your prince that you may soone ouergo vs, if we would flie, but as yet I see no cause.

* It is no shame for vs to suffer as Christ did, nor glory for you to doe as Iudas did.

The meaning of Damascene and others after him in pressing the letter.

Damascene, Theophilact, and Euthymius, presse the letter of Christes speech not to deriue thence your carnall & gutturall eating of Christs flesh, nor to controll that which Tertullian, Austen, Origen, Chrysostom & others (men of far greater learning & authoritie thā these) taught long before them in the church of God, but to shew, that bread & wine be not onely tokens and bare signes of Christs flesh and blood, but also cary with them & in them the vertue, power and effect of his death and passion. Euthymius, Christ said not, these be the signes of my body and blood, but these are my body & blood. We must therfore NOT LOOKE TO THE NATVRE of the gifts which are proposed, BVT TO THE VERTVE. Against them which defend, that this sacrament doth only figure, not offer: signifie, not exhibite grace: the letter may well be forced to proue the diuine power & operation of the mystical elements: against vs which hold the visible signs in substance to be creatures: in signification mysteries: in operation & vertue things thēselues, whose names they beare, this illatiō concludeth nothing. Yet for the better explication of himselfe & others vsing the like kind of speech: Theophilact addeth this word ONLY. Mark that the bread which is eatē of vs in the mysteries, *Nō est* TANTVM *figuratio quædā carnis Domini*, is not an only figuring of the Lords flesh, but the Lords very flesh. For he said not the bread which

Euthymius in Matth. cap. 64. He vrgeth the words least the signes should seeme to be without vertue.

Theophil. in 6. Johannis.

which I will giue, is a figure of my flesh, but is my flesh. Their meaning was as we see by their owne words to teach more than idle signes, or ONLY figures in the Lords supper, because together with the name go the vertues and effects of Christs flesh and bloud, united in maner of a sacrament to the visible signes. And this their assertiō neither troubleth our doctrine, nor strengthneth your error. Not a figure only, that is, not an idle signe without fruite and effect.

Againe, these writers may verie well saie the sacraments of the Gospel BE NO FIGVRES but TRVTH ITSELFE, in that respect, as figures be taken for samplers of things to come. Such were the figures of the law, which did prefigurate the comming of Christ in flesh, & ceased at his comming. And so the mysteries of the Lords table were not figures of things expected, but evidences of the truth there sitting in person, and the next day to be nailed to the crosse, therby to fulfill & abolish all figures: & our sacramēts are now not signes of farther promises, but memorials of his mercies alreadie performed. Do this saith Christ, (not in figure of another truth to come) but in remembrance of me (which am come:) for memorie you know stretcheth only to things past and done: and in this sense the letter may be safely pressed, and your carnall conceiuance nothing relieued. I find a third cause that might induce them to force the letter in this sort, and yet no way confirming your grosse supposall, which is this. Whē the Greeke Church fell at variance for images, they which held that Christ ought not to be figured after the likenes of our bodies, amōgst other reasons alledged this for one, that the Lord at his supper * for a true & effectuall image of his incarnation, chose the whole substance of bread, not anie waie like the proportion of a man, least it should occasion idolatrie. The defenders of images, whose side Damascene tooke, pressed with this obiection, durst not flee to your annihilation of the substance of bread, & adoration of the sacramēt, with diuine honor: which no doubt they would haue done with great triumph, had those two points of your doctrine been then counted catholike, but yeelding, & by their silence confessing, that the substance of bread remained in the supper, and was not adored (for so the contrarie part opposed) at length for verie pure need came to this shift: that the mysticall bread was not ordained to re-

No figures of things to come. All figures abolished by the cōming of Christ in flesh.

The defenders of images would not haue the sacrament called an image of Christ.

* *Extat in 2. Synod. Nicen. actio. 6.*

The cause why the Grecians pressed the

The fourth part. What the late Grecians ment by pressing the letter.

letter is nothing neere the Iesuits real presence.

semble and figure Christs humane nature, nor so called by Christ at his mandie who said not, this is a figure of my bodie, but my body; nor a figure of my blood, but my blood: and when Basill and Eustachius were produced affirming the bread and wine to be figures and resemblances of Christs flesh and blood, the patrones of images replied that was spoken alwaies before, neuer after consecration. Wherefore Damascene first began this mincing and straining the words of Christ, not to build on them anie reall or corporall conuersion of the bread into the flesh of Christ, but in fauour of his artificall pictures and images, he could by no meanes abide that the mysteries should after consecration be called images, and figures of Christs bodie.

Damasce. li. 4. cap. 14.

This Epiphanius was as earnest for painted and carued images as the elder was against them.

*Nicen Synod. 2. actio. 6.

*This Epiphanius might haue been a Iesuit for his lustie craking.

The next that traced this path after Damascene was Epiphanius: not that auncient and learned Bishop of Cyprus, but a prating Deacon in the bastard Councell of Nice, whose furious and fanaticall answere to the Counsell of Constantinople, (that made this obiection) declareth more tong than wit, more face than learning. *Christ did not saie take ye, eate ye, the image of my bodie. Reade whiles thou wilt (saith he) thou shalt neuer find that either the Lord or his Apostles, or the Fathers called that vnbloody Sacrifice, which the priest offereth, AN IMAGE. Thus doth he braie forth * defiance to the whole world without truth, without shame. For Chrysostom saith, [a] If Iesus were not once dead, whose image and signe is this Sacrifice? This [b] Sacrifice is an image and samplar of that Sacrifice. And Gelasius, [c] Surely the IMAGE and resemblance of the bodie and blood of Christ is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. We must therefore so thinke of the Lord Christ himselfe as we professe and obserue in his IMAGE. And likewise Theodoret. Ortho. [d] The mysticall signes which are offered to God by his priests whereof doest thou call them signes? Eranist. Of the bodie and blood of the Lord. Ortho: It is verie well said. Confer then the image with the paterne, and thou shalt see the likenesse. Dionysius calleth it both an [e] image, and a figuratiue sacrifice. Nazianzene excusing himselfe, [f] How should I, saith he, presume to offer vnto God that externall sacrifice; the image of the great mysteries? Clemens, [g] Offer you in your Churches the image

[a] *Chrysost. in Mat. hom. 83.*
[b] *Idem hom. 17. in epist. ad Heb.*
[c] *Gelas. contra Eutychen.*
[d] *Theod. dial. 2.*
[e] *Dyonis. eccleasiast. hierarch. cap. 3.*
[f] *Nazianz. in Apologetico.*
[g] *Apostol. constitut. li. 6. cap. 3.*

The sacrament is an image of Christ on the crosse. *The fourth part.*
image of the roiall bodie of Christ. Macarius, [a] In the Church are offered bread and wine, the images of his flesh and blood. [a] *Macar. hom. 27.*

The Latine fathers keepe the same word and the same sense. Ambrose, [b] In the law was a shadow: in the Gospell is an image, in heauen is the truth. Before was offered a lamb or a calf, now Christ is offered: heere in an image; there in truth where he intreateth his father as an aduocate for vs. Augustine, [c] Christ gaue an image of his burnt offering to be celebrated in the Church for a remembrance of his passion. The rest saie the like: but what need we farther refutation of so ridiculous and vnshamefast a brag, such causes, such councels: such poppets, such proctors. The verie childzen in the Church of God know that the diuine mysteries by the generall definition of a Sacrament, be visible signes of inuisible graces, and as Augustine interpreteth the word [d] *Sacramentum: id est, sacrum signum*, a Sacrament, that is a sacred signe. So that vnlesse they be signes they can possiblie be no sacraments, and neither sacraments nor signes can they be without or before consecration which this stout champion had not yet learned, and therefore his verdict in matters of religion, except his cunning were greater, may be well refused.

[b] *Ambros. de officijs lib. 1. cap. 48.*

[c] *August. octoginta trium quæstionum cap. 61.* The sacrament is an image of Christes death and passion.

[d] *De cons. dist. 2. § Sacrificium.*

As Damascene and your prating Epiphanius were more than 700. yeres after Christ; so Theophilact and Euthymius are far ponger. The first of them was Bishop of the Bulgarians, who were conuerted to the faith 868. yeres after Christ: the second your owne chronologie placeth after Gratian and Lombard 1100. yeres short of Christ. Were then these later Grecians wholie with you, what gaine you by them? If you would oppose them to Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoret and others of purer times and sounder iudgements, you could win nothing by that bargaine: the choice were soone made, which to take, which to leaue; but in deed you do them wrong to returne them for transubstantiators: they neuer knew what it ment. They say the mysteries of the Lords table be not onlie figures, but haue the truth annexed: No figures (of grace differred) but seales of mercie performed in Christ & inioied of vs: not called figures or images of Christs flesh after cõsecratiõ, but bearing as wel

Sigebert. in an. 885. Regino li. 2. an. 868. Chrono. Canisij If these Grecians had been of the Iesuits opinion, the matter had not been great, but now they are not. *Theo. li. 4. ca. 1.* How the late Grecians that presse the letter may be vnderstood.

The Iesuits trust more to their practises, than to their authorities, otherwise their hold were very slender.

names as the fruites and effects of the things themselues whose sacraments they be. This maketh nothing for your locall inclosing of Christ vnder accidents, neither for your corporall mingling of his flesh with your flesh, which are the two points ẏ we chiefelie detest in your reall presence. Thus the greatest stormes, from which you thought, no roke could rescue vs, is halfe ouerpast, and no hurt done: if the rest fall as faire beſides vs, it will be high time for you to leaue disputing, and fal to practising, as the rest of your fellowes do, which be lurking at home to infuse a rebellion, or stirring abroad to boile it vp to his highth. Your kingdom wil neuer reflorish by pen and paper: you must late more plots, and make new mariages: your time is short, your rage great. Phi. When you be cõfuted by reason, then begin you to charge vs with treason: but answere the places which we bring you, or I wil leaue you, I haue somewhat elſe to doing. Theo. I thinke it be the trueſt word you spake this moneth; but an answere, if that be all you looke for, you shall not lacke.

The fathers abused that are alledged for the Iesuits eating the flesh of Christ with teeth and awes.

The fathers whome you alleage for eating the reall & naturall flesh of Christ, & drinking his bloud with your mouths & throates, are foulie abused, & their words ignorantlie misconstered, if not purposelie peruerted. Phil. Are you there at hoste? I see by your winding, you wil run to their meaning. Theo. What wrong is that, if by their own rules, I recall you to the right conceiuing of their words? Phil. If you may make rules for religion, we shall haue some wise worke of it, I dare vndertake. Theo. If themselues made rules to direct their hearers least their words should happily be mistaken, you shew both your religion & wisdom in refusing the same. Phi. We refuse thẽ not, if they be theirs. Theo. If they be not, you may the soner repell them. Phil. Well then, what are they? The. There shall not be many of thẽ: one wil serue this turne. Phil. That one then what is it? Theo. The signes haue the names of the things themselues, & therfore out of ẏ places which you haue brought you may not conclude, that the naturall flesh of Christ is actually eaten with teeth, or his bloud really drunke with your lips, but rather that the visible signes and elements which are corporally receiued into your mouths and stomacks, haue ẏ vertues of those things whose names they

The rule interpreteth al the fathers that seeme to say the flesh of Christ is eaten with our mouths. This rule for the signes to beare the

beare

beare after consecration. Phil. I thought we should haue some such shift: but trust me, this of all others is the fondest & absurdest that you could make. For what ground of faith shall persist vnshaken, if you giue men this scope, to confesse the names, but not the things? So the Iew may reply, when Christ is proued to be the true Messias, that he is so called, but not so in deed. So any heretike may delude the whole scriptures, if words shall stand as empty sounds, without their sense. See to what miserie you be driuen, whiles you withstand the blessed sacrament, how far better were you to adore the same with vs Catholiks, than to run into such heretical briers? names of the things themselues, is proper to sacraments.

Theop. Your sumptuous exhortation is but a ridiculous ludification of your selues and others. We do not say that in matters of doctrine words may be receiued without their natural and due signification: but in sacraments we say, the signes remaining in their former substance, are called by the names of the things themselues, & therefore you must take good heed that you do not rashly conclude that of the one which was spoken of the other, least you fall into that seruitude and sickues of the soule, which S. Austen warned you of before. Phil. Would you appoint when the fathers words shall be construed of the signes, and when of the things? Theop. Neither we nor you: themselues are the fittest men to limit what they spake of the signes, and what of the things. Phil. And do they say, they spake this which I alleadge, of the signes? Theop. They do. Phil. If I should stay here till that be proued, I should neuer go hence. Theop. The matter is not so hard to be proued as you make it. For if they mainly teach that Christes flesh is not eaten with teeth, not swalowed with iawes, not receiued into the compasse of the belly, they must either contradict themselues, which they do not, or those speeches which you bring, must be vnderstood of the signes called by the names of Christs flesh and blood, though in truth they be not those things, but sacraments of them, as they by their owne cautions will instruct you. Phil. I cannot abide this going about the bush. Theop. In deed mad men will through the midst, though they teare their flesh to the bones for their labor. Phil. Do you thinke vs mad? Theop. It is greater madnesse to flea Their owne rules in all reason are to limit their owne speeche. This must be vnderstood of the signes and not of the things themselues, else there is a contradiction in the fathers.

pour owne soules with the rigor of other mens phrases, when they giue you warning to the contrary, than to wound your owne bodies with the sharpnes of any thornes. Phil. We presse not their speeches against their prescriptions, you rather would frustrate their meaning with your figures. Theop. Let them tell their owne tales, what they teach concerning the parts of this sacrament, and then it will soone be seene whether you or we peruert them. There be three things in the bread and by like proportion in the wine that may be doubted of, the name, the substance, the power and operation. When we see which of these three be changed, and which vnchanged, the mist of error will soone be scattered.

* Three things that may be doubted of in the sacrament. The names of the elements changed after consecration

The name we proue to be changed by the generall confession of all the fathers, [a] Our Sauior, saith Theodoret, changed the names, and called the signe by the name of his body. Christ [b] called bread his body, saith Tertullian. [c] The signifieng (elements) and the things signified, are called by the same names, saith Cyprian. [d] Before the words of Christ, saith Ambrose, that which is offered is called bread, when once the words of Christ be rehearsed, it is now called not bread, but (his) body. [e] The bread, saith Prosper, is called the body of Christ, being in truth the sacrament (that is the sacred signe) of Christs body. Chrysostom, [f] After sanctification it is discharged from the name of bread, & counted woorthy to beare the name of the Lords body, notwithstanding the nature of bread still remaine. Rabanus, [g] Because bread strengthneth (our) bodies, therefore is it fitly termed the body of Christ. Bertram, [h] The signes be called the Lords body and blood, by reason they take the name of that thing whose sacraments they be.

[a] Theod. dial. 1.
[b] Tertul. aduers. Iudæos.
[c] Cyp. de vnct. Chrismatis.
[d] Amb. de sacramen. lib. 5. cap. 4.
[e] De consecr. dist. 2. ¶ hoc est quod.
[f] Chrysost. ad Cæsar. monach.
[g] Raban de Instit. cleric. lib. 1. cap. 31.
[h] Bertram. de corp. & sang. Domini.

The generall rule is plainly set downe by the famous clarke S. Austen, in these words. [i] If sacraments had not a certaine likenes and resemblance to the things, whose sacraments they are, they should be no sacraments at all. And for his similitude they commonly beare the names of the things themselues. As therefore the sacrament of Christs body is after a sort the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christes blood (after the same sort) the blood of Christ: euen so the sacrament of faith (meaning thereby baptisme) is faith. We be buried, saith Paul, with Christ through baptisme into his death.

[i] August. ad Bonifac. cap. 23.

Can there be a plainer rule to keepe vs from rash mistaking the fathers?

death. He saith not, we signifie that (his) buriall, but he saith plainly we are buried. The sacrament of so great a thing he would not call but by the name of the thing it selfe. Upon this very ground he concluded, as you heard before, that [a] the Lord doubted not to say, this is my body, when he gaue the signe of his body. What maruell then if the catholike fathers vsed often the names of the body and blood of Christ, where the materiall elements of bread and wine must be vnderstood, since this is the certaine rule of all sacraments, and the common order of all ancient diuines writing of the Lords supper, to call the gifts proposed at the Lords table the body and blood of Christ. The wilfull contempt of which obseruation hath miserably snared & hampered you and your fellowes euery where referring & forcing that to the naturall flesh of Christ, which by the learned & godly fathers was spoken & ment of the visible signes called by the names of the body and blood of Christ.

[a] *Contra Adimant. cap.* 12.

The fathers after consecration neuer called the bread by any other name than the body of Christ, though the substance of bread still remained.

The second thing that you sticke at, is the substance of bread, which we say remaineth and abideth as well after consecration as before. You will haue it either vanish to nothing, or else to be turned and conuerted into the very flesh of Christ there present God & man, vnder the whitenes, roundnes, and such like shewes and appearances of bread, left onely to content the sight and palate, least the raw flesh of Christ should displease your eies, or offend your tast. This is your doctrine, and this we say is not catholike. The Church of Christ neuer held, that the substance of bread perished or ceased after consecration, it is a late deuise: you can bring no father that is ancient for this assertion: they neuer taught, they neuer heard, they neuer dreampt any such things. They taught that the mysticall signes were creatures well known, not strang and miraculous accidents, that the substance of bread was not changed, but remained still after consecration: & this they taught in as plaine words as hart can imagine, or tong expresse: let the reader be iudge, if I say not the truth.

The bread remaineth after consecration in his proper and former nature and SUBSTANCE.

Gelasius an ancient bishop of Rome, for his antiquitie reuerenced of vs, for his place not to be refused of you, writeth thus against Eutiches, [b] The sacraments, which we receiue, of the body and blood of Christ, are a diuine thing,

[b] *Gelas. contr. Eutychen.*

The signes remaine in their former substance.

and by them are we made partakers of the diuine nature, and yet for all that ceaseth not the substance or nature of bread and wine to be. Theodorer, [a] The mysticall signes do not after sanctification depart from their owne nature, for they remaine in their former substance, figure, and forme. Ambrose, [b] Thou camest to the altar, and sawest the sacraments thereon, and wondrest at the very creature: yet it is a solemne and knowne creature. Ireneus, [c] Christ counselling (or willing) his disciples to offer to God the first fruits of those creatures, tooke that bread, which is a creature, and gaue thanks, saying: this is my body. [d] We must therefore in all things be found thankefull to God the creator, offering the first fruits of those creatures which be his: and this oblation the Church onely maketh in puritie to the creator, offering to him of his owne creatures with thankes-giuing. Origen (the Lords bread) [e] according to the materiall (parts) thereof goeth into the bellie, and thence to the draught: (so that) it is not the matter of bread that doth profit the receiuer, but the word rehearsed ouer it. Epiphanius, [f] That which our sauior tooke in his hand, and said, this is my (body,) we see to be neither proportionall, nor like to his image in flesh, nor his inuisible deitie: for this is of a round figure, and hath no power of sense: but our Lord we know to be wholy sense, wholy sensitiue. Cyprian, [g] Since the Lord said, do this in my remembrance, this is my flesh, and this is my blood: as often as with these words, and this faith we do (that he did) this substantiall bread and cup sanctified with a solemne blessing is profitable for the life and safegard of the whole man, being both a medicine to heale our infirmities, and a sacrifice to clense our iniquities. Chrysostome. After consecration [h] it is deliuered from the name of bread, and reputed worthy to be called the Lords body, notwithstanding the nature of bread still remaine. Austen, [i] These things are therefore called sacraments, because in them one thing is seene, and an other thing vnderstood. That which is seene, *speciem habet corporalem*, hath a corporall shape (or kind:) that which is vnderstood hath a spirituall fruit. [k] This is of all other a miserable seruitude of the soule to mistake the signes for the things them selues, and not to be able to lift vp the eie of the mind aboue the corporall creature, to behold the light that is eternall. The councell of Constantinople,

[a] *Theod. dial. 2.*

[b] *Ambros. de sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

[c] *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 32.*

[d] *Ex cap. 34.*

[e] *Origen. in 15 Matth.*

[f] *Epiphan. in Ancorato.*

[g] *Cypr. de cœna Domini.*

[h] *Chrysost. ad Cæsar. Monac.*

[i] *Auzu serm. ad infantes.*

[k] *Idem de doctr. Christ. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

The signes remaine in their former substance.

tinople, [a] Christ commanded the whole substance of bread, chosen for his image, to be set on his table, least if it resembled the shape of a man, idolatrie might be committed. Bertrã, [b] The signes as touching the substances of the creatures, are the same after consecration, which they were before.

[a] *Extat in 2. synod. Nicen. actio 6.*

[b] *Bertram. de corp. & sanguine.*

Can you looke for plainer or directer witnesses? Do they not all ioine together in one profession and succession of truth, that the mysticall signes after consecration be knowne, corporall, and senseleſſe creatures abiding in their proper and former, yea their whole nature and substance? Be not these words significant and pregnant, directly confuting your reall inclosing & corporall eating of Christ vnder the shewes and accidents of bread and wine?

We our selues can speake no plainer words than the fathers did before vs against the Iesuits error.

The third thing that I said was to be considered in the elements of bread and wine, is their power & operation. For since the substance of the creatures is not changed, the signes could not iustly beare the names of the things themselues, except the vertue, power, and effect of Christs flesh & bloud were adioined to them, & vnited with them after a secret & vnspeakeable maner by the working of the holy Ghost: in such sort that whosoeuer duly receiueth the signe, is vndoubtedly partaker of the grace offered vnto all, but inioied only by those that with faith and repentance cleanse the inward man from that corruption of flesh and spirit which Christ abhorreth.

The power & operation of the signes. Their power & operation changed, causeth the change of their names though their substance remaine.

Cyprian of sacraments in generall writeth thus. [c] To the elements once sanctified, not now their owne nature giueth effect, but the diuine vertue worketh (in them) more mightily: the truth is present with the signe, and the spirit with the sacrament: so that the worthines of the grace appeareth by the verie efficiency of the things. **Of the Lords supper in speciall thus he saith.** [d] There is giuen the food of immortalitie, differing from common meats: *corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem*, retaining the kind (or truth) of a corporal substance (for your shewes, without substance were not yet knowne) but by secret efficiencie prooving the presence of the diuine vertue. This common bread changed into flesh and bloud, procureth life and groweth to our bodies, and so by the vsuall course of these things, the weakenes of our faith is succoured, and taught by a sensible argument, that the effects of eternall life is in the visible sacraments, & that we be vnited

[c] *Cypr. de vnctio. Chrismat.*

[d]

vnited to Christ, not so much by a corporall, as by a spirituall transition. Ambrose, [a] Perhaps thou wilt say, I see the liknes, I see not the truth of bloud. But it hath a resemblance. [b] For as thou tookest a resemblance of his death, so doest thou drinke a resemblance of his precious bloud, to this end that there should be no horror of his bloud, and yet it might worke the price of our saluation, & the grace of our redemption might remaine. [c] Therefore for a similitude thou receiuest the sacrament, *sed veræ naturæ gratiam, virtutémque consequeris*, but thou obtainest (thereby) the grace and vertue of the true nature. Gelasius, [d] By the sacraments (which we receiue) we be made partakers of the diuine nature: they truly represent to vs the vertues and effects of that principall mystery. Hilarius, [e] These things tasted and taken bring this to passe, that Christ remaineth in vs: this is [f] The vertue of that table to quicken the receiuers. Leo, [g] In that mysticall distribution of the spirituall nourishment this is giuen, this is taken, that receiuing the vertue of the heauenly meat, we may be changed into his flesh, who was made flesh for vs. Chrysostom, [h] Let vs come to the spirituall dugge of this chalice, and sucke (thence) the grace of the spirit. Augustine, [i] The sacrament is one thing, the vertue of the sacrament is an other thing. [k] Euery man receiueth his part, whereby grace it selfe is called parts, and where [l] the sacraments were common to all, grace was not common to all, which is the vertue of the sacraments. **And againe**, The (Capernits) [m] thought he would haue giuen them his body, but he told them he would ascend to heauen: no doubt he meant whole. When you shall see the sonne of man ascending where he was before, surely then shall you see that he doth not giue his body that way which you imagine, surely then shall you perceiue that his grace is not consumed with biting. Euthymius, [n] He doth change these things vnspeakeably into his verie bodie that quickneth, and into his very precious bloud, & into the grace of them (both:) we must therefore not looke to the nature of the things proposed (at the Lords table) but vnto the vertue of them. **Wherefore** Theodorets **words are most true.** [o] The signes which are seene, Christ did honor with the names of his body and bloud; not changing the nature (or substance of them) but casting grace vnto nature. **And so did** Ambrose **meane when he said:** [p] If there be so great strength

[a] *Ambr. de sacramentis lib. 6. cap. 1.*
[b] *Ibidem. lib. 4. cap. 4.*
[c] *Ibidem. lib. 6. cap. 1.*
[d] *Gelas. contra Eutichen.*
[e] *Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 8.*
[f] *Idem in psal. 127.*
[g] *Leo de conse. dist. 2. ¶ in quibus.*
[h] *Chrysost. hom. 83. in Matth.*
[i] *August. tract. in Iohan. 26.*
[k] *Idē de conse. dist. 2. § qui manducat.*
[l] *Idem. in psal. 77.*
[m] *Idem. tract in Iohan. 27.*
[n] *Euthym. in Matth. cap. 64.*
We must not looke to the substance of the signes, but vnto the vertue of them.
[o] *Theod. dia. 2.*
[p] *Ambros. de sacramentis, lib. 4. cap. 4.*

strength in the word of the Lord Iesu, that all things began to be, when they were not: how much more shall it be of force, that (the mysticall elements) should be the same they were before, and yet be changed into an other thing? The same in earthly matter and substance which they were before, changed in vertue, power, and working, whereby we see they beare not onely the names, but also the fruites and effects of those things, whose sacraments they be.

This is their doctrine touching the visible part of this sacrament, which is seene with eies, felt with hands, and bruised with teeth: of that there is no doubt but it entereth our mouthes and resteth in our bowels: and that, for the causes which I before rehearsed, after consecration is every where called by them the Lords bodie: but that the naturall flesh of Christ, which is the other and inward part of the sacrament, entereth the mouth, or abideth the teeth, or passeth downe the throat, or lodgeth in the stomacke: this is a position wholy repugnant both to fathers and scriptures. The naturall & true flesh of Christ is not eaten with teeth.

[a] Do you not know, saith Christ, that whatsoeuer thing from without entereth into a man, can not defile him: because it entereth not into his hart, but into the bellie. Then by the iudgement of our sauior nothing can enter both the hart & the bellie: but the flesh of Christ entereth into the hart, *Ergo* not into the belly. [b] The bellie, saith Paul, is for meats and meats for the bellie, and God will destroy both it and them: the bodie of Christ God will not destroy, it is therefore no meat for the bellie. If not for the belly, then not for the mouth, because [c] euerie thing that entereth the mouth goeth into the bellie, and so foorth to the draught. But so basely to thinke of the flesh of Christ is apparent and irreuerent wickednesse: *Ergo* the flesh of Christ neither filleth our bellies, nor entereth our mouth: For [d] nothing that entereth the mouth, can either defile (or sanctifie.) [e] Meats, saith Paul (which passe by the mouth) do not commend vs vnto God, neither doth [f] the kingdome of God (which is our sanctification) consist of meats, and drinkes: but Christ [g] with his bloud doth sanctifie the people: and [h] he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my bloud, saith he, remaineth in me and I in him, and hath eternall

[a] Mark. 7. Nothing can enter both the hart and the belly.
[b] 1. Cor. 6.
[c] Mat. 15.
[d] Mark. 7.
[e] 1. Cor. 8.
[f] Rom. 14.
[g] Heb. 13.
[h] Iohn. 6.

eternall life, *Ergo* neither his flesh nor his bloud enter our mouths. To be short, [a] Christ dwelleth not in bellies by locall comprehension, but in our harts by faith: his flesh feedeth not our bodies for a time, but our soules for euer: his words were spoken not of our mouths, which beleeue not: but of our spirits, which haue no flesh nor bones: and consequently neither teeth to grind, nor iawes to swallow, but onely faith and vnderstanding.

[a] Ephes. 3.

Let all this be void, if the learned and ancient fathers do not conclude the same. Chrysostome, [b] Care not for the nourishment of the bodie, but of the spirit. (Christ is the bread) which feedeth not the bodie but the soule, and [c] filleth not the bellie, but the mind. Ambrose [d] Christ is in that sacrament, because it is the body of Christ. It is therefore no bodily, but ghostly meat. [e] NOT THIS BREAD, which entereth into the bodie, but the bread of eternall life is it that vpholdeth the substance of our soule. Cyprian, [f] As often as we do this we whet not our teeth to bite, but we break the sanctified bread with a sincere faith. Cyrill, [g] Let vs therefore (as our sauior saith) labor not for the meat, which goeth into the belly, but for the spirituall food, which confirmeth our harts and leadeth vs to eternall life. Augustine, [h] It is not lawfull to deuour Christ with teeth. [i] Prepare not your iawes, but your harts. We take but a morsell, and our hart is repleniſhed. Therefore not that which is seene, but that which is beleeued, doth feede. [k] Why prouidedst thou thy teeth and thy bellie? Beleeue and thou hast eaten. Bertram, At the Lords table [l] we looke not on that which is broken in peeces, which is pressed with teeth, which feedeth the body, but onely that which is taken spiritually by faith. Doth the meat (which the faithfull receiue in the Church) as touching that which is corporally taken, that which is chammed with teeth, that which is swallowed with iawes, that which is closed in the compasse of the bellie, put vs in assurance of eternall life? This way (no question) it feedeth our flesh, which shall die, neither yeeldeth vs any kind of incorruption. For this, which the bodie receiueth, is corruptible: that which faith beholdeth feedeth the soule, and performeth vs euerlasting life.

[b] *Chrys. hom. 43. in Ioan.*

[c] *Idem ex variis locis in Matt. 9.*

[d] *Ambros. de iis qui mysteriis initiantur.*

[e] *De consecr. dist. 2. ¶ non est panis.*

[f] *Cyprian. de Cœna Dom.*

[g] *Cyril. lib. 3. in Ioh. cap. 28.*

[h] *Augustin. de consdist. 2. § vtrum sub figura.*

[i] *Idem de verbis Domini in Euang. Luc. sermo. 33.*

[k] *Idem tract. in Iohan. 25.*

[l] *Bertram. de corp. & sanguine Domini.* Christ is not pressed with teeth, swallowed with iawes, or receiued into the belly.

If these fathers be not able to remoue you from the corporall eating of Christs flesh with teeth and iawes, heare

when they must take substance to be accidents. *The fourth part.*

heare in how plaine termes your owne law doth checke this grossenes of yours. [a] The flesh of Christ is not incorporated with vs, descendeth not into the stomach, passeth not into the nourishment of the body, for it is the food of the soule, not of the body. And where pope Nicholas draue Berengarius in his recantation to say, that the flesh of Christ was truly chammed betweene the teeth of the faithful: Your gloze could forbeare no longer, but cried out, [b] *Nisi sanè intelligas*, except thou take good heed to these words, thou shalt fall into a greater heresie then euer Berengarius held. Then blame not vs Philander, for saying this your assertion is not catholike, the prouost marcschall of your owne side, not long since, said it was hereticall.

Their owne law detecteth it for an heresie.

[a] *De conf. dist. 2. ¶ non iste panis. & ¶ tribus gradibus. gloss. ibidem.*

[b] *De conf. dist. 2. ¶ ego Berengarius. gloss. ibidem.*

Phil. Haue you done? Theop. I haue if you list to begin. Phil. What a stirre is here to bring beggers to the stocks, and all not worth a straw? Theop. In deed friers are the nearest kinsmen that beggers haue: they both liue by shifting, & gaine by dissembling, saue that friers are alwaies within doores, when beggers are without: but what is it that doth so much offend you in my speech? Phil. You run along with scriptures & fathers, as if all were yours. Theop. I shew you a truth confirmed by the scriptures, auouched by the fathers, and confessed by your owne fellowes: if that displease you, your mouth is out of tast. Phil. Haue you the truth? So hath the diuell: for you be his members in that you be heretiks. Theop. This is but a iades tricke, when you feele the spurres, to fling out behind. The more you reason the more you find that you haue run the race of your owne deuises without the fathers: and now you can not resist, you fall to reuiling and cursed speaking.

Phil. We can with one lift lay all your authorities in the mire. Theoph. Your can is great, but your liquor small. I dare promise for you, that you will struggle what you can to be rid of the burden. Phil. With three bare words I will answere your three parts, and all your proofes. Theop. They may be so bare they will do you no good: but at aduenture what are they?

You must not only answere, but your answers must be sound and good.

Phil. That the signes after consecration carie the names, and effects of the things themselues: I graunt it to be verie true, but it answereth not the places which I did obiect;

obiect: and as for the substance of bread remaining, which some fathers seeme to affirme, we say substance is there taken not for the very substance it selfe, which is really changed into the body of Christ, but for some other thing. Theoph. What other thing? Phil. Not for that which you meane. Theoph. Let my meaning alone, and speake you to their assertion that say the bread and wine remaine after consecration in their former and proper nature and substance. Phil. Substance is there taken for nature. Theop. Nature is so generall that it comprizeth both the substance and accidents of euery thing. If then the signes remaine in their former nature, they must retaine both their former substance, and their former accidents. Phil. Their substance they do not: their qualities they do, as sight, tast, bignes and such like properties. Theop. But the places which I cite, affirme, they retaine both; and namely their proper and former substance. Phil. That is, their former qualities. Theop. Doth substance signifie qualities? Phil. In these places *it doth. Theop. Why more in these than in others?

A man may better take hot for cold, and sower for sweet, than substance for accidents.

*And so chalke doth signifie cheese.

Substance in all learning is diuided against accidents: how then commeth substance by your learning to be taken for accidents? Phil. It is so. For otherwise those sayings were all one with heresie, if substance should be taken in his proper signification. Theo. Yea marie: now you come to your right colours. If the fathers words should not be violently wrested from their perpetuall and naturall signification, you can not possibly auoid, but they taught that doctrine for Catholike, which you now reiect for heresie. Phil. * They neuer taught it. Theop. Themselues be dead, and do not speake: their words in which they spake, whiles they liued, make as directlie for vs, as we can speake anie: vnlesse you turne all that euer they said, the vpside downe, and take figures for truths, substance for accidents, creatures for shewes, teeth for faith, and heauen for earth. Which priuiledge of interpreting scriptures and fathers cleane contrarie to the sense, if you can procure or iustifie, I will be your suretie, all the Protestants in Christendome shall neuer touch the least heare of your heads, in all the follies, which you defend.

*First their words be plaine: and their meaning is plainer, as shall appeare when we come to the drift of their conclusion.

Ph. We do not force thē against their meaning. Th. Then shew

shew your exposition to be true by other points of their doctrine, and parts of their writings, which must infallibly force you to that construction. Phil. So we doe. Theop. With places as shamefully abused as these. Phil. No by innumerable and inevitable authorities. Theop. Bring but one father that shall say the substance of bread and wine is ceased or abolished by consecration, and you shall have free leave to doo what you will, with all the rest. Phil. We can bring infinite. Theop. You may the sooner choose out one. Phil. You would put vs to bring other proofes, before you haue answered those that are alreadie produced. I brought you sir fathers affirming the flesh and blood of Christ were receiued with our mouthes: you would leape to new matter, and shake them off at your fingers end: but I will none of that. First make euen with the old scores before you enter on a new reckoning. Theop. You were the cause of that digression, and not I. You replied to my proofes and perfued not your owne.

Neuer Catholike father saide the substace of bread was abolished by consecration, as the Iesuits say.

And yet you nede not say your places are vnanswered, your selfe haue confessed the weakenes of your owne authorities, and yelded them as vnsufficient to beare the weight of your conclusion, what other answere would you haue? Phil. Haue I disabled mine owne proofes? Theop. Your owne conclusion you haue. Phil. Would you make me so madde? Theop. I thinke you were more sober then, than now. For then you agnised a truth, & now you resist it againe. Phil. What did I agnise? Doo you thinke I was a sleepe, that I would confute my selfe? Theop. No the clearenes of truth was such, that you could not shadowe the beames of it, & therefore in a bravery you did admit it, though now you would to your owne light againe. Phil. This is counsell to me: I know not what you mean.

If the signes beare the names of the things themselues: then the Iesuits authorities are vnsufficient to conclude that Christ is eaten with our teeth.

Theop. Did you not confesse it to be very true that in this sacrament the signes after consecration did carie the names & effects of the things themselues? Phil. Yes, I did. Theop. Recant you that? Phil. I doo not. Theop. Then are the places, which you brought for y reall eating of Christs flesh with your mouthes & teeth, returned backe without your conclusiõ. For the signes which are called after consecration by the names of Christs body and blood, doo enter our mouthes, & passe our throates, the true flesh and blood

of

We must ascend to heauen before we eate Christ: which with our mouthes we cannot.

of Christ do not, but are eaten at the Lords table onely of the inward man by faithfull deuotion and affection, preparing the hart that Christ may lodge there, and dwell there, where he delighteth, and not in the mouthes and iawes of men which is no place for him, that sitteth in heauen, whither we must flie with the spirituall wings of our soules and spirits, before we can be partakers of him.

If the fathers affirme that Christ is not eaten with teeth as they do, then these places must be vnderstood of the signes, and not of the things themselues.

Phi. You shal not so delude me. The rule I granted was very true: but how proue you that these speeches must be so construed? In other cases it may be true, though not in this. Theop. If the rule which I laide downe be very true, then your places can inferre nothing, for so much as the words which you brought may be spoken as well of the signes, as of the things themselues: and in that case the premises receiuing a double construction, by your own confession, how can your conclusion stand good, imposting that sense which is not onely most doubted, and least proued, but flatly denied by the same fathers in other places, as I haue shewed?

Phil. Tut: I will not be mocked with such iests: you shall answere them place by place, as I cite them, or else I will not speake one word more. Theop. You importune me to spend time, which now waxeth short, but it wil be the worse for your selfe: your egernes without truth wil be your owne discredit: and the more particularly, the more plainly it will appeare. Phil. I haue * aduantages in their words against your euasion, which I will not omit. Theop. In Augustine, Chrysostome, and Tertullian you haue vtterly none. [a] Austen saith, that in honour of so great a sacrament (as this is) it hath pleased the holy Ghost, that (the sacred and sanctified bread) which [b] after a sort is called the Lords body (though indeede it be the signe and sacrament of his body) should enter the mouth before other meats (that serue onely to feede & nourish our flesh.) Chrysostome saith, [c] It is no small honor that our mouth hath gotten, by receiuing (the sanctified bread after consecration [d] counted worthy to be called) the Lords body ([e] though the nature of bread still remaine.) And indeede so is it no small both comfort & honor, that God hath vouchsafed to confirme & seale his mercies vnto vs with these elements, that are conuerted into our flesh: to shew vs that we are

* As many as there be okes in the hall of mine eie.

[a] *Aug. epist.* 118.
[b] *Idem. epist.* 23. & *contra Adimant. cap.* 12.
[c] *Chrysost. hom.* 29. *in* 2. *Cor.*
[d] *Idem ad Cæsar. Monach.*

as

as really inuested and strengthned with his grace and truth, as our bodies are nourished and increased with the signes and sacraments of his grace. And to that end Tertullian saith, Our [a] flesh fedeth on the (bread which [b] Christ called his) body (and hath in it the effects of his body:) that our soules might be replenished with God.

Phil. These be your corrections of their speeches, they be not their intentions. Theop. Looke better to them, and you shall find that I haue added no words but such as themselues in other places haue deliuered to declare their owne both meaning and speaking. Phil. The rest do make for vs.

Theop. Cyrill saith nothing, but that as the soule hath faith & grace to cleanse it, and prepare it to eternall life: so [c] it was needfull that our rude and earthly body should be brought to immortality by (corporall & earthly) food (that) our bodies touching, tasting, and feeding on creatures like themselues might take them as pledges of our resurrection.

Gregorie comparing the two passeouers, the Iewes, and ours, & alluding to the storie of theirs, saith: The bloud (our passeouer) is sprinkled on both posts, when it is drunke not onely with the mouth of the body, (as the cup is, which after the manner of sacraments is the communion of Christs blood) [d] but also with the mouth of the hart, (which is the true drinking of Christs bloud.) Phil. We will none of that, by your leaue: you must grant that in * strict and precise speech according to the words, the bloud of Christ is drunke by the mouth of the body, as well as by the mouth of the soule. Theop. Hath the soule a mouth in strict and precise speech? Or hath she lips to drinke according to the letter? Phil. Would you make me such a foole as so to thinke? Theop. Then if one part of the sentence be figuratiue, why not the other? If that which he doth most vrge be not literall, why shall the letter be exacted in the harder and vnlikelier part of the comparison? If the whole be but an allusion, why exact you that strictnes and preciseneſſe of the speech in either part? It is not possible that one and the same thing should be really drunke by the mouth of the bodie, and the mouth of the soule. If it be corporall, how can it enter the soule? If it be spirituall, how can it enter the mouth? And if those be Gregories

[a] *Tertul. de resurrectione carnis.*

[b] *Idem. contra Marcion. lib. 4.* The Iesuits haue no hold in these fathers, but only because they call the signes by the names of the things, which is as common with them as sand with the sea.

[c] *Cyril. lib. 4. cap. 14. in Ioh.* By *cognato tactu, gustu, & cibo*, Cyrill meaneth the substance of bread and wine, & not of Christs body.

[d] *De consecr. dist. § 2. quid sit.*

* As though in strict and proper speech any thing could be drunke both by the soule & the body.

wordes, which your owne law assigneth to him in the very same homily: his exposition shaketh your real presence, more than all the authorities, you can bring, shall settle it.

[a] *Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt hoc loco carnis & sanguinis veritatem, ipsam eorundem efficientiam, id est peccatorum remissionem.* Some not amisse do expound the truth of Christs flesh and bloud in this place to be the verie efficiencie of the same things: that is, the remission of sinnes. Take this construction with you, and bring out of Gregory or Leo, what you can, it will not helpe the tight of a barely cogne.

a De conf. dist. 2. ¶ Species in hom. Pascha.

Phil. S. Leo saith, [b] You ought so to communicate at the sacred table that you doubt nothing of the truth of the bodie and bloud of Christ. *Hoc enim ore sumitur, quod fide creditur & frustra ab illis Amen respondetur, à quibus contra id quod accipitur disputatur.* For * that is receiued with the mouth which is beleeued by our faith, and in vaine do they answer Amen, which dispute against the thing that themselues receiue. O noble Lion, and such as all the heretiks in Europe will neuer encounter. Theop. You speake like a Lion, but the spite is your eares are too long to be taken for a beast of that mettall. You foolishly peruert the meaning of Leo: and if you did but vnderstand the right course of his reason, you would suppresse both his voice and your baunt for very shame.

b Leo de ieiunio 7 mensis sermo. 6.

* Leos words examined.

Phil. He that will trust your sayings, shall haue many false fires, when he should not. Theop. And he that will credit your doings shall feele many quick flames when he would not. Phi. You be better at quipping, than at answering. Theo. You are loth we should incroch on your common. But returne to Leo. Can you tell against whom he wrote? Phil. Against such as you are that denied the truth of Christs body and bloud in the sacrament. Theop. Were they men without names, or names without men? Phil. Mocke not: they were * your ancetors. Theop. They say it is a wise child that knoweth his owne father. Do you? But in sadnes whome did Leo traduce in that sermon? Phil. Mary Eutiches & such like heretiks. Theo. You say well: for Leo nameth him but a litle before in that sermon, & against his opinion he reasoneth. Phil. I am content with that. Theop. What was his error? Phil. He denied the truth of Christs body & bloud in the sacrament.

* But Eutiches against whom Leo spake, imagined that Christs body had neither shape, quantity nor circumscriptiō, and so do the Iesuits dreame of Christ in the sacrament.

Theop.

Theop. Who told you so? Phil. I gather it by those that refute him. Theop. By them you shall learne his error: but his it was not. Phil. What was it, say you?

Theop. Eutiches affirmed that Christs humane nature and substance was not only glorified by his ascension, but consumed and turned into the nature and immensitie of his Godhead. Against him wrate Theodoret, Gelasius, and others: and one of the chiefest arguments which they bring against him, is that which Leo here toucheth in a word or two. Phil. That argument cleane confoundeth your sacramentarie sect. Theop. Yours or ours it must needs confound: for this it is. As the bread and wine after consecration are changed and altered into the bodie and bloud of Christ, so is the humane nature of Christ conuerted into his diuine after his resurrection & ascension: but the bread and wine are not changed neither in substance, nor forme, nor figure, nor naturall proprieties, but only in grace and working: *Ergo* Christs humane nature is not changed into his diuine EITHER IN SVBSTANCE, circumscription, or forme, but only indued with glorie and immortalitie.

If Leo refell Eutiches, he must also refell the Iesuits, for they spoile Christ of the naturall conditiõs of a body as Eutiches did. By this argument it is euident in what sense Theodoret & Gelasius vse the word substance when they say the substance of bread remaineth.

Phil. This is no catholike reason, but sauoreth altogether of your hereticall poison. Theop. They which first framed and vrged this reason against Eutiches, in your opinion were they heretiks? Phil. No father euer vsed it. Theop. If they did, must not they be dubbed for heretiks as the first proposers of that reason, or at least you for affirming now the quite contrarie? For you reiect both their assumption and conclusion against Eutiches as starke false, and whose ancestor then is Eutiches but yours? Phil. They do not vse it, as you report it. Theop. Loke you offring of Eutiches, whether Gelasius, Theodoret, and Augustine do not vrge it in those very points and words which I repeat.

The Iesuits reiect the maior, minor, & conclusion of the ancient fathers against Eutiches: be they not then quarter maisters in his ship?

Thus Gelasius framed his reason against Eutiches. An image or similitude of the bodie and bloud of Christ, is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It is therefore apparant and euident enough, that we must hold the same opinion of Christ the Lord, which we professe, celebrate and receiue in his image: that as those (signes) by the working of the holie Ghost passe into the diuine substance, and

Gelas. contra Eunch.

yet remaine in the proprietie of their owne nature: euen so that verie principall mysterie it selfe, (whose force and truth (that image) assuredly representeth) doth demonstrate one whole & true Christ, to continue the (two natures) of which he consisteth, properly remaining. And least you should not vnderstand what he meant by this, The signes still abide in the propriety of their owne nature: he expoundeth himselfe and saith, *Non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis & vini.* The substance or nature of bread & wine ceaseth not, or perisheth not. When Theodoret had made an entrance to the very same reason by laying this foundation, *Oportet archetypum imaginis esse exemplar:* the originall must be answerable to the image: the heretike caught the words out of his mouth & said: It hapned in good time, that you did mention the diuine mysteries: for euen thereby will I prooue the Lords body to be changed into an other nature. As then the signes of the Lords body & bloud are other things before the inuocation of the priest, but after they are changed and become other (than that they were:) so the Lords body after his assumption is changed into his diuine substance.

If Christ consist of two substances diuine and humane, the sacrament likewise consisteth of two substances an heauenly & an earthly. *Theod. dialog. 2.*

If the sacrament be transubstantiated, so must the humanitie of Christ be likewise changed.

The *Maior* being good, and such as Gelasius and Theodoret did both auouch; that as the signes were changed after consecration, so was Christs humanity after his assumption: if your opinion had then beene taught in the Church that the substance of bread and wine were changed by consecration, the conclusion had beene infallible for Eutiches error, that the substance of Christs humanitie had beene changed by his ascention into his diuinitie: and not onely both these fathers had had their mouths stopped, but Eutiches error had beene insoluble, as being grounded on a *Maior* that was a confessed & famous truth, and on a *Minor* that was (as you thinke) the vndoubted faith of the Church. Marie the *Minor* in deede was apparantly false, though you now defend it for catholike doctrine, and with the plaine deniall of that as a manifest vntruth, Theodoret inferreth the contrarie: that because neither the substance, nor naturall properties of the bread and wine are changed by consecration, as the whole Church then beleeued and confessed: therefore neither the substance, nor shape, nor circumscription of Christs humane nature were changed by his ascention: but his

Theodorets conclusion against Eutiches.

body

body remaineth in the same substance, quantitie, and forme, that he rose from death, and ascended vp withall: and with the verie same forme and substance of flesh shall come to iudge the world. These are his words.

Thou art caught (saith Theodoret to the heretike) with the same nets that thou laiedst for others. The mysticall signes after sanctification do not depart from their owne nature. For they remaine in their former substance, and figure, and forme, &c. Conferre then the image with the originall, and thou shalt see the likenesse (betweene them.) For the figure must be like to the truth. That bodie (therefore of Christ in heauen) hath his former shape and figure and circumscription, and to speake all at once, (his former) substance. *Theod. dial. 2.* If Christs humane nature in heauen keepe his former substance: so doth the bread which is an image of that mysterie.

Lay all your heads together: and graunting the *Maior* (which the whole Church held) auoide the conclusion of Eutiches without the denying the *Minor* as Theodoret did, (which yet is your faith and beleefe at this day) and we will graunt you to be Catholiks and our selues heretikes: if you can not, see how far you be fallen from the doctrine of Christes Church, and that in no lesse point than the greatest and chiefest Sacrament, on which you haue wickedlie founded your adoration, oblation, halfe communion, priuate masse, and barbarous prayers, without example, without warrant of God or man. Both their Seminaries can not answere this argument, but by condemning Gelasius and Theodoret for heretiks, or at least themselues.

Phil. Theodoret hath set you vp in your ruffe, but I would you knew it: in this case we care neither for Theodoret, nor you: if that were his opinion, as it is yours. Theop. And who hath put you into your ruffe: that you not only despise that learned and auncient Bishop, but the whole Church in him, which then so beleeued, and you can not auoid at this day, except you will be Eutichians.

Phil. The *Maior* is not altogether so sound as you thinke it. Theop. Yet did Gelasius and Theodoret confound that error with that comparison: and S. Augustine long before them did vrge the same. This is it that we saie, this is it that by all meanes we labour to confirme, (to witte) that the sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things: the visible kind of elements, and the inuisible flesh and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ: the Sacrament, and the thing of the SACRAMENT: euen as the person of Christ con- *De consecrat. distinct. 2.* ¶ *hoc est quod dico.*

There must be two different substances in the sacrament, as there are in the person of Christ.

sisteth of God and man; for so much as euery thing containeth the nature and truth of those things of which it consisteth. By which rule it is certaine there must be in the sacrament the nature, truth and substance of bread and wine, euen as in Christes person either nature hath his truth and substance, without confusion or distraction.

Leoes words were intended against the Eutichians.

Phil. We haue Fathers to the contrarie, if the time did serue to produce them, as anone I will: In the meane while what is this to Leo? Theophil. Leo in few words abbridgeth the summe of this reason: and saith the followers of Eutiches do in baine with their mouths receiue the Sacrament, since with their harts they do not beleeue the truth of Christs humane nature: and answere Amen to no purpose, so long as they dispute against that, which they would seeme to enioie by receiuing the seale and pledge thereof in the Church with others.

Hoc: doth not signifie the self-same bodie, but the self-same points of faith or proportion of the image and the originall.

Phil. This is your Commentarie besides the text: his words are, The selfe-same (bodie) which we beleeue with faith, is receiued with mouth. Which you can not interpret to be meant of the bread. For the bread is not beleeued with hart: and against the truth of Christs bodie, not against the bread did the followers of Eutiches dispute. Theop. Doth Leo saie the selfe-same (bodie?) Phil. He saith *Hoc ore sumitur quod fide creditur*: that is receiued with the mouth, which with (our) faith is beleeued, and that can not be the bread. Theop. Much lesse may it be the naturall bodie of Christ. For then Leo had mightilie confirmed, and not confuted Eutiches opinion. His error was that the humanitie of Christ after his ascension was swallowed vp of his diuinitie, and so changed that it was now no naturall bodie. Against this if Leo should haue opposed your reall presence in the Sacrament where Christs bodie is without quantitie, shape, circumscription, distinction of parts and all other conditions of a naturall bodie: he had beene a Proctour for Eutiches impietie, not a confuter of it. Neither could Eutiches himselfe haue wished a better defence for his heresie than the confession of such a bodie as you imagine in the Sacrament, and therefore you hack that *HOC* ilfauouredlie, when you make Leo rather a consenter with Eutiches, than a dispraouer of him, with your fantasticall presence:

The reall presence had been the next way to help Eutiches error.

which

which is an approbation and no refutation of Eutiches erroꝛ.

Phil. What a slander this is, that the reall presence should be a refuge foꝛ Eutiches erroꝛ? Theoph. Such a slaunder as with all your cunning you shall neuer wipe awaie. Phil. Do we not affirme the substance of Chꝛistes humane flesh to be in the Sacrament? Theop. Such a substance, as Eutiches himselfe imagined, hauing neither propoꝛtion of shape, noꝛ position of parts, noꝛ repletion of place, noꝛ anie condition incident to a naturall bodie: but the godlie fathers were far from vꝛging such a substance against Eutiches. They presled him with the bodilie shape, circumscription, extension, and perfection of Chꝛistes flesh, as well in all other requisites as in substance: and to pꝛoue this amongst other arguments, they bꝛought, as I haue shewed, the Sacrament foꝛ a resemblance and demonstration of both natures in Chꝛist: that as the bꝛead after consecration kæpeth his quantitie, qualitie, shape and substance, notwithstanding it be vnited, and annexed to the heauenlie grace, that woꝛketh in the Sacrament: so the bodie of Chꝛist after his assumption retaineth his foꝛmer perfection, pꝛoportion, figure and substance, loosing no point noꝛ part of his humane nature, but only repleni-shed with immoꝛtall glozie.

The substãce of it you affirme in words, but you spoile it of all naturall shape, quantitie, and circumscription.

Chꝛists body in the Sacrament is euen such a bodie as Eutiches did imagine.

This must be Leoes *Hoc*, if he will do anie good with alleaging the Sacrament against Eutiches, as I haue pꝛoued by Augustine, Gelasius and Theodoret: Otherwise if he do but mention pour reall presence, he openeth the gap, and leadeth the way to Eutiches furie, and runneth headlong against the rest of his fellow seruants and succesoꝛs, that vsed the same argument to confute Eutiches with a manifest contradiction of your reall presence.

Leo doth not saie that Chꝛists body was enclosed in the host: but they ought to beleeue that of Chꝛists body in heauen, which they saw in the elements, receiued with their mouths to wit, the perfect continuance of their former substance.

Phil. I bring you Leoes woꝛds. Theop. Leoes woꝛds haue nothing in them to crosse that sense which I establish. *Hoc* signifieth anie thing, and hath no relation to Chꝛistes flesh in the Sacrament: but to the pꝛoportion rather betweene Chꝛist & the sacrament: in that they beleeued no other thing of Chꝛist than they saw with their eies, & receiued with their mouths in ꝑ sacramẽt; to wit, ꝑ perfect shape & substãce of bꝛead after cõsecration: & cõsequẽtly they must hold ꝑ same opiniõ of Chꝛists humanitie

after his ascension.

We do not interpret the Fathers as pleaseth vs, but we take heed that we subuert not their maine doctrine by some of their phrases, which by their owne rules may be reuoked to a good sense.

Phil. If you vse this trade, you may peruert all the fathers writings, and make what sense you list to their sayings. Theop. Peruert them no more than we do, and you shal neuer euert the maine doctrine as you haue done. We measure their words by their owne warrant, and suffer not a phrase heere and there, which may be well reuoked to their rules, to vndermine the chiefe grounds of their faith. Phil. So more do we. Theop. Why then rage you, to heare vs say, that these few places, which you haue brought for eating Christs bodie with your mouths and iawes, may be referred to the signes called by those names, as well as to the things themselues? Phil. You take vpon you to be Iudges, and to pronounce at your pleasures, when the words shall belong to the one, and when to the other: so that no father shall saie any thing against your heresie, but you will by and by turne it and wind it I know not whether.

Theop. Nothing more hindereth the search for truth, than a desire to lie. We shew you the generall admonition of the Fathers themselues, that after consecration they call the visible signes no longer by their wonted names, but by the names of those things whose signes they are, and whose vertues they haue. This rule we say is then to take place, when the speech which we find in a father, if it should be referred to the things themselues, would be both absurd, & repugnant to the rest of his doctrine and to himselfe in other places. This is not to turne the fathers whether we will, but to take heed we fall not into the pit which they warne vs to auoid. Phil. If you would neuer vse that rule but in that case, you were not so much to be blamed: marie your pretences be verie faire whē your performances be far vnlike. Theop. Do you lacke eies to see, or tongs to speake when we tread awrie? Phil. Trust to it: we do not. Theop. We would not you should. Our dealing in religion must be such as not only you may not disproue, but God may not dislike.

*If this be not lawfull in expounding the Fathers, I maruell what is.

Phil. This shifting and eluding of Fathers, neither God nor man can like. Theop. A lower saile were safer for your small bottom: where now you gather so much wind and weather, that you can neuer get to shoare. Phil. You speake

The Ieſuits make the fathers contradict themſelues. ſpeake parables. Theop. I can ſoone interpret. The vanitie of your heads and furie of your harts is ſuch, that you can not ſoberly diſcuſſe and conclude any thing. Phil. Who can be patient, and ſee ſo much falſe play offered? Theop. You be no likely men to take wrong, whatſoeuer you be to offer it. Phil. Is this no wrong? Theop. You muſt tell vs what, before we can redreſſe it. Phil. I alleadged ſix fathers to proue that the fleſh of Chriſt is eaten in the ſacrament corporally with our mouthes. You come in with a new tricke of trenchmore, and tell vs they ſpake of the ſignes called by thoſe names after conſecration, not of the things themſelues. Theop. Is this ſuch wrong? Phil. I promiſe you it * moueth me to the very hart to ſee you ſo delude them.

*You are angry becauſe the fathers do not ſerue your follies no better.

Theop. I blame you not. You thought you had ſome great hold in y fathers for your corporall eating of Chriſt with your teeth: and I remember you would burne all to your ſhirt if euer they were anſwered: & now the weight of them is ſeen, they are but groſſe * miſtakings, if not peruertings of the fathers: & you muſt ſeeke for an other pedegree. Your reall couering of Chriſt with the ſhewes of bread & wine, & corporall eating him with your teeth hath no deduction from the ancient fathers. Phil. If you may be ſuffered to gloze them as you do. Theo. How often muſt I tell you, it is their owne gloze, & not mine? Phil. The rule is theirs, but why do you apply it to theſe places?

It can not be now miſtaking: they haue ſo often bene told of their error, and they ſtill defend it as they did before.

Theop. I haue told you that alſo, becauſe they ſhould otherwiſe contradict both themſelues, and others. Phil. Contradict? why? Theop. The ſelfe ſame fathers auouch that the fleſh of Chriſt entereth not the body, is not bitten with teeth, filleth not the belly: they ſay it is not pietie to eate him with teeth: we muſt not prepare teeth, iawes, or bellies for him: your owne law ſaith: he deſcendeth not into the ſtomacke, and the weſt Church for eight hundred yeeres confeſſed that Chriſt is not corporally taken of vs, not chammed with teeth, not ſwalowed with iawes, not cloſed in the compaſſe of the belly, our Sauior himſelfe deciedeth that nothing can enter both the hart and the belly: and that the fleſh of Chriſt entereth the hart, and feedeth the ſoule, he can be no Chriſtian that doubteth. This apparent negatiue notwithſtanding, when they ſometimes

Vide ſupra fol. 604.

This is ſpoke of the things themſelues: *ergo* the Ieſuits places muſt be ment of the ſignes called by the names of Chriſts body and blood, or elſe there is a manifeſt cõtradiction in the fathers.

some times, treating of other matters, happen to say, Our mouth receiueth the body of Christ: the substance of our flesh is increased, and consisteth of his body and blood: you would haue vs interpret these sayings of the very same things which they denied to passe that way, and not of the signes, which in the perpetuall vse of speech amongest all diuines after consecration were called by those names and none other: and leauing their owne direction which they giue vs,* to charge them with a flat contradiction, and hainous assertion as themselues agnise: if the letter be vrged, and the speech not mollified with a spirituall and mysticall exposition.

Were we not wisely occupied to follow the Iesuits in this point.

Phil. Nay sir, we do not say, that the substance of our flesh is increased, or consisteth of Christs body & blood: that were a wicked assertion in deed, the body of Christ is glorious and impassible, and not really mixed with our flesh, much lesse conuerted into the substance of our bodies, as that speech importeth. Theop. But yet the fathers that affirme the one, affirme the other: and certaine it is that nourishing is the principall end of eating: so that eating the flesh of Christ is vtterly superfluous, if we be not thereby nourished. Phil. Our soules are nourished, not our bodies, with that heauenly food. Theop. Then must our soules eate it, and not our bodies. Phil. Our bodies eat it, that our soules may be nourished by it. Theop. Eating, digesting, and nourishing, be consequent and coherent actions: and therefore they must all three be either corporall, or spirituall. If the soule be nourished, the soule must eate, and digest that which is eaten. If the body eat, the body must digest and be nourished by that food.

Eating is in vaine without nourishing. If then Christs flesh do enter our mouthes, it must nourish our bodies.

Phil. Would * you haue our bodies nourished and substantially increased with the flesh of Christ? Theop. The fathers I say auouch the one, as well as the other: If then you can expound the one, why do you peruert the other? Phil. What do they auouch? Theop. That the substance of our flesh is increased, and consisteth of the body and blood of Christ. Phil. Proue that. By your leaue I thinke you vse multiplication with the fathers. Theop. Then when I produce them, I trust you will come forth with your diuision. Phil. Let me heare them. Theop. You shall.

*We would not haue it so: but if you vnderstand the fathers when they say the one, why do you peruert them in the other?

Iustinus,

Iustinus, [a] τὴν δὲ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνης τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. The food sanctified, (of which our blood & flesh are nourished by conuersion) we are taught to be the flesh and blood of that Iesus which tooke our flesh on him. Ireneus, [b] *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & sanguine alitur?* How say they that our flesh shall perish, and not be partaker of life, since it is nourished of the very body and blood of our Lord? And againe, [c] *Fit Eucharistia corporis & sanguinis Christi, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostræ substantia.* There is made the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased, and consisteth. And therefore he concludeth: [d] *Quomodo negant carnem capacem esse donationis Dei, qui est vita æterna, quæ corpore & sanguine Christi nutritur.* How do they deny our flesh to be capable of the gift of God, who is eternall life, since it is * nourished of the body & blood of Christ. And after so Chrysostom.

[a] *Iust. Apol. 2.*

[b] *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.*

[c] *Idem lib. 5.*

[d] *Ibidem.*

* So Cyprian saith, *panis in carnem & sanguinem mutatus procurat vitam & incrementum corporibus.*

Phil. Repeate no more. If I beleeue not this, that which commeth after, whatsoeuer it be, wil not preuaile. Theop. How thinke you? must this be referred to the naturall and true body & blood of Christ, or else to the signes bearing those names when once they be sanctified? Phil. No doubt to the signes. Theop. And were it not open madnes to auouch it to be really true of the things themselues whose signes those are? Phil. It were. Theop. * Why then, since corporall eating serueth onely for corporall nourishing, and hath a continuall and naturall coherence with it, do you confesse the truth in the latter, and not as well in the former part of that action? why do you not expound them both alike? Philand. To say the immortall flesh of Christ is conuerted and turned into the quantitie and substance of our mortall flesh, is an horrible heresie. Theophil. And to say that his flesh is eaten with our mouthes and iawes, and lieth in our stomacks, is the verie path-waie and right introduction to that heresie, or at least to as brutish and grosse an error as that is.

* A man would thinke this were plaine enough for far yoonger scholers, than the Iesuits would seeme to be.

Philand. The fathers affirme that his body is eaten with our mouthes. Theoph. And so they affirme, that his bodye and blood doe increase and augment the substance

Our resurrection doth not depend vpon the touching of Christs flesh with teeth, for then the wicked should rise to eternall life. Concil. Nicen. 1.

stance of our mortall and sinnefull bodies. Phil. But that can not be. Theop. No more can the other. Phil. How shall our bodies rise at the last day, if Christs body be not in them? Theop. Our resurrection dependeth not on the act of eating his flesh, but of nourishing our flesh with his as Ireneus telleth vs: and the things which we eate, are not the causes, but as the great Nicene councell admonisheth, the pledges of our resurrection. Their words be ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα: we must beleeue, these to be the signes or pledges of our resurrection.

Phil. Saint Chrysostom earnestly inforceth the eating of Christs flesh. And saith we do not onely eate it, but euen [a] * fasten our teeth in his flesh. Theop. In deed he saith so, but if you did not auert both your eies, and eares from the truth, you would perceiue by that very sentence, both the manner of his and other fathers speeches of that sacrament, and the right intent of their doctrine in those cases. His words are, [b] *Non se tantum videri permittens, desiderantibus, sed & tangi, & manducari, & dentes carni suæ infigi, & desiderio sui omnes impleri*. Christ suffering himselfe not onely to be seene of those that are desirous, but to be touched, and eaten, and our teeth to be fastned in his flesh, and all to be satisfied of their longing after him?

[a] Hom. 45 in Iohannem.

[b] Chryso. hom. 45 in Iohan. As Christ is seene & touched, so is he eaten and digested.

Phil. Lord, me thinketh these words be very plaine words. He suffereth our teeth to be fastned in his flesh. Theop. Very plaine they be, but very false also, vnlesse you either take the flesh of Christ for the signe called by that name: or else referre teeth, and biting to the soule and faith of the inward man as well as you do the eies and hands wherewith we see him and touch him. Phil. Looke what an euasion you haue since gotten. Theop. Nay looke what a subuersion of all truth and faith you be since fallen to. Philan. Doth not this father say, we fasten our teeth in his flesh? Theop. Doth he not also say, We see him with our eies, and touch him with our hands? Phil. That is referred to our faith, as Saint Ambrose teacheth. [c] *Fide Christus videtur, fide Christus tangitur*. By faith Christ is seene, by faith Christ is touched. Theoph. And why shall not the next (which is more vnlikely to be true,) be referred to faith as well as the former? S. Ambrose likewise saying, [d] *Comedat te cor meum: panis sancte, panis*

Both these speeches, the flesh of Christ entereth our mouthes, and increaseth the substance of our flesh, haue one & the selfe same construction.

[c] Ambros. in 9. Lucæ lib. 6. § & ecce vir cui nomen Iairus.

[d] Idem in precatio. præpara. ad missam.

panis viue, panis munde, veni in cor meum, intra in animam meam. Let mine hart eate thee: O holy bread, O liuing bread, O pure bread, come into my hart, enter into my soule; and Cyprian calling it [a] the proper nourishment of the spirit: besides infinit others that for a thousand yeres taught that doctrine in the Church of God, and not your gutturall eating of Christ with teeth and iawes.

[a] *Cypr. de cena Domini.*

Phil. Was your manner of eating Christs flesh which you defend in the sacrament, taught in the Church for a thousand yeres? Theop. Euen ours was: and when yours came first to be proposed, your schoolemen ran euery man his way, fighting and scratching one another who should fall fastest and farthest from the truth.

That eating of Christ in the sacramét which we teach the Church held for a 1000. yeeres: theirs is not yet agreed on amongst themselues.

Phil. Blush you not to auouch two such monsterous lies? Theop. A liar will easily suspect any man, as knowing himselfe to delight in lies: but God be thanked, that lies with you be truths with vs, and with all that haue any knowledge of God or care of his truth. The things which I affirmed be manifest truths, and such as you will blush at for very shame, if you be not sworne to your holy father against Christ, as well as you be against your prince.

What maner of eating Christ in the sacrament the fathers taught.

Origen commenting vpon these words of the supper, this is my body, this is my bloud: [b] this bread, saith he, (which Christ) confesseth to be his body, is the word that nourisheth our soules: and this drinke which he confesseth to be his bloud, is the word that mollifieth and passingly cheereth the harts of such as drinke it. Thou which art come vnto Christ, [c] sticke not in the blood of (his) flesh, but rather learne the blood of (his) word, and heare him saying to thee, this is my blood, which shall be shead for the remission of your sinnes. [d] He that is partaker of the mysteries, knoweth the flesh and blood of the word of God. For the bread is the word of righteousnesse, which our soules eating, are nourished with: and the drinke is the word of the knowledge of Christ according to the mysterie of his birth and death. The blood of the Testament is powred into our hearts for the remission of (our) sinnes. Athanasius, [e] How few men would his bodie haue sufficed, that this should be the food of the whole world? Yea therefore doth he warne them of his ascension

[b] *Origen. tract. 35 in 26. Matt.*

[c] *Idem in Leuit. hom. 9.*

[d] *Idem tract. 35 in 26. Mat.*

[e] *Athana. in illud quicunque dixerit verbum.*

into

 What maner of eating Christ in the sacraments into heauen, that he might draw him from thinking on his body, and they thereby learne, that the flesh, which he spake of, was celestiall meat from aboue, and spirituall nourishment to be giuen by him. The (words) which I spake to you are spirit and life, which is as much as if he had said: this (bodie) which is in your sight, and deliuered to (death) for the world, shall be giuen you for meate, that it may be * spiritually distributed in euery one of you, and be an assurance and preseruatiue to raise you to eternall life. Cyprian **writing of the Lords supper**, [a] Eating and drinking, **saith he**, be referred to the one and same end, with the which, as the substance of our bodies is increased and preserued, so the life of the spirit is maintained with his proper nourishment. What foode is to the flesh, that faith is to the soule: what meat is to the bodie, that the word is to the spirit, working euerlastingly with a more excellent vertue that which bodilie meats do for a time and vntill a season. Ambrose **approching to the sacred communion which you intitle a praier preparing to masse, amongest other things speaketh thus to Christ himselfe**. [b] Thou Lord saidst with thine holie and blessed mouth, the bread which I will giue, is my flesh (giuen) for the life of the world. He that eateth me, shall liue through me, he abideth in me, and I in him. I am the liuing breade which came downe from heauen, if any man eate of this bread hee shall liue for euer. Most delightfull bread heale thou the taste of my heart, that I may feele the sweetenesse of thy loue. Let mine heart eate thee, and with thy pleasant releasse let the bowels of my soule be repleniished. Angels eate thee with full mouth, let man that is a pilgrime (on earth) eate thee as his weakenesse will suffer him, that he faint not in the waie, hauing this prouision for his iourney. Holie bread, liuing bread, beautifull bread which camest from heauen, and giuest life to the world, come into my heart, and clense me from all filth of flesh and spirit. Enter into my soule, heale and sanctifie me within and without.

*Not corporally lodged in the stomacks, but spiritually distributed to our soules.

[a] *Cypr. de cœna Domini.* This nourishment is proper to the spirit, *Ergo* not common to the body.

[b] *Ambros. in oratio. præparan. ad missam. 1.*

How hapned S. Ambrose had quite forgotten his mouth and his iawes in all this long praier before his approching to the mysteries?

No man earnester in this point than S. Augustine, [c] This visible bread confirmeth the stomack, confirmeth the bellie.* There is another bread which confirmeth the heart, because it is the bread of the hart. There is a wine that doth rightlie

[c] *Aug. in Psal. 103.*

*Not the stomacke nor the bellie.

rightly cheere the hart and can doe nothing but cheere the hart. Therefore vnderstand so of the bread, as thou doest of the wine, inwardly hunger, inwardly thirst: blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousnes, for they shall be satisfied. That bread is righteousnes: that wine is righteousnes, is truth: and Christ is the truth. I am saith he the liuing bread which came from heauen: and, I am the vine, you are but braunches. [a] To beleue in him, this is to eate the liuing bread, he that beleeueth, eateth. Man is inuisibly fedde, because he is inuisibly regenerated. He is inwardly (in soule) a babe, inwardly (in mind) renewed. (Looke) in * what part man is newe borne, in that part is he fedde. The (vnbeleeuing) iewes were farre from this heauenly bread, neither knewe they howe to hunger for it: the iawes of their harts were dull, and this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man. Take heed brethren: eate you this heauenly bread spiritually, bring innocencie to the altar. [b] Eate life, and drinke life. For then is the body and blood of the Lord life to each man, when that which is visiblie taken in the sacrament, is in very truth spiritually eaten, spiritually droonken.

[a] *Idem. tract. 26. in Iohan.*

*The body is not regenerated: the body therfore is not fed with the true flesh of Christ.

[b] *Idem. in serm. de corp. & sanguine Domini. Citatur à Beda in 1. Cor. ca. 10.*

[c] When Christ is eaten, life is eaten; neither when we eat him, do we make peeces of him. In deed in the sacrament it is so: & the faithful know how they eate the flesh of Christ: euerie man taketh his peece. Wherefore grace it selfe is termed peeces. Christ is eaten by peeces in the sacrament, and yet he remaineth whole in heauen, he remaineth whole in thine hart. [d] Prouide not your iawes, but your hart. Thence is this supper commended. Beholde we beleeue in Christ, we receiue him with our faith. In taking we know what we should thinke: we take him but a litle, and our hart is repleni shed. Macarius, [e] In the Church is offered bread and wine the samplar of his body and blood, and they which are partakers of the visible bread, doo spiritually eate the Lords flesh. Emissenus, [f] When thou goest vp to the reuerend altar to be filled with spirituall meats, by faith behold, honor, and wonder at the sacred body and blood of thy God: touch it with thy mind: take it with the * hand of thine hart, and chiefely prouide that the * inwarde man swallowe the whole.

[c] *Aug. in serm. de verbis Euangelij. Citatur à Beda ibidem.*

[d] *Idem in Euang. Luc. serm. 33.*

[e] *Macar. ho. 27.*

[f] *Euseb. Emis. senus. de cons. dist. 2. ¶ quia corpus.*

*Not with the hand of thy body.

*what shall the mouth haue, if the inward man must swallow the whole?

This doctrine continued eight hundreth yeeres after Christ.

Christ. Bertram then liuing is witnes sufficient. [a] The body and blood of Christ, if thou consider the outward appearance, is a * creature subiect to mutation and corruption: but if thou weigh the vertue of the mysterie, it is life performing immortalitie to those that receiue it. [b] As touching the visible creature (the mysteries) feed the body, but by the vertue of a mightier substance, they feed and sanctify the soules of the faithfull. [c] What we should eate and what we should drinke the holy Ghost expresseth by the prophet. Tast and see how sweet the Lord is. Doeth that bread corporally tasted, or that wine sipped, shew how sweete the Lord is? whatsoeuer tast that hath, it is corporall and pleaseth the iawes. He doth therefore inuite vs to vse the release of our spirituall tast, and in that bread and drinke to dreame of no corporall thing, but to conceiue all to be spirituall. [d] This meat confirmeth our hart, and this drinke cheereth the hart of man, saieth the prophet. By the which it is euident, that nothing in this meat, nothing in this drinke must be corporally taken, but the whole spiritually considered. For the soule which is ment by mans hart in this place, is not fedde with corporall meate or drinke: but is refreshed and nourished with the word of God. [e] Faith beleeueth that, which is not seene; and spiritually feedeth the soule, and cheereth the hart, and giueth eternall life, whiles we marke, not that which feedeth the body, * not that which is pressed with teeth, not that which is brused in peeces: but that which is spiritually taken with faith. [f] For this is a spirituall foode, and a spirituall drinke, spiritually feeding the soule.

Paschasius commeth after Bertram in age, but ioyneth with him in the same confession of truth. [g] The diuine mysteries our inward man receiueth through the grace of Christ with vnderstanding, and by them is he made one body with Christ through the power of faith. [h] The flesh and blood of Christ, because they be things spirituall, are fullie receiued by faith and vnderstanding. [i] It is not lawfull to eate Christ with teeth. [k] Christ is the meate of Angels, and this sacrament is truely his flesh, and his blood, which (flesh and blood) man eateth and drinketh spiritually. And so by * what foode the Angels liue, by that also man liueth: because in this that man receiueth, all is diuine and spirituall. We drinke spiritually, and we eate the spirituall flesh of Christ in which is beleeued

to

[a] *Bertram de corper. & sang. Domini.*
* Not accidents without a subiect.
[b] *Ibidem.*
[c] *Ibidem.*
[d] *Ibidem.*
[e] *Ibidem.*
* The flesh of Christ then is neither pressed with teeth nor broken in peeces.
[f] *Ibidem.*
[g] *Paschas. de corp. & sang. Domini. ca. 9.*
[h] *Cap. 11.*
[i] *Cap. 12.*
[k] *Cap. 14.*
* Doe the Angels eate flesh? or haue they teeth?

to be eternall life. [a] All that we eate is spirituall. [b] The power of faith & vnderstanding, which doubteth nothing of Christ, doth taste and relesh the whole spiritually. [c] Otherwise but for faith and vnderstanding, what finde they which tast these things, besides bread and wine? [d] The visible quantitie must not be esteemed in this mysterie, but the power of the spirituall sacrament. We must not respect how much (of the quantitie) is presséd with our teeth, but how much is receiued through faith and loue. Therfore my sonne when thou comest to the participatiõ of this mysterie, * OPEN THE BOSOM OF THY MIND, cleanse thy conscience, and receiue thou not what a morsell containeth, but AS MVCH AS THY FAITH APPREHENDETH.

[a] *Cap.29.*
[b] *Cap.38.*
[c] *Cap.19.*
[d] *Cap.46.*
* Not the widenes of thy mouth to receiue Christ, but the bosome of thy soule, that is, thy faith.

Fulbertus a thousand yeeres after Christ treadeth the same path. [e] That which appeared outwardly to be the substance of bread & wine is now made the bodie and blood of Christ* inwardly. Taste therfore, and see how sweet the meat is, but learne before what maner of taste it hath. It beareth the taste of angels food, hauing in it a mysticall and pleasant relesh, which thou canst not discerne with thy mouth, but maiest vnderstand with thine inward affection. Hold readie the * mouth of thy faith, open the iawes of hope, stretch out the bowels of loue, and take the bread of life (which is) the nourishment of the inward man: taste I say the sweetenesse of this heauenly banquet, but loath the smatch of the earthlie fruits. For from the faith of the inward man commeth the tasting of the diuine iuice, whiles by the taking of the healthfull Eucharist, CHRIST FLOWETH INTO THE BOWELS OF THE SOVLE OF THE RECEIVER, AND THE RELIGIOVS MIND ADMITTETH HIM INTO HER CHAST AND INNERMOST ROOMES.

[e] *Fulbertus in epist. ad Adeodatum.*
* That is not by locall inclusion, but by misticall operation.
* This is the mouth that receiueth Christ: and not the bodily mouth as the Iesuits hold.

There shall need no long discourse to proue that these catholike fathers teach in the Lords supper a spirituall kind of eating the flesh of Christ by faith and vnderstanding, as we doe: not a corporall with teeth and iawes, as you do: the places be many, the words plaine: you can not shift them vnlesse you will desperately take flesh for spirit, bodie for soule, chamming for beléeuing, earth for heauen, yea a dumme and dead creature for the liuing and euerlasting sonne of God: which were not onely sensible blindnes, but inexcusable madnes.

The spirituall eating the fathers taught: the corporall they did not teach.

Philan. The spirituall eating we do not deny, but we *adde to that a corporall, because the soule may be partaker of Christ by faith, notwithstanding the mouth receiue the very flesh of Christ vnder the formes of bread and wine. Theoph. This is your onely refuge that is left: and this will not helpe you. For examine this answer a while, and you shall soone see the weakenes of it. My flesh is truely meate, saith Christ, and my blood is truely drinke. He that doubteth of this, we hold him accursed, you doe the like: thus farre we agree. Mary for what part of man, soule or body, this meat was prouided, in this we dissent. You say for the body, no lesse than for the soule: we say for the soule, and not for the body. So said Chrysostome before vs. [a] This meate feedeth not the body, but the soule. So said Ambrose. [b] It is not bodily, but ghostly meate. So said Augustine: [c] Prepare not your iawes, but your harts: thence is this supper commended: so said Cyprian, This is [d] the proper nourishment of the spirit, and not common to the flesh. Now that which is eaten, is meate. And therefore if Christ be no meate for the bodie, but onely for the soule, assuredly Christ is not eaten of our bodies, but of soules onely.

Next you confesse that the mortall and sinnefull bodies of men may not be substantially nourished with the glorious and immortall flesh of Christ: and eating is altogether in vaine (euen of the flesh of Christ it selfe) without nourishing, and all the fathers with one consent teach this to be the end of eating the flesh of Christ, that we should be thereby nourished to life eternal. Why then striue you for a corporal eating where your selues dare not defend any corporal nourishing? Why distract you eating from nourishing, by referring them, one to the body, and the other to the soule, which the fathers alwaies ioyned and applied to one and the selfe same part of man? [e] Many mothers, saith Chrysostom, deliuered their infants when they are born to other nurses: which he would not do, but norisheth vs with his owne body. And in the same place where he saith, [f] *Ipsum vides, ipsum tangis, ipsum comedis*, thou seest him, thou toucheſt him, thou eatest him: addeth, [g] *Ea nam, re nos alimur quam angeli videntes tremunt.* For we are nourished with that thing which the angels tremble when they behold. And so the rest of

* You adding that which you should not, is no warrant for vs to beleeue it.

Iohn. 6. Christ is not meate for both the parts of man: & that which is eaten is meate.

[a] *Chrysost hom. 43. in Iohan.*
[b] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur mysterijs, ca. 9.*
[c] *Aug. de verbis Dom. in Luc. serm. 33.*
[d] *Cyp. de cœna Domini.*

For what part Christ is meate, that part he nourisheth: which the Iesuits dare not confesse to be true of the bodie.

[e] *Chrysost hom. 83. in Matt. & 45. in Joan.*
[f] *Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 83.*
[g] *Ibidem.*

of the fathers call it not onely meate to eate: but (a *nutrimentum & alimoniam*) nourishment and food, to keepe the receiuer in plight and good liking. So that that part of man doth not eate the flesh of Christ, which is nourished with it: and since you dare not auouch that our bodies are really nourished with the flesh of Christ, why should you hold that our mouthes do really eate him?

a *Cyp. de cœna Domini.*
b *Leo dist. 2. de consec.* ¶ *In quibus.*]
c *Athan. in illud quicunque dixerit verbum.*
d *Chrysost. in Matt. hom. 83.*

Lastly, with what one meate can you fit both the bodies and soules of men? That which nutreth the body must be local and corporall. That which feedeth the soule must be spirituall and intellectuall: the soule hath no locall receites, nor corporall instruments for her kind of eating, but onely faith and vnderstanding. So that if the flesh of Christ in this mysterie be materiall and locall, how can it feede the soule? If it be spirituall and intellectuall, how can it be chammed with teeth, or closed in the streites of the stomacke? Local not locall, corporall not corporall be plaine contradictions, and by no meanes incident to the naturall flesh of Christ. One it must needs be, both it can not be: though you would sweate out your hearts with wrangling.

No one meat can fit both the bodie & the soule.

And that Christ is not eaten with teeth or mouth, the gospell in plaine words auoucheth with vs. Whosoeuer eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life: my flesh is meate in deed, my blood is drinke in deed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him, saith our sauiour. The wicked liue not by Christ, neither abide in Christ, and therfore by the very determinatiō of the Lord himselfe, they neither eate his flesh, nor drinke his blood. Runne now to your distinction of corporall and spirituall eating when you will, but so long as these words stand written in the gospell, he that eateth me, euen he shall liue by me: the godly will sone conclude, that SVCH AS LIVE NOT BY CHRIST, DOE NOT EATE CHRIST: and so that corporall eating of Christs flesh, which you would erect, common to the faithfull and faithlesse, to be no kind of eating at all, notwithstanding they receiue the materiall and externall elements of this mysterie.

Iohn. 6. He that abideth not in Christ doth not eate Christ by the manifest resolution of Christ himselfe.

Iohn. 6.

Such as liue not by Christ do not eate Christ.

Philan. In spite of all your places and proofes, there is a sacramentall eating of Christs flesh, with mouth and

A sacramentall eating

hath in it both the corporall eating of the signes with teeth, and the spirituall eating of Christ by faith.

iawes, besides your spirituall eating it with faith and spirit: which you could not do vnlesse it were really present: & therfore you do not well to beguile the simple in this sort with refuting one truth by an other, whereas the fathers confessed both. Theo. In spite of all your late deuises and euasions, the flesh of Christ is not truely eaten with Capernits teeth or Iesuits iawes: neither do the fathers auouch any such thing, saue in that sense which I last declared, that the signes so called are eaten of the wicked with their mouths and throates: but of the flesh it selfe and blod of Christ, they plainly affirme the contrarie.

S. Augustine expounding the words of our sauior, he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, remaineth in me and I in him: saith, [a] *Ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed reuera manducare corpus Christi, & eius sanguinem bibere.* (The Lord) sheweth what it is to eate the flesh of Christ and drink his blood: not by way of a sacrament, but indeed. As if he had said, he that remaineth not in me, & in whom I do not (likewise) remain, let him neuer say nor think that he eateth my flesh or drinketh my blood. That which heer he calleth *Sacramento tenus*, before in the same chapter he called *solo sacramento*: opposing against it, *reuera manducare*, & proouing that neither heretikes, nor wicked Christians doe indeed eate the bodie of Christ, but onely the sacrament, that is, the sacred signe of his bodie. [b] They rightly vnderstand that he must not be said to eate the bodie of Christ, which is not in the body of Christ: as heretikes be not: and of wicked liuers, though they keepe in the Church, he saith, [c] *Nec isti dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi quia nec in membris cõputandi sunt Christi.* Neither are these (that liue wickedly) to be said to eate the bodie of Christ, since they must not be counted the members of Christ. Phil. Not spiritually but sacramentally they do eate the body of Christ, though they be wicked: and so S. Augustine teacheth. Theo. Keepe the words and sense which S. Augustine hath, & you shall be free from this erroz, which now you are in. [d] He that remaineth not in Christ & in whom Christ abideth not, without all doubt doth not spiritually eate his flesh, nor drinke his blood, though carnally and visibly he presse with his teeth the sacrament of Christs body and blood. Sacramentall eating is the carnal and visible pressing with teeth the sacrament of

[a] *Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 21. cap. 25.* To eate Christ in a sacrament is not so much, as to eate him indeed.

[b] *Ibidem.*

[c] *Ibidem.*

[d] *Aug. in Iohan. tract. 26.*

The sacramentall ca-

of Christs body and blood: it is not the realI eating of Christ himselfe. Phil. The sacrament is Christ we say. Theo. But so said not S. Augustine. He diligently distinguisheth, *Sacramentum & rem Sacramenti*: the sacrament and the thing (which is the other part) of the sacrament, interpreting the sacrament to be [a] *Sacrum Signum*: a sacred signe: and the thing it selfe to be the bodie of Christ. The [b] sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two (parts) *Sacramento & re Sacramenti, id est corpore Christi*: of the sacrament, & the thing of the sacrament, which is the body of Christ. There is therefore the sacrament, and the thing of the sacrament, to wit, the body of Christ.

ting of Christ is the eating of the sacred signe wherby he is figured.

[a] *Contr. aduer. leg. & Prophet. Lib. 2. cap. 9. & de ciuit. Dei, lib. 10. cap. 5.*

[b] *De conf. dist. 2. ¶ hoc est.*

Of the sacrament, he saith. [c] It is receiued at the Lords table of some to life, of some to destruction. *Res vero ipsa, cuius & sacramentum est omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium quicunque eius particeps fuerit*: But the thing it selfe, whereof that is a sacrament, (is receiued) of all men to life, and of none to death, whosoeuer is partaker of it. The rest ioine with him in that assertion. [d] Heretikes saith Hierom, doe not eate his flesh whose flesh is the meate of the faithfull. [e] Whosoeuer, saith Ambrose, eateth this bread, he shall not die for euer, & it is the body of Christ. [f] None is partaker of this lambe saith Cyprian, that is not a right Israelite. [g] The word saith Origen was made flesh, and true meate: the which whosoeuer eateth shall liue for euer, *Quem nullus malus potest edere*, whom no wicked person can eate. The sacraments, that is the sacred signes of Christs bodie & blood the wicked do eate: Christ himselfe they doe not. And why? The sacraments are carnally pressed with teeth, which they are partakers of as well as the godly; but Christ himselfe is not eaten with teeth, and therefore the wicked wanting both spirite and faith by which he is receiued, can not possibly eate his flesh, or drinke his blood: though they come to his table neuer so often.

The sacrament is not the bodie of Christ, but after a sort, that is, by a mysterie of signification.

[c] *Aug. in Iohan. tract. 26.*

[d] *Hier. in Ose. cap. 8.*

[e] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur mysterijs. ca. 8.*

[f] *Cypr. de cœna Domini.*

[g] *Orig. in Mat cap. 15.*

The wicked eate the sacrament, but they eate not Christ.

Phil. If Christ be really contained in the visible sacrament, how can they receiue it, but they must receiue him also. Theo. If he were locally and substantially there inclosed, it could not be auoided, but receiuing the one into their mouthes, they must needes also receiue the other into the same passage: but because neither he is eaten with teeth, nor entereth the bodies of the wicked,

Christ entereth and abideth where he is receiued.

(as where he abideth not,) therefore we rightly conclude that he is not corporally couered with the accidents of bread and wine, as you grossely conceiue.

[a] *Concil. Nicen. 1.*

Phil. [a] The lambe of God lieth on the altar, by the very profession of the first Nicene councell: we aske you nowe where and howe, if not vnder the formes of bread and wine? Theop. The best handfast you haue in the fathers or councels for this cause, is a fewe speeches wrested and forced from the inwarde man to the outward, and from the soule which they ment, to the bodie, which you vrge: therby to settle your reall and bodily presence, but all in vaine.

How Christ is present on the table.

For as we doubt not that Christ is alwaies present on his table in truth, grace, vertue, and effect, if we open the eies of our faith to behold him, and mouth of our spirits to receiue him: so the locall and corporall hiding of his humane substance vnder the shewes of bread & wine was neuer taught by any catholike father or councell: least of all by the first Nicene synode: exhorting vs in those mysteries: or [b] on that sacred table by faith to consider the lambe of God that tooke away the sins of the world: Which if any do not both professe and performe, he is not worthy to be counted a christian.

[b] *Concil. Nicen. Ibidem.*

[c] *Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. hom. 61.*

Phil. [c] How, saith S. Chrisost. wilt thou stand before the tribunal of Christ, which inuadest euen his owne body with wicked hands and lips. Theo. This is not the way to seeke for truth, but to shadowe the same with phrases of speeches. And yet in these and all other your allegations out of Chrysostome and others, you commit these two grosse ouersights. You vnderstand that of the sensible creatures in the sacrament, which was spoken of the insensible grace: and you refer that to the visible parts of our bodies, which was intended to the inuisible powers of the minde, and with these false foundations you run along the fathers, peruerting euery place that you quote, as a meane diuine may soone perceiue.

With these two points of cunning the Iesuits peruert all the fathers they bring for this matter.

Phil. These be your shifts to auoide the fathers which we bring, because you will not acknowledge the reall and corporall presence of Christ in the sacrament. Theo. First proue that Christ is really and corporally present vnder the formes of bread and wine, and then reproue vs if we do not acknowledge it. Phil. Doubt you that? Theo. Can

you

you proue that? Phil. What? That Christ is present in the sacrament? Theo. Is that the thing which we denie? Phil. For ought that I see you grant not so much.

Theo. God forbid we should denie that the flesh & blood of Christ are truely present, & truely receiued of the faithfull at the Lords table. It is the doctrine that we teach others, and comfort our selues with. We neuer doubted but [a] the truth was present with the signe, & the spirite with the sacrament, as Cyprian saith: [b] We knew there could not follow an operation, if there went not a presence before. Set aside your carnall imaginations of Christ couered with accidents, and his flesh chammed betweene your teeth, and say what you will either of his inuisible presence by power, and grace, or of the spirituall and effectuall participation of his flesh and blood offered, and receiued of the faithfull by this sacrament for the quickning and preserning of their soules and bodies to eternall life, we ioine with you: no words shall displease vs, that any way declare the truth or force of this mysterie. Your locall compassing of Christ with the shewes and fantasticall appearances of bread and wine, your reall grinding of his flesh with your iawes, these be the points that we deny to be catholike: these do the fathers refute as erronious, and in these your owne fellowes be not yet resolued, what to say, or what to hold.

[a] *Cyp. de vnct. Chrysmatis.*
[b] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur mysterijs. ca. 3.*
We confesse a more mightie, fruitfull, and heauenly presence of Christ in the sacraments than the Iesuits doe.

Phil. We not we resolued what to hold of Christs reall being in the sacrament, and the corporall eating his flesh with our mouths? Theo. How you be secretly resolued, I know not: your iudgements laid downe to the world in writing are cleane contrarie. Phil. Ours? Theop. Whose said I but yours? Phil. Howsoeuer in other things we retaine the libertie of the schooles to dispute *pro & con*, yet in this you shall find vs all togither. Theo. Togither by the eares as dogs for bones.

Infinite are the contentions of their Schooles about these & such other points of their real & carnal imagination.

Omit your contentions, What the pronoune *H O C* supposeth; What the verbe *E S T* signifieth, when and how the bread is abolished, whether by conuersion or annihilation: What bodie succeedeth, and whether with distinction of parts and extension of quantitie, or without: What subiect the accidents haue to hang on, whether the aire or the body of Christ: What it is that soureth & putrifieth in the formes of bread & wine: whether it be the same body that

sitteth in heauen: and if it be, how so many contradictions may be verified of one and the same thing: Omit, I say, these with infinite other like contentions, the corporal eating of Christ with your mouthes, are you all agreed about it? Phi. We are. Theo. Your two seminaries are perhaps, because they harken rather for sedition in the realm, than for religion in the schooles: but the great Rabbins of your side are they in one opinion concerning this matter? Phil. Great and smal consent together against you. Theop. Against truth they do, but in their owne fantasticall error they do not. The chiefest pillors of your Church when they come to that point (which is now in handling) wander in the desert of their owne deuises, as men forsaking and forsaken of truth.

The chiefest papists are togither by the eares for their corporall eating of Christs flesh with teeth and iawes.

Your gloze is content, if a man gape wide, that the body of Christ shall enter his mouth, but he holdeth it for an heresie, that the teeth should touch the same; and therefore when the iawes begin to close, he dispatched away the body of Christ in post towards heauen. [a] *Certum est*, It is (no coniecture but) certain, that as soone as the formes of bread be pressed with the teeth, *tam cito*, presently the bodie of Christ is caught vp into heauen.

The gloze maketh it an heresie to say that Christs flesh is betwixt the teeth.

[a] *De consecr. 2 § tribus gradibus. In Gloss.*

Durandus is more fauourable to the teeth, and will haue Christ [b] present in the mouth, chamme he that list, till his iawes ake, but he is as straite laced against the stomacke as the glozer is against the teeth, and will by no meanes haue the body of Christ to passe thither, building himselfe on these words of Hugo, Christ is [c] corporally present *in visu & in sapore*, whiles we see or taste (the sacrament). [d] As long as our bodily senses are affected, so long his corporall presence is not remooued: but when once the senses of our bodie begin to faile (that we neither see nor tast the forms) then must we seeke no longer for a corporall presence, but retaine the spiritual: because Christ passeth from the mouth (neither to heauen as the gloze said, nor to the stomacke as the rest affirme) but to the hart. And better it is that he go straight to the mind, than descend to the stomacke.

[b] *Durand. in rationali diuinor. officior. li. 4.*
[c] *Rubr. de 6. part. Canonis.*
[d] *Ibidem.*

Durandus will haue it in the mouth, but no farder.

Others to whom [e] Bonauenture more inclineth, will no way, but Christ must take vp his lodging as well in the stomacke as in the mouth: mary thence they suffer him not to wagge neither vpward nor downeward, whatsoe-

[e] *Bonauent. in 4. sentent. dist. 13. art. 2. qu. 2.*

uer

ner become of the accidental formes of bread & wine. And leaſt it ſhould be thought as Durand and Hugo ſay, that the body of Chriſt goeth to the hart, he replieth that, [a] *Quantum ad ſubſtantiam (corporis) certum eſt quod non vadit in ventem, ſed vtrum ſic vadat in ventrem, dubium eſt propter diuerſitatem opinionum:* as touching the ſubſtance (of his body) it is cleare that he paſſeth not to the minde, but whether he ſo come (that is in the ſubſtance of his body, from the mouth) to the bellie, this is yet *in doubt, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of opinions: and in ſo great varietie, what to hold is hard to indge. Yet he liketh not, that *Aut* [b] *mus in ventrem trayceret, aut in cloacam deſcenderet:* the bodie of Chriſt ſhould goe into the bellie of a mouſe, or be caſt forth by the draught, becauſe the eares of well diſpoſed perſons would abhorre that, *& ſi diceremus, hæretici & infideles derideront nos, & irriderent,* and if we ſhould defend that, the heretikes and infidels would ieſt at vs, and laugh vs to ſcorne.

Bonauenture will haue Chriſt in the bellie, but thence he ſhal not ſtir.

[a] *Ibidem.*

Themſelues confeſſe their owne varietie of opinions, touching the corporall eating of Chriſt and grant it hard to iudge what to hold.

[b] *Ibidem.*

This notwithſtanding Alexander de Hales in ſpite of all heretikes and infidels venturech on it: [c] If a dog or an hog, ſaith he, ſhould eate the whole conſecrated hoſt, I ſee no cauſe but the Lords bodie ſhould goe therewithal into the bellie of that dog or hogge. Thomas of Aquine ſharply reproueth them which thinke otherwiſe: [d] Some haue ſaid that as ſoone as the ſacrament is taken of a mouſe or a dog, ſtreight way the body and blood of Chriſt ceaſe to be there: but this is a derogation to the truth of this ſacrament. In fauour of Thomas, Petrus de Palude, Ioannes de Burgo, Nicolaus de Orbellis, with the whole ſect of Thomiſts (neither few in number, nor meane in credit with the Church of Rome) defend the ſame: yea, where the maſter of the ſentences ſeemed to ſhrinke from this lothſome poſition. [e] It may well be ſaid that the body of Chriſt is not receiued of brute beaſts: the facultie of diuines in Paris with full conſent gaue him this checke, here the maſter is refuſed.

[c] *Alexan. de Hales. part. 3. queſt. 45.*

[d] *Thom. par. 3. queſt. 80. artic. 3.*

The Thomiſts will haue Chriſt in the bellies of mice and hogs if they eate the ſacrament.

[e] *Sentent li. 4. diſt. 13.*

And for feare leaſt the field ſhould be won without him, in ſteppeth Antonius Archbiſhop of Florence, and recompenſeth his late comming with his lewd writing. Firſt he telleth how Petrus de Palude deuiſed the gloze for ſaying, [f] that Chriſt is caught vp to heaué as ſoone as the forms of the ſacramét are preſſed with our teeth, *Quod dicere eſt hæreticum:* which to ſay is hereticall. And therefore they ioyne both

[f] *Anton. part. 3. tit. 13. cap. 6. § 3. de defectibus Miſſæ.* Here is the perfection of their reall preſence &

corporall eating of Christs flesh with their teeth.

both in this, that the bodie of Christ may not onely be eaten of a mouse, but also it may be vomited vp by the mouth and purged downe by the draught: say Bonauenture what he will or can in detestation of their folly. These be their words. [a] *Igitur corpus Christi & sanguis tam diu manet in ventre & stomacho vel vomitu & quocunque alibi, quamdiu species manet. Et si species incorruptæ euomuntur (illa autem quandoque non corrupta emittuntur vt in habentibus fluxum) ibi est vere corpus Christi:* Therfore the body and blood of Christ remaine in the bellie and stomacke or in vomite & in whatsoeuer course of nature, so long as the shewes of bread and wine remaine. And if they be vomited or *purged, before they be altered (as sometimes in those that are troubled with the fluxe) euen there is the true body of Christ. O filthie mouthes and vncleane spirits! what Capernite, what heretike, what infidell was euer, I say not so carnall and grosse, but so barbarous and brutish? Is this the reuerence you giue to the sacred and glorious flesh of Christ? Is this the corporall presence you striue for? Shall *mice, dogs, and swine haue eternall life, that you bring them to eate the flesh and drinke the blood of our sauior? The rest of your sluttish diuinitie no religious hart can repeate, no christian eares can abide: let your neerest friends be iudges whether this kinde of eating doe not match not onely the Capernites, but also the Canibals.

[a] *Ibidem.*

*Behold christian reader the iust reward of error, and learne to reuerence the truth of God.

*For this the Iesuits striue.

This grosnes is so wicked that they are ashamed of it, but they cannot auoide it.

This vile and wicked assertion, you will beare men in hand, you did euer detest, and so thinke to discharge your selues: but you cannot scape so. The Church of Rome, whose factors and attourneies you be, must answer to god and the world for suffering, admitting and strengthening this sacrilegious blasphemie. For when these things were first broched, what did she? Did she controle the doers, and condemne the filthines of their error? Did she so much as note the men, or mislike the matter? No Philander: she proposed the question in her sentences. [b] *Quid igitur sumit mus, vel quid manducat?* What then doth the mouse take, or what doth he eate? And with her colde and indifferent answere, *Deus nouit*, God knoweth, she set the schoolmen on worke, she laid vp the [c] ashes of those mice next her altars for relikes, she fauoured, aduanced and canonized the spredders of it. Thomas of Aquin was her only paramour,

[b] *Senten. lib. 4. dist. 13.*

[c] *Vide Antoninum in loco supra citato.*

Hugh

Hugh of Cluince who commended a priest for eating the sacrament which a leper had cast vp *Cum viliſſimo ſputo*, was sainted of her: she made Antonius no worse man than an archbishop. What? Call you this the quenching or kindling, the suppressing or increasing of heresies? No maruell if you reckon rebels for martyrs, your holy mother the Church of Rome hath the cunning to make saints of blasphemers.

To canonize and promote the men was the next way to spred their errors.

Returne, returne for shame to grauitie, truth & antiquity: learn to distinguish that which is seen in the sacrament frō that which is beleeued, I meane the visible creature, from the grace which is not visible, [a] HADST THOV BEENE, saith Chrysostom, WITHOVT A BODIE (Christ) WOVLD HAVE GIVEN THEE HIS INCORPORAL GIFTES NAKEDLY (that is without any coniunction of corporall creatures:) BVT NOWE BECAVSE THY SOVLE IS COVPLED WITH A BODIE, THEREFORE IN THINGS THAT BE SENSIBLE THINGS INTELLIGIBLE ARE DELIVERED THEE. [b] AS BREAD, (saith Cyril of this sacrament) SERVETH FOR THE BODIE; SO THE WORD SERVETH FOR THE SOVLE. It is neither no- uelti e nor absurditie to say that the bread of the Lorde, as touching the materiall substance, may be deuoured of beasts, digested of men, and will of it selfe in continuance mouldе and putrifie: Such is the condition of all creatures that serue to nourish our bodies, and this is a creature well knowen and familiar to our senses. But the worde of GOD which is added to the corporall elements, the grace which is annexed to the visible signs, and the flesh of Christ which quickeneth the soule of man by faith, these things I say be frē from all violent, and vndecent abuses, and iniuries. For they be no corporall, mortall, nor earthly creatures, but spirituall, eternall and heauenly blessings, and therefore in no case subiect to the grēdines of beasts, vncleannes of men, or weaknes of nature: [c] The element is one thing, saith Ambrose, the operation is an other thing. [d] That which is seene (in all sacraments) is temporall, that which is not seene is eternall. [e] If we looke to the very visible thinges, wherein sacraments are ministred, who is ignorant, saith Augustine, that they be corruptible? But if we consider that which

[a] *Chryſoſt. in Mat. hom. 83.*

[b] *Cyril. catechiſm. myſtago. 4.*

The creatures may many waies miscarry: the flesh of Christ bicause it is not locally inclosed, cannot. The flesh of Christ not subiect to any vncleannes or corruption.

[c] *Ambr. de ſacramentis lib. 1. cap. 5.*

[d] *Idem de iis qui initiantur myſteriis, ca. 3.*

[e] *Aug. de bapti. contra Donatiſt. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

 The element may putrifie,

which is wrought by them, who doth not see, that that cannot suffer any corruption? Of the Lords supper Origen affirmeth that the bread as [a] touching the matter or materiall (parts) therof goeth into the belly & foorth by the draught: but the praier and blessing, which is added, doth lighten the soule according to the portion of faith. [b] The sacrament (that is the sacred element) is one thing, saith Rabanus, the power of the sacrament is an other thing. The sacrament is receiued in at the mouth, with the vertue of the sacrament, the inward man is filled: the sacrament is turned into the nourishment of the body, by the vertue of the sacrament we attaine eternall life.

[a] *Origen in 15. Matt.*

[b] *Rabanus de inst. cleric. lib. 1. cap. 31.*

This doctrine your scholemen either wilfully reiected, or foolishly peruerted to make Christ substantially present in your masses, and for that onely cause fell they to the locall shutting of him within the formes of bread, and the corporall eating his flesh with their teeth. Which grossenesse once preuailing in your Church of Rome, Thomas, Alexander, Antonius; and the greatest clarkes of your side, were by the consequent of your reall presence forced to confesse that the flesh of Christ might be subiect to the teeth and iawes as well of beasts, as vnbeleeuers. For wickednes is worse than sluttishnes; and the bodies of sinnefull men God more detesteth than he doth the bowels of vnreasonable creatures. Since then by the generall consent of your Church Christ doth not refuse the bellies & intrals of faithlesse persons: why say they should he not be verily contained in the capacities and inwards of brute beasts, if by mischance they deuoure the sacrament? This hold-fast your gloze laieth hands on. [c] *Si dicatur quod mus sumat (corpus Christi) non est magnū inconueniens, cum homines sceleratissimi illud sumant.* If it be said that a mouse taketh the bodie of Christ, it is no great inconuenience, seeing most wicked men do receiue the same: and this Bonauenture setteth downe for the chiefest motiue to that vile assertion.

The schoolemen were driuen to this brutishnes by the very sequele of their reall presence.

[c] *De consec. dist. 2. § qui bene. Gloss. Ibidem.*

Phil. To tell you truth I like not that position. Theo. So long as you defende Christs humane substance to be locally present in your host, you cannot for your hart auoide it, but either by mocking your selues, and deluding your senses, or else by feeding mice with myracles, and leauing men in manifest danger of open idola-

The Iesuits at this day cannot auoid that filthie doctrine, but by grosse and apparent mockeries.

trie.

trie. For what is it, say you, that mice eate, when they light on your host? What answere make you to this question, that your master proposed, and your pewfellows strive for?

Will you say with [a] Guitmundus and Walden, two principall upholders of your newe found presence, that when mice gnaw the sacrament, it is but a tricke of *deceptio visus*, We thinke they doe so, but indeed they doe not so, the poore mice be otherwise occupied, our sight is deceiued? They must needes be very louing and deuout chickens of antichrists brood, that will suffer you to pull out their eies, and beleeue that you say, though they see the contrarie. To such men you may soone perswade what religion you list, but the wise reader will neuer be led with such monstrous fansies.

[a] *Thomas Walden tomo 2. qui de sacramentis est. cap. 46.* They might as well defend they be no mice, or birds that touch the sacrament, but angels in those shapes.

Will you take part with Innocentius and others that [b] *statim definit esse sacramentum, ex quo à mure tangitur*, it ceaseth to be a sacrament as soon as any mouse (or other beast) toucheth it, and the body of Christ leaueth that host for euer? Then besides that you prouide myracles to fat mice, and nourish them with emptie shewes, you must (before you may worship any such host, as hath beene reserued, which is common with you:) you must I say, call beasts, birds, wormes, and flies *coram nobis*, and examine them by commission, whether any of them touched your sacrament. Else howe can you be sure that Christ is there present? For if your sacrament were but pecked by some birde, or nibbed by some mouse, Christ is departed, and the shape of bread is adored by you with diuine honor as if it were the sonne of God, which is palpable and indefensable idolatry.

[b] *De consec. dist. 2. § qui bene. Glossa ibidem.* This is a sure way to keepe mice fro eating Christ, but themselues are in as great danger to loose him, as the mice.

Like you neither of these bold and blind ghesses? Indeed they be rather sickmens dreames than graue mens answeres: yet if these please you not, you must in spite of your nose to say with Alexander and Antonius, that the flesh of Christ descendeth into the bellies of mice, dogs and swine; as well as into the bodies of wicked and vngodly receiuers, which whether it be worse than carnall and Capernaticall, let the sober and discrete reader pronounce for vs both.

They haue but the two former waies to keepe off the mice fro eating their God; which be most ridiculous.

Phi. You may not doubt in any Church but some things are

are amisse. Theop. It goeth hard with your Church when these things are amisse. Farre otherwise did the learned and ancient fathers thinke and speake of this mysterie. They taught Christ to be present not in flesh, but in grace: not in reall and corporall existence, but in spirituall and fruitfull efficience. They prepared for him not their iawes and bellies, but their minds & harts. They fet him not downe from heauen to spred him on a patten, & shrowd him in a pixe, but exhorted all men to mount aloft with the wings of faith, and there aboue in * heauen (not here below in earth) to behold the brightnes of his glory, and tast the swetnes of his mercy. In proposing, urging and repeating which doctrine, we find them most careful and diligent, most earnest and vehement; and that if nothing else will serue to conuince your nouelties. For as that part of man, which eateth the flesh of Christ, exerteth your reall presence: because no locall or corporal substance can enter or feed the soule; and the truth of Christs flesh in this mysterie by the generall consent of all ages & Churches doth enter & feed the soule: so the place whither we must ascend, before we can eate the Lords flesh doth clearely confute the same.

* Where Christ sitteth in the glorie of God the father far from the iniuries & abuses of men or beasts.

Where Christ is present, thither must our harts be directed, when they are prepared to eate Christ: but the Church of God in her publike prayers, and the catholike fathers in their writings neuer taught the faithfull to set their affectiõs on the things before them, but to lift vp their harts from the Lords table to the highest heauens where Christ sate at the right hand of his father: *ergo* neither the beleeued, nor they professed that Christ was really closed vnder the formes of bread and wine. Which point dislike you Philander, or which thinke you best to deny? Should our harts be turned frõ the place where Christ is present? I trust you be more respectfull of God and your christian duetie, than to say, that the minds and harts of christian men may be turned from Christ, or from the place where Christ is: should the people turne their harts to your host and chalice, looking there to find Christ? Why then did S. Paul teach vs to [a] seeke those things which are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, and to set our affections (on heauenly things) not on things which are

Note eth nor iawes can reach to Christ, but onely faith that enioieth him in the heauens.

The Christians were neuer taught to turne their harts to the host.

[a] Colos. 3.

on

on earth, as where Christ is not to be found? Why did the primatiue Church in this sacrament alwaies cry, [a] *Sursum corda*, Lift * vp your harts, and the rest answer, *habemus ad dominum*, we lift them vp vnto the Lord? Why did the learned and auncient fathers teach the godly not to regard the things proposed on the Lords table, but to mount aboue the skies with the spirituall wings of faith, there to fasten on the Lords flesh as eagles, and there to receiue the cup of the new Testament? Were the flesh of Christ really placed on your altars as you tell vs; why should they skip him there corporally present, and lead the people to seeke for him so farre, that their bodies by no meanes could attaine to the place, but onely their minds and spirits?

[a] *Aug. de bono viduitatis. cap. 16.*

* Vp to heauen, to the priests hand. Whither we must lift vp our harts to seeke for Christ.

Ambrose, [b] There is a body of which it was said, my flesh is meat in deed. About this body are the true eagles, which houer about it with spirituall wings. The soules of the righteous are therefore compared to eagles, because they flie high, and leaue these places (or things) below. [c] We touch not Christ with corporall handling, but by faith. Therefore neither on the earth, nor in the earth, nor after the flesh ought we to seeke Christ, if we will find him. Chrysostome, [d] That dreadfull sacrifice doth lead vs to this, that in this life becomming eagles we should flie vp to heauen, or rather aboue the heauens. For where the carcase is, thither will the eagles. Now the Lords body is the carcase by reason of his death. Eagles he calleth (vs) to shew that he which commeth to this body * must flie aloft, & haue nothing to do with the earth, but euer mount vpward, and behold the (bright) sunne of righteousnes with the piercing eye of his minde. This table is for eagles, not for choughs. Hierome, [e] Let vs ascend with the Lord into the great parlour decked and cleane, and aboue (in heauen) receiue at his hands the cup of the new Testament, & there keep our passeouer with him. Paschasius: [f] If we be willing to receiue these things with Christ, let vs ascend aboue into the parlor of life. Let vs moũt vpward because they which staie below (on earth) drinke not sweet wine with Christ, but the poison of dragons vnhappily with Iudas. Therfore, saith Paul, sauour you those things which are aboue, not the things which are on earth. For this cup of the new Testament is not any where receiued but aboue

[b] *Amb. in 17. Luc. lib. 8. § de duobus in vno lecto. &c.*

[c] *Idem lib. 10. in 24. cap. Luc. ¶ de hora Dominicæ resurrect.*

[d] *Chrys. in 10. ca. 1. Cor. hom. 24.*

* Which dogs and mice can not doe.

[e] *Hier. Hedibiæ quæst. 2.*

[f] *Paschas. de corpore & sanguin. Dom. cap. 52.*

[a] Aug. quæst. Euang lib. 1. cap. 42.

aboue (in heauen.) [a] Where the carcase is, thither will the eagles resort, that is, saith Austen, into heauen, whither from hence (Christ) caried with him the body, which he tooke in the nature of man.

If Christ be absent in bodie from the earth, how can his flesh be really present in the host?

Had we no better ground to refuse that your corporall eating and reall presence, this were sufficient. For where without question the flesh of Christ must be locally present in your host before it can be really pressed with teeth, the sacred scriptures & catholike fathers affirme, that the true flesh of Christ is absent from earth, & verily present in heauen, whither we must and may send our harts and faiths to be partakers of him, our hands & mouthes we cannot send: and therefore your late deuised doctrine must nedes be dissident from the scriptures, and vnknowen to the former and purer Church of Christ. [b] I see, saith Steuen, the heauens open, and the sonne of man standing at the right hand of God: [c] whom the heauens, saith Peter, must containe vntil the time that all things be restored.

[b] Acts. 7.

[c] Acts. 3.

The flesh of Christ is not on earth.

Phil. As though he might not also be in earth: Theop. Being ascended into heauen, he is no more in earth if that be true which the angels said to his disciples. [d] This Iesus which is taken vp from you into heauen, shall so come, as you haue seene him go into heauen: *ergo* when he ascended into heauen he was taken vp from them, and not left with thē: and so the Lord himselfe before had taught them. [e] I came foorth from the father, and came into the world, now contrarywise I leaue the world, and goe to the father. So that his ascending to the father was the leauing of the world, and his abiding with the father imploieth his absence from the world. [f] The poore you alwaies haue with you, but me, saith he, you shall not alwayes haue. [g] Now am I no more in the world, but come to the holy father: *ergo* now Christ being with his father, is no more in the world, but remaineth in heauen, and as touching his humane nature is absent from the earth, which not only the scriptures pronounce, but also the fathers with one voice professe.

[d] When he ascended he was taken vp from vs.

[e] Iohn. 16.

[f] Iohn. 12.

[g] Iohn. 17. Christ going to his father is no more on earth.

[h] *Tertul. de resurrect. carnis.* [i] *Aug. in Euang. Iohan. tract. 50.*

Tertullian, [h] In the very palace of heauen to this day sitteth Iesus at the right hand of his father: man, though also God: flesh and blood, though purer than ours: neuertheless, the very same in substaunce and forme in which he ascended. Augustine, [i] Let vs shew the Iewes at this day where

Christ

Christ is, would God they would heare, and take hold of him. He was slaine of their fathers, he was buried, he rose againe, and was knowen of his disciples, and before their eies ascended into heauen, and there now sitteth at the right hand of the father. Let them heare this, and lay hold on him. Perhaps he will say, whom shal I take hold of? him that is absent? how shall I reach my hand vp to heauen, to take hold on him sitting there? Send thy faith, and thou hast hold of him. Thy fathers held him in the flesh, hold thou him in thine heart. He is both departed and present, he is returned whence he came, and hath not left vs. His body hath he caried to heauen, his maiestie hath he not withdrawen from this world. [a] Me shal you not alwaies haue. He spake this of the presence of his body. For touching his maiestie, prouidence, inspeakeable and inuisible grace, it is true that he said, I am alwaies with you to the end of the world. But as touching the flesh which the word tooke, touching that by the which he was borne of the virgin, fastened to the crosse, laid in the graue, you shall not alwaies haue me with you. And why? becauſe he is ascended into heauen and is not here: *there he sitteth at the right hand of the father. Cyril, [b] We must here diligently marke, that albeit he haue withdrawen from hence the presence of his body, yet in the maiestie of his godhead he is alwaies with vs, euen as himselfe ready to depart from his disciples promised, behold I am with you at all times vnto the ende of the world. [c] For the faithfull must beleeue though he be absent from vs in bodie, yet in his (diuine) vertue he is euer present with all that loue him: [d] with whom he euer hath beeh and will be present though not in body, yet in the vertue of his deitie. [e] He could not be conuersant with his apostles in flesh, after he was once ascended to his father: yet [f] for so much as Christ is truly God and man, they should haue vnderstood, that in the vnspeakeable power of his Godhead he meant to be alwayes with them, though in flesh he were absent: and [g] by that onely meanes, notwithstanding he be absent in flesh, he is able to saue his. Origen, [h] according to his diuine nature he is not absent from vs, but he is absent according to the dispensation of his body which he tooke. As a man shall he be absent from vs, who is euery where in his diuine nature. For it is not the manhood of Christ that is there whereſoeuer two or three be gathe-

What means we haue to take hold of Christ now absent in heauen.

[a] *Ibidem.*

How Christ is present with vs, and how he is absent from vs.

* There: not here.

[b] *Cyril. in Johan. li. 6. ca. 14.*

Christ absent in flesh.

[c] *Lib. 9. ca. 21.*

[d] *Lib. 9. ca. 22.*

[e] *Lib. 11. ca. 3.*

[f] *Lib. 11. ca. 21*

[g] *Li. 11. ca. 22.*

[h] *Orig. tract. in Matth. 33.*

His bodie absent from vs.

red together in his name, neither is it his manhood that is with vs at all times vntill the ende of the world: neither is his manhood present in euery congregation of the faithfull, but the diuine vertue that was in Iesu. Ambrose, [a] Steuen amidst the Iewes saw thee (O Lord) absent. Mary among the angels sawe thee not, being present. Steuen sought not for thee on earth, who sawe thee standing at the right hand of God. Marie, which sought thee in earth, could not touch thee. Steuen touched thee because he sought thee in heauen. Therefore neither on the earth nor in the earth, nor after the flesh ought we to seeke thee, if we will finde thee. [b] Gregory, Christ is not here by the presence of his flesh, which yet is no where absent by the presence of his maiestie. [c] The word incarnate both remaineth and departeth. He departeth (from his) in bodie, and remaineth (with his) in diuinitie: [d] we must therefore brethren follow him thither in hart whither we beleeue him to be ascended in bodie.

His manhood is neither in all places, nor at al times with vs.

[a] *Ambr. li. 10. super Lucæ ca. 24. de hora Dominicæ resurrectionis.*

Christ is not to be sought neither on earth nor in earth.

[b] *Gregor. in Euang. hom. 21.*

[c] *Ibidem hom. 30.*

[d] *Ibidem hom. 29.*

If the flesh of Christ be not in earth, nor on earth, as these learned fathers teach vs, how can it be locally closed in your masking wafers? If his humane nature be placed in heauen at the right hand of God, there to remaine till the time that all things be restored, and [e] from thence, not from any place els, shall come to iudge the quicke & the dead; how vainly do you suppose him to be corporally present in your pixes, and really lodged in your bellies?

The fathers themselues teach both parts of this consequent: Christ is in heauen; *ergo* not in earth.

[e] *August. ep. 57. ad Dardanum.*

Phil. **His body we say may be present in many places at one time.** Theoph. **This you say, but what ancient father euer said so before you? yea rather why forget you that this is often refuted by them as a lewd and hereticall fansie? Doth not S. Augustine of purpose debate the matter and in eudent termes giue this flat resolution against you?** [f] Doubt not, saith he, the man Christ Iesus to be now there, whence he shall come (to iudgement:) but keepe in minde and hold assured the christian confession, that he rose from the dead, ascended into heauen, sitteth now at the right hand of his father, and * from thence, from no place else, shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead. And so shall he come, by the very witnesse of angels as he was seene to go into heauen: that is * in the very same forme and substance of his flesh the which he hath endued with immortalitie,

That the substance of Christs bodie may be in many places at one time is a condemned heresie.

[f] *August. ep. 57. ad Dardanum.*

**Nec aliunde quam inde.*

**In eadem carnis forma atque substantia.*

mortalitie, not bereaued of (the former) nature. According to this forme (of his manhood) we must not thinke him to be diffunded in euery place. For we must beware that we do not so defend the godhead of a man, that we take from him the truth of his body. It is no good consequent, that which is in God, should be euery where, as God himselfe is. One person is both God and man, and one Christ Iesus is both these: euery where as he is God, in heauen as he is man. [a] Doubt not I say that Christ our Lord is euery where present as God, but [*] in some one place of heauen by the meanes of his true body. And againe, [b] Let vs giue the same eare to the holy gospell, that we would to the Lord himselfe if he were present. The Lord is aboue (in heauen) but the truth is here which also the Lord is. The body in which he rose [*] can be (but) in one place, [c] his truth is euery where dispersed.

If Christs manhood be in euery place, he looseth the truth of his bodie.

[a] *In eadem ep. ad finem.*

[*] *In aliquo loco cœli.*

[b] *Aug. in Iohan. tract. 30.*

[*] *Vno loco esse potest.*

[c] He speaketh of the truth of the Gospel, not of the truth of the bodie of Christ.

Doth not Vigilius a blessed martyr and bishop of Trident vphold the very same point against Eutyches and his accursed companions: [d] The flesh of Christ, saith he, WHEN IT WAS IN EARTH, SVRELY WAS NOT IN HEAVEN, AND NOW BECAVSE IT IS IN HEAVEN, CERTAINLY IT IS NOT IN EARTH: yea so farre it is from being in earth, that we looke for Christ after the flesh to come from heauen, whom as he is God, the word we beleeue to be with vs in earth. Then by your opinion, either the word is compriſed in a place as well as the flesh (of Christ:) or [*] the flesh (of Christ) is euery where togither with the word, seeing one nature doth not receiue in it selfe any different and contrary state. Now to be contained in a place, and to be present in euery place be things diuers and very dislike: and for so much as the word is euery where, and the flesh of Christ not euery where, it is cleare that one and the same Christ is of both natures, that is euery where according to the nature of his diuinitie, and contained in a place according to the nature of his humanitie. This is the catholike faith, and confession which the Apostles deliuered, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithfull persist in to this day.

[d] *Vigilius contra Eutych. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

[*] That the flesh of christ should be euery where was a sequele of Eutyches heresie.

[*] Christs manhood cõtained in a place.

[*] From this the Iesuits be vtterly fallen.

Doth not Fulgentius handle the same question, and precisely trace the steps of saint Augustine and Vigilius? [e] One and the same sonne of God hauing in him the truth of the

[e] *Fulgens. ad Thrasimundū regem. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

diuine and humane nature, lost not the proprieties of the true Godhead, and tooke also the proprieties of the true manhead: one and the selfesame: locall, by that he tooke of man; and infinite, by that he had of his father: one and the very same, according to his * humane substance absent from heauen, when he was in earth, and forsaking the earth, when he ascended to heauen: but according to his diuine and infinite substance, neither leauing heauen when he came down from heauen, neither departing from earth when he ascended to heauen. The which may be gathered by the most certaine words of the Lord himselfe. I ascend to my father, and your father. How could he ascend but as a * locall and true man? or how can he be present with the faithfull but as an infinite and true God? not as if the humane substance of Christ might be euery where diffunded, but because one and the same sonne of God, albeit according to the truth of his manhead he were then locally placed on earth, yet according to his Godhead (which in no wise is concluded in any place) he filled heauen and earth. This true manhead of Christ which is locall, as also his true Godhead, which is alwaies infinite, we see taught by the doctrine apostolicall. For that Paul might shew, the body of Christ as of very man, to be contained in a place, he saith to the Thessalonians: You turned to God from idols, to serue the liuing and true God, and to looke for his sonne from heauen; declaring that he surely should corporally come from heauen, whom he knew to be corporally raised from the dead. **His conclusion is this**, Whereas then the flesh of Christ is * prooued without question to be contained in a place, yet his Godhead is at all times euery where, by the witnes of Paul, &c. **These be no wrested or maimed allegations, but grane and aduised authorities of learned and ancient fathers, plainly concluding with vs against you, that the flesh of Christ is not absent onely from earth, and nowe sitteth aboue at the right hand of God, but also locally contained in some one place of heauen by reason of the truth of his body: and therefore not dispersed in many places or present in euery place, as you would nowe make the world beleeue it is in your masses.**

* Christs humane substance is not both in heauen & earth at one time.

* If Christ be not locall, he is no true man.

The bodie of Christ contained in one place, not diffunded in many.

* This without question is the christian faith, and not the Iesuits vbiquitie or multilocitie.

This is a bare shift of the Iesuits, and

Phil. **This was spoken of the shape, but not of the substance of Christs body. For Saint** Augustine saith,

[a] Secun-

[a] *Secundum hanc formam non est putandus vbique diffusus*: according to this (externall) shape and forme we must not thinke him euery where diffused: and yet the truth and substance of his body may be in many places at one time. Theoph. You forget that the rest say nature and substance: as Vigilius, [b] *Circumscribitur loco per naturam carnis suæ*: Christ is circumscribed with place by the nature of his flesh: and Fulgentius, [c] *Secundum humanam substantiam derelinquent terram, cum ascendisset in cælum*; according to his humane substance leauing the earth, when he ascended into heauen: and againe, [d] *Non quia humana Christi substantia fuisset vbique diffusa*: not, as if the humane substance of Christ shoulde be euery where diffunded. By the which it is clere that neither the forme, nor substance of Christs bodie can be present in many places at one time.

yet this is al the refuge they haue.

[a] *Aug. ep. 57.*

[b] *Vigil. contra Eutych. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

[c] *Fulgen. lib. 2. cap. 5. ad Thrasimundum regem.*

[d] *Ibidem.*

And what doth Saint Augustine meane by the word forme, but the perfection and truth of mans nature, as Ambrose, Leo, Chrysostome, and others do? What is saith Ambrose, [e] in the forme of God? in the nature of God? [f] I demand, saith Leo, what is ment by this, taking the forme of a seruant? Doubtlesse the perfection of mans nature. [g] The forme of a seruant is out of question, the nature of a seruant, saith Chrysostome. Therefore Augustine himselfe addeth this reason why Christ must not be thought to be euery where present, [h] *ne veritatem corporis auferamus*, Least we take from him the truth of his bodie: concluding that Christ is euery where, [i] *per id quod Deus est*, by that (nature) which is GOD; *in cælo autem, per id quod homo*, in heauen by that (nature) which is man: Where these words that which is man interprete what he ment by the former speech when he said: according to this forme Christ is not euery where present.

Forme is all one with truth and perfection.

[e] *Ambr. lib. 7. epist. 47.*

[f] *Leo epist. 97.*

[g] *Chrys. in cap. 2. ep. ad Phil. serm. 6.*

[h] *Aug. epi. 57.*

[i] *Ibidem. Per id quod homo* is substance as wel as shape.

But let the word be taken in your sense, yet doth it fully confirme our assertion. For humane forme and shape is inseparably ioined to the substance of Christes bodie: and Christs humane forme by your confession can not be present in many places at one time: *ergo* neither his humane substance. These twaine, shape and substance can not be seuered: he is no man that hath not the shape of man. Nowe choose whether that bodie which, as you say your hosts containe, shall keepe the forme and shape

Christ can haue no humane substance without humane shape.

of man, or loose the nature and substance of Christ. For the Lord Jesus as man, must haue not onely the substãce but also the shape of a man. [a] So shall he come, as you haue seene him goe to heauen, that is, saith Austen, in the very same shape and substance of his flesh. [b] Our vile body, saith Paul, shall he change to be fashioned like to his glorious bodie: but our bodies shal then haue distinction of parts, proportion of shape, circumscription of place: *Ergo* the glorified body of Christ hath and must haue these very properieties of our nature. So that if his bodily shape can be but in one place: his bodily substãce can be in no mo. Therfore saith Fulgentius: [c] *Quod si verum est corpus Christi, loco potest vtiq; contineri*: if Christ haue a true body, that no doubt may be concluded in a place. And Theodoret, [d] *Illud enim corpus habet priorem formam & figuram, & circumscriptionem, & vt semel dicam corporis substantiam*: that bodie (which Christ caried to heauen with him) hath the same forme, figure, circumscription, & at one word the same substãce of a body which it had before.

a *Aug. ep. 57.*

b *Phil. cap. 3.*

c *Fulgent. ad Thrasimundũ regem. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

d *Theod. dial. 2* It is no humane bodie that hath not shape, as well as substance.

Phil. S. Chrysostome and S. Ambrose affirme the contrary. Theo. What affirme they? Phil. That one and the same body of Christ is euery where present. Their wordes are, [e] *Quoniam multis in locis offertur, multi Christi sunt? nequaquam, sed vnus vbique est Christus, & hic plenus existens, & illic plenus, vnum corpus.* Because we offer in many places, are there many Christs? no by no meanes: but one Christ is euery where, here whole, and there whole, one body. And S. Chrysostome exceedingly wondring at so miraculous a presence crieth out; [f] O the strangnes of the thing! O the goodnes of (our) God! He that sitteth aboue with his father (in heauen) at the very moment of time is handled with the fingers of all men.

e *Ambr. in 10 cap. ad Heb. & Chrys. hom. 17. in eadem epist.*

f *Chrysost. de Sacerdotio. lib. 3.*

Chrysostom and Ambrose could not gainsay the rest, and be Catholikes.

Theo. Make you Chrysostom and Ambrose the disciples of Eutyches? Phil. Make you no worse reckoning of thẽ, than I do: and they shall haue their due honor. Theo. I thinke them to be far from Eutyches error. Phil. And so doe I. Theo. Why then alleadge you their wordes for that erronious position which was condemned in Eutyches? Phil. I alleadge them for the reall presence of Christ in the sacrament. Theo. Your reall presence and vbiquitie if you will haue Christs humane substance dispersed in many places, without shape or circumscription, are the verie bowels

bowels and inwards of Eutyches hereſie. Phil. No ſir, S. Chryſoſtom & S. Ambroſe were no heretikes. Theo. Indeed they were not: and therefore you doe them the more wrong to wreſt their ſpeeches to make for his madnes. Phil. We produce them to confirme a truth. Theo. The very ſame truth, that the Church of Chriſt abhorred in Eutyches.

Phil. What did the Church abhor? Theo. Euen this which you would proue by the words of Ambroſe & Chryſoſtom: that the fleſh of Chriſt after his aſcention was not locall or circumſcribed within any certaine place. Phil. We grant the manhode of Chriſt in heauen, is locall & circumſcribed with place: and that ſetteth vs free from Eutyches error. Theo. It doth if you conſtantly keepe that point of faith and contradict it not by an other deuiſe. Philan. We verily beleeue, & publikely profeſſe that Chriſts humane nature in heauen hath quantity, ſhape, diſtinction of parts, circumſcription & all other conditions of a natural & true body: What would you more? Theo. We would no more, but if you fall from that, are you not within the compaſſe of Eutyches fury? Phil. We fal not from it. Theop. Then how can Chriſts body in the ſacrament want all theſe, which chriſtian religion affirmeth to be permanent, & perpetual in the manhood of Chriſt? or why would you collect out of Amb. or Chry. againſt the very principles of faith that Chriſts humane fleſh is vncircumſcribed, and euerie where diffuſed?

The Ieſuits would draw Chryſoſtom and Ambroſe to be of Eutyches opinion.

These conditions of a true bodie the manhead of Chriſt may haue whereſoeuer it be.

Phil. We meane that of Chriſts fleſh in the ſacrament, not of his manhode in heauen. Theoph. Be there many Chriſts? Phil. who ſaith there are? you heard that euen nowe reproued by Saint Chryſoſtome and Saint Ambroſe, as a wicked abſurditie, to ſay that there were many Chriſts. And therefore they concluded there was but one Chriſt euery where. Theo. That one Chriſt, hath he many naturall and ſubſtantiall bodies? Phil. Why aske you thoſe queſtions of vs? we be not infected with any ſuch frenſie. Theop. You may the ſooner anſwere. Hath Chriſt two reall and naturall bodies, the one in heauen, the other in the ſacrament? Phil. No, this is all one with that. Theoph. That by the rules of your Creede is locall and circumſcribed: if this be the ſame how can this be without

There is but one Chriſt: and that one Chriſt hath but one bodie, which is not euerie where.

quantitie, shape, and circumscription? Phil. Beleeue you not Christ when he said this is my body? Theo. Yes verily: but you so expound his words, that you subuert the whole frame of his truth and our commō faith, with your reall and locall presence. Phil. Do we subuert the common faith with our opinion?

[a] *Aug de essentia diuinitatis.*

Theop. Our christian faith is this. [a] We must beleeue, saith Augustine, the sonne of God according to the substance of his deitie; to be inuisible, incorporall and vncircumscribed: but according to his humane nature to be visible, corporall, and locall. You heard Vigilius the martyr say, [b] For so much as the word is euery where, & the flesh of Christ is not euery where, it is cleare, that one and the same Christ is of two natures: euery where according to the nature of his diuinitie, and contained in a place according to the nature of his humanitie: and this, saith he, is the catholike faith and confession which the apostles deliuered, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful stand in to this day. This faith and confession if you infringe or violate, you ioyne hands with Eutyches against the Church of God, and against the grounds of our common creede: and this you must needs impugn if you defend the naturall body of Christ to be euery where present, as you would gather out of Ambroses and Chrysostoms words.

[b] *Vigil. contra Eutych. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

Philan. We say not, euery where, but in the sacrament. Theo. But their words are, euery where. *Vnus vbique est Christus.* one Christ is euery where. Philan. That is, in the sacrament. Theoph. That is, your additament. They say generally, one Christ is euery where. Philan. To say that his humane nature is euery where without any restraint, were in deed a branch of Eutyches errour. Theo. And since they say so: you must either vnderstand it of his diuine nature, which is rightly and truely said to be euery where present without addition, or else of the spirituall and effectuall presence of his body which entreth the soules, and strengthneth the harts of all the faithfull by the power of his grace, and truth of his promise. And either of these wayes their words are very sound, and your locall presence no part of their speech.

The words of Ambrose and Chrysostom as the Iesuits conster them, are against the very grounds of our common faith. How Chrysostom and Ambrose must be vnderstood.

[c] *Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3.*

Philan. S. Chrysostom saith, [c] *Omnium manibus pertractatur*: he is euen handled with all mens fingers. Theo. You do

that

that father very much wrong to wrest his eloquent and figuratiue speeches to your carnal & grosse surmises. The very tenor of his words will declare that he meaneth nothing lesse than your corporal and local touching: with our bodily hands, we neither can nor do touch Christ. S. Ambrose saith. [a] *Non corporali tactu Christum, sed fide tangimus:* We touch not Christ with our fingers, but with our faith. And so S. Austen, [b] *Ipsum iam in cælo sedentē manu contrectare non possimus, sed fide contingere.* We cannot handle Christ with our fingers sitting now in heauen: but with our faith we may. In this sense Chrysostoms words are very true but nothing to your corporal vbiquitie of Christs flesh.

Chrysostoms figuratiue & vehement speeches much abused by the Iesuits.

[a] *Ambr. li. 10. in 24. Luc.*

[b] *Augu. epist. Iohan. tract. 1.*

Phil. How shall we know that this was his meaning: finding no words of his to direct vs to that sense? Theop. His speech is otherwise so false, that none but Iesuits would make any doubt of it. And yet the very next words before these are a plaine admonition to the hearers what to conceiue of this and such like places. [c] *Annon euefligio in cælos transferris: annon carnis cogitationem omnem abijciens nudo animo, mente pura circumspicis quæ in cælo sunt.* Art thou not presently caried vp to heauen? Doest thou not, casting all cogitation of (thy) flesh aside, with a pure mind and soule seuered (from the body) looke round on the things which are in heauen? In this spirituall and yet hyperbolicall vehemēcie he goeth on, amplifieng euery point, and saying that Christ is handled with all their fingers, and that [d] in open sight of all that stood about: concluding no corporall or local comprehension of Christ in the sacrament by any of these mysticall and figuratiue speeches (wherof he is ful,) but onely that [e] grace flowing into the sacrifice should inflame all their harts, and make them cleaner than siluer, purged and tried in the fire. This is the presence of Christ which Chrysostome auoucheth, euen the influence of his (heauenly) grace: and that spiritual force and grace, as Gregorie saith, may very well be constered to be ỹ truth of his body and blod in the mysteries. So that the same Christ is euery where present, not by local or corporal diffusion, but by mystical operation: & one body is propoſed to all, not to fill their mouthes, but to cleanse their harts, and to giue them assurance of eternall life.

Chrysostom himselfe excludeth the corporall vnderstanding of his words.

[c] *Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. 3.*

[d] *Ibidem.*

[e] *Chrysost. Ibidem.*

Phil. May not the body of Christ in the sacrament be such

The power of God must neuer be alleaged against his will, nor our faith, which he hath commaunded vs to beleeue.

such as we defende, though his body in heauen be not? Theo. If the body of Christ in the sacrament be the very same that is in heauen, how can it so much differ from it? If it be an other, how can it be his, since he hath but one naturall body, and that by no means capable of such contrarieties as you imagine? Phil. Is not Christ omnipotent? Theo. Almightie he is in working his will, not in changing his nature. Phil. Will you limite his might? Theo. The Christian faith is not repugnant to his might, but agreeable to his truth, which you may not subuert with a pretence of his power at your pleasure. Tertullian saith very well, [a] If in our owne presumption we abruptly vse this reason, (nothing is hard to God,) we may faine what we list of God, as though he had done it, bicause he could do it. We must not, bicause he can do al things, therfore beleeue he hath done that, which he hath not. But we must search whether he hath done it or no. For this respect some things may be heard vnto God himselfe, to wit, that which he hath not done, not because he could not do it, but because he would not.

[a] *Tertul. aduer. Praxeam.* Gods omnipotencie a common refuge with heretikes.

When we produce gods power for our fansies against his truth, we make him a liar, and in subiection to our willes.

Phil. Can not the power of Christ altar the nature of his manhood? Theoph. Were it possible that the manhode of Christ might be changed and altered in his essentiall properties, (which assertion the Church yet alwaies reiected as heretical!) why stand you so much on this what Christ can do, when you plainely perceiue by your Creede what Christ will do? Shal his power ouerthwart his will? Or his arme disappoint his mouth? We need not dispute whether it be possible or no, this sufficeth vs, that the Lorde himselfe saith, he will leaue the world and be no more in the world: Whatsoeuer he can do, this we be sure, he will doe: his word is truth, and his will knowen: against that if you stand and oppose his power to make him a lyar, assure your selues he hath power enough to be reuenged on your obstinacie, for vrging his power (which is no part of your care) against his will, which he hath commanded you to beleeue and obey.

The Iesuits pretend gods power against the christian faith.

Phil. It is you that neither beleeue his will, nor agnise his power: we build our selues on both. Theo. His words by which you gather his wil, you frame and inuert to your owne purposes: and when we would reduce you from the

the misconstruction of his speech by the very tenor of the Christian faith, you pleade his power to delude his truth and ouerthrowish a lewd heresie with a shew of his omnipotencie. Phil. We do not pretend that power of God for any vntruth. Theo. If the christian faith be truth; you vrge his power against his truth. Phil. So we against the christian faith? Theop. Confesse you the distinction of two natures in Christ after his ascension? Phil. We do. Theo. And the properties of either to remaine without confusion, conuersion or alteration? Phil. What else? Theoph. This then is the christian faith, that both natures in Christ now doe and euer shal keepe and continue their seuerall and different properties without failing or changing. Phil.* That we beleeue.

*Or if you do not see your selues condemned in the great councell of Chalcedon, *Act.* 5. *definitio* 2. as heretikes for not beleeuing it.

Theo. How then can the manhood of Christ be in many places at one time? Or how can it in any place or time be without shape, quantitie, circumscription and such like properties of mans nature? Phi. In heauen it hath them. Theo. If they cannot be changed or altered, the manhode of Christ must haue them: not in heauen onely, but in earth also, and in euery place where the substance of his bodie is. Phil.* Saue in the sacrament. Theo. If that be the same bodie which was on the crosse, it must haue the same naturall properties of a body which that had. Phil. It hath as many as it may. Theo. It must haue as many as it should. Phi. Which be they? The. Proportiō of shape, distinction of parts, extension of quantitie, circumscription of place, and the very same substance of flesh which he toke of his mother Marie. Phil. You name these thinges which you see be not in the sacrament. Theo. I name those which the manhood of Christ must haue, whersoeuer it be. Phil. Must haue? What necessitie is in that. Theo. As much as the denying of your faith and contradicting of his truth. For these properties the body had that hung on the crosse, and without these he can be no true man. Philan. In heauen we tell you he hath them. Theoph. And in the sacrament, we tell you, he hath them not: *Ergo* the manhode of Christ is not in the sacrament.

*A very witty exception. Then you beleeue the christian faith to be true euerie where saue in the sacrament, and what is that but wilfully and openly to deny the faith where you list?

Phil.* Cannot Christ be where he list without those consequents? Theo. His body cannot. Phil. Do not you now deny him to be omnipotent. Theo. Do not you now alleage

Whatsoeuer he can doe: you be here-

tikes in the mean time for contradicting the christian faith.

allege his power to frustrate both his will & your faith? Phil. You holde Christ cannot, if he would. Theo. We say Christ would not, though he could. And since his will is euident by his word, as our common faith auoucheth, you doe wickedly to crosse his will with his power, and make his might attendant on your follies. [a] *Dei velle, posse est: & non posse, nolle* The power of God (which we must stand on) is his will: and that which he will not, that he cannot. You must not therfore imagine what you list: and then ground vpon the power and strength of God: it is error and impietie whatsoeuer is repugnant to his truth, and to father your falshoods on his almighty power is irreuerent and insolent blasphemie.

[a] *Tert. aduerf. Praxeam.*

The Iesuits incur not only impieties, but impossibilities.

Phil. You do not so much as confesse that he can doe it: and that causeth vs to suspect you doubt of Gods omnipotencie. Theo. Because we suffer you not to vnload your absurdities and impieties on Gods power at your pleasures. Phil. First grant he can do it, and of that we will commune afterward.

Theoph. What shall I grant? Phil. That Christ according to his corporall presence may be in many places at one time if it please him. Theop. What then shall become of S. Austen that said: Christ [b] could not concerning his corporall presence be at one time in the sun, in the moone, & on the crosse? And of S. Cyril affirming that Christ [c] could not be conuersant with his apostles after he once ascended? If he could not be in three places at one time, how coulde he be in mo: If not in earth when he was in heauen, how both in heauen and earth as you your selues conceiued and would haue vs confesse.

[b] *Aug. contra Faustum. l. 20. cap. 11.*

[c] *Cyril. in Iohn. lib. 11. cap. 3.*

These fathers were not afraid to say, Christ could not be in many places at one time.

And yet the thing, which we withstand, is far more impossible than this. For the manhood of Christ, by ye tenor of the Christian faith hath and must haue, after his ascention, humane shape, parts, length, breadth, both extended and circumscribed: and otherwise to thinke, is the wicked and cursed opinion of Eutyches condemned long since by the Church of God for a meere impietie. You to auoid the burden of that sentence, confesse these properties are and must be permanent in the body which our sauior tooke of the virgin: and wherin he now sitteth at the right hand of God his father: mary the selfesame body you defend to be

The Iesuits whiles they would shun Eutyches error, run headlong in-

in the sacrament without shape, parts, length or breadth either extended or circumscribed, which is we say simply impossible. For shaped not shaped, extended not extended, circumscribed not circumscribed, be plaine contradictions, and those of one thing, at one time are not possible.

to contradictions, and yet sticke in the same mire that Eutyches did.

Phil. Is any thing impossible to God? Theo. Doth not the apostle say, [a] *Negare seipsum non potest*, God cannot denie himself? and [b] *Impossibile est Deum mentiri*, it is impossible that GOD shoulde lie? Saint Augustine well noteth, [c] *Dicitur omnipotens, faciendo quod vult, non patiendo quod non vult, vnde propterea quædam non potest, quia est omnipotens.* GOD is said to be omnipotent in doing that he will, not in suffering that he wil not. And therefore can he not do some things because he is omnipotent. And Saint Ambrose likewise, [d] *Quid ergo ei impossibile? Non quod virtuti arduum, sed quod naturæ eius contrarium.* What then is impossible to God? not that which passeth his power, but that which is contrarie to his nature. [e] *Impossibile iſtud non infirmitatis, sed virtutis & maiestatis: quia veritas non recipit mendacium, nec Dei virtus leuitatis errorem.* This impossibility proceedeth not of infirmitie, but of might and maiestie: because the truth (of God) admitteth not a lie: nor the power of God any note of inconstancy. So that al changes against his nature, or falshoods against his truth be vtterly impossible to God: and that because he is almightie.

[a] 2. Tim. 2.
[b] Hebr. 6.
[c] *Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 5. cap. 10.*
[d] *Ambr. l. b. 6. epist. 37.*
[e] *Ibidem.*

What things are impossible to God, and why.

Phil. That we know. Theo. Then this also you must needs know, that contradictions be impossible: for, of them if one part be true, the other is euer false: and that God should be false it is not possible. You must therefore either with Eutyches affirme the manhood of Christ to be changed from his former shape, partes, quantitie and circumscription: and consequently from his former substance: or else against religion and learning, reason and sense defende contradictions, that is truth and falshode to be possible both at one time; which is nothing but to make God a liar in his workes as you be in your words for maintaining that error.

Of contradictions one part is euer false: and all falshood impossible to God.

A lie in work is as bad as a lie in word, & as contrarie to the nature of God.

Phil. At diuers times, and in diuers respects contradictions may be true. Theo. There can be but one part true at one time: the other at the same instant is inuitably false: & as for your respects, since the properties of Christs bodie,

body, which we speak of, be absolute & inherent necessities no relations nor comparisons: you may kepe thē for some better mart: in this assertion they will doo you no seruice.

This is right Iesuiticall skill to say the bodie of Christ is and is not contained in a place.

Phil. What if we say the body of Christ in the sacrament, hath the same proportion of shape, extensiō of parts, and circumscription of place which it hath in heauen, how can you refell vs? Theop. Neuer take the paines to incur new contradictions: a shorter answere will serue you for all: and that is: say you beleeue, you cannot tell what. For otherwise men will thinke you madde, if you fall to these positions that Christ in the host * hath an humane shape, and yet the host, which coureth him, fully round: that he is there in the * iust length & breadth of a man, and yet exactly enclosed in euery crumme of the bread, & drappe of the wine, that he is * circumscribed with place, and yet contained in no place, that he * consisteth of skin, flesh and bones, and yet breaketh in shiuers, and is poured out like liquor: these with infinite other such outragious and enormous absurdities & contrarieties will declare rather the weakenes of your braines, than the maner of his presence. You shall do well therefore either to shew vs what father euer taught these things before you, or els keepe this confusion of all religion & learning for those that list to ieopard their soules vpon such iests: The Realme of England is not yet minded to admit these monsters into their creede.

* These be woorse than the poets chimers.

The best grounds you haue for these things are dreames & miracles of your owne making.

Phi. We teach not these things without good grounds, and such as the catholike fathers before vs embraced, and allowed. Theoph. If you follow their steps, then shewe vs their writings for that you affirme. Phil. Can we not thinke you? Theo. What you can do, I care not: you do not, I see. Phil. What one thing defende we, which we haue not their witnes and warrant for? Theo. You haue not one father for this whole question. Phil. Not for the reall presence? Theo. You may run on with some misconstructions of the fathers: which are as soone answered by vs, as obiected by you: but an euident testimonie for any of the parts which I haue proposed, you haue none. Phil. What parts?

* For none of these points haue the Ie-

Theo. Your head is wandring that you haue since forgotten * them. * That Christ spake not of the bread when he said, this is my body: or * that the sense of his words was litterall,

litterall, or that the substance of bread ceaseth after consecration, so as nothing remaineth of the former elements but accidentes: or * that the corporall eating with the mouth (of which the fathers speake) must be ment of the things themselues; and not of the signes called by those names & hauing those vertues after sanctification: or * that the materiall substance of Christs naturall body may be present in many places at one time: or * that it is no heresie to defende the body of Christ after his ascention may lack circumscription, extension or shape: For any of these bring vs but one sufficient and ancient authoritie, we will omit the rest, and admit your masse. suits so much as one ancient father.

Phil. Will you stand to that word? The. If you will vndertake the proofe. Phi. * I will. The. And what if you performe it not, will you bethink your selfe how lewdly you seduce the people of this land vnder a pretence of pietie, & resist the annointed of God vnder a colour of blind deuotion & zeale to your holy father the worker of all this wickednes though the founder of your two colledges? Phil. If I performe not that, I will do any thing: mary prouided alwais you shal not caull at the fathers works, when I cite them, & say they be forged. Theop. Prouided also, that you produce the fathers works themselues, & not the bare reports of your fellowes, that haue faithly conueied many things in the fathers names. Philan. You shall haue their owne works. Theop. Then keepe on your owne course. * You be good at vndertaking, but naught at performing.

Phil. The rest of the points, which you propose, I am alreadie past: onely transubstantiation, which you most impugne, I kept to the last to giue you the lift: but if I proue it so, as you shall not deny it, will you be as good as your promise, and become a catholike? Theo. A catholike if I were not, I would be with a good will, but not of your making. For if you cannot shew me one father that euer taught your transubstantiation, well you may * call your selues Catholikes and Christes owne fellows if you will: but all that be godly and wise, will take you for deceitfull, if not for desperate heretikes. But why spend you time with trifling thus? It were better your fathers were on foote, at least, if you haue them. It is ynough for the Iesuits to call themselues Catholikes, though they cannot shew one writer for a thousand yeeres that taught their transubstantiation.

Phil. Haue them? Such as shall amaze you when you heare them. Theo. Your braine is in. A sturdie preface doth

ill

ill become an hungry Dzatour. Phi. Marke the end. Theo. I would see the man, that I might marke him. Phil. S. Austen shalbe the * man. Theop. Was he a transubstantiator? Phil. Fairely, flatly, fully. Theop. So was the moone first made of greene cheese. Phil. You wil not beleeue him, till you heare him. Theoph. He is not long in comming: hath he not yet learned his lesson? or are you scant resolued whether it be he or not?

* Which will say neuer a word for your purpose.

This is cited out of S. Austen by Frier Walden *tomo 2. de sacramentis. cap. 83.* a diuine worke in D. Allens iudgement. *lib. 1. de Euch. sacr. pag. 344.* This forgerie with others was iudicially allowed by Pope martin the fift and his cardinals in their consistorie.

Phil. It is euen he: and these be his words, *Non dubitare debet aliquis, cum panis & vinum consecrantur in veram substantiam Christi: ita vt non remaneat substantia panis vel vini: cum multa alia etiam in operibus Dei non minus miranda videmus. Hominem enim substantialiter mutat Deus in lapidem, vt vxorē Loth: & in paruo artificio hominis fœnum & filicem in vitrum. Nec credendum est quod substantia panis vel vini remaneat: sed panis in corpus Christi: & vinum in sanguinem conuertitur, solummodo qualitatibus panis & vini remanentibus.* No man ought to doubt when bread and wine are consecrated into the true substance of Christ, so as the substance of bread and wine doth not remaine, whereas we see many things in the works of God no lesse maruelous *(than this)*. A man God changeth substantially into a stone, as Loths wife: and in the smal workmanship of man, hay and ferne into glasse. Neither must we beleeue that the substance of bread or wine remaineth, but the bread is turned into the body of Christ, & the wine into *(his)* bloud, the qualities *(or accidents)* of bread and wine only remaning. What say you to this checke, is it mate or no?

Theo. The words are sufficient, if the writer be ancient. Phil. Then are you gone: for the author is S. Augustine. Theop. He seemeth to haue been some glasse-maker, rather than S. Austen: for he saith the * working of glasse is as wonderfull a feate, as the turning of bread into Christes body. Phil. You would disgrace the writer: but he will not so be put out of countenance. Theop. I thinke he will not: for had he, or you, any shame left, he would haue blushed all this while to beare S. Austens name, which was none of his: and you would haue had some remorse to deceiue the world with such apparent and euident trecheries.

* This yoong Austen lacked not onlie learning and truth, but Latine and wit.

Philan. I thought where we should haue you. Now you cannot shift the words, you chalenge the place for a forgerie:

forgerie: but this is against the first prouiso, which I made with you. Theop. Then shew vs where you find it in his workes, for that was the second prouiso, which you agreed to. Phil. I assure my selfe these words are Saint Austens. Theop. Your assurance is not currant. Shew vs where, that we may find them. Phil. What if I haue not the booke in a readines? Theop. Name the place and it shall suffice. Phil. Perhaps it is * not printed. Theop. By whom then is it reported? Phil. By such as would not lie. Theop. By Walden the frier that wrate against Wicliffe? Phil. What if he were the reporter? Theop. Where had he it? Phil. In an old copy, written with an ancient and set hand. Theop. Which neuer no man saw besides himselfe. Phil. That you can not tell. Theop. Nor you: but where is that copy now? Phil. Why aske you me? out of S. Augustine he had it. Theop. Shew vs the booke, & beare the bell. Phil. He saith it. Theop. As though your frierly practises, and manifold forgeries vnder the fathers names were not too wel known to trust a Romish coniecturer vpon his bare word, in a matter of such importance.

* Had you not bene ashamed of your occupation, you would haue printed it.

Phil. In my conscience, he would not wilfully belie S. Augustine. Theop. Your conscience is no good consequence. In my knowledge there was no such doctrine taught in the Church, as these words import, whiles Saint Augustine liued, not fiue hundreth yeres after his death: but the contrary was earnestly maintained and auouched, as I haue proued by Gelasius, Theodoret, and others. And therefore either Walden must make it of his owne head, or ignorantly light on a patch of Anselmus, or some such late writer, vnder the name of S. Augustine, which was common in your abbeies, and is at this day confessed by your owne fellowes.

The words did so plainly betray themselues, that they haue since suppressed the booke for very shame.

Phil. If you thinke S. Augustine were mistaken: you shall haue in venerable Bede as plaine words for this point as in S. Augustine. Theop. And as plainly forged as S. Augustine was? Phil. Heare what he saith before you iudge. Theop. I am as ready to heare, as you to speake. Phil. His words are, * *Ibi forma panis videtur, vbi substantia panis non est.* There the forme of bread appeareth, where the substance of bread is not. Theop. These places hit your hands as pat as if your selues had framed them.

Bede likewise forged by Walden.

* *Citatur à Tho. Walden. tom. 2. vt supra cap. 82.*

Phil. You were best say this is forged. Theop. I need not. It saith so much of it selfe, except you can shew where it is written. Phil. In his * booke *de mysterijs missæ*. Theop. There be extant eight tomes of his workes: is it in any of them? Phil. It may be it is not. Theop. Did he euer write any such booke, as *de mysterijs missæ*? Phil. What else? Theop. Who saith so? Phil. This is alledged out of that booke. Theop. But if he neuer wrate any such booke, how can this be alleadged out of him?

He neuer wrate any such booke.

Phil. If he did not, you say something: but how proue you that he wrate no such booke? Theop. Nay you must proue he did. We hauing the catalogue of his labors witnessed by Trithemius and others of your owne friends: and eight tomes of his writings at this day extant: find no such booke named as Walden mentioneth. Phil. All this notwithstanding, he might write such a booke. Theoph. He might, is not enough: you must proue he did, before we acquite you of corruption. Phil. Walden repeateth those words as out of his booke. Theop. We had too late experience of Walden in S. Austen, to beleeue either him, or you.

The credit of both these places lieth onely on frier Walden, who liued foureteene hundreth yeeres after Christ, and neuer any man saw the bookes besides him. Why should not a man beleeue the legend, as well as frier Walden, the legend that being of more authoritie and antiquitie than the frier?

Phil. You will deny all things. Theop. You yet bring nothing, but that which is no where found in the fathers workes, if it be not lewdly forged in their names. Thinke you with such trumperie to try your selues Catholiks? Phil. We haue found and good records. Theop. Bring out those, for these be worse than rotten. A frier, foure-teene hundreth & thirty yeeres after Christ, to come with new places out of Austen and Bede, cleane contrary to the rest of their writings, and such as neuer any man alleadged before him, and neuer any man saw them after him, who but seducers would bleare the world, & blind themselues with such authorities? Phil. We did but alleadge them to sound what you would say. Theop. Then leaue them with shame, since you see what they are; and get you to other, if you haue any.

Phil. You would haue them ancient. Theop. Would you proue your selues Catholiks by men of your owne faction? Phi. If you count ỹ a faction, all the fathers were of our faction. Theop. You may some make them to any faction, if you follow frier Waldens fashion: but bring vs their

* From pope Hildebrand downeward,

their workes that we may iudge of their words, or else you striue in vaine. Phil. Hereafter I will. Theop. Then haue you a cold sute of this question. For of accidents without subiect, or abolishing the substance of bread, neuer father spake one word.

Phil. Yes: S. Chrysostome saith, [a] Doest thou see bread? Doest thou see wine? Do these things go to the draught as other meates do? Not so. Thinke not so. For as when waxe is put to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth, nothing redoundeth: so here also thinke thou the mysteries consumed with the substance of the (diuine) body. Heare you this Theophilus? Nothing of the former substance remaineth, but the same is consumed with the presence or substance of Christs body. Theop. I heare it well Philander, if you would take it right. When you put waxe into the fire, nothing, neither shew, nor substance remaineth: this is so true, that it will do you small good. Phil. Will it not? So it is in the mysteries, saith this father. Theop. You would haue it so. But Chrysostom saith, * so thinke, when thou commest to the mysteries. Phil. And should we thinke a falshood, when we approch to the mysteries? Theop. No: but pull both your harts and eies from the materiall elements, as not regarding them, and fixe your cogitations on the celestiall grace and vertue, that preuaileth and worketh in the mysteries.

Phil. He would haue vs thinke the mysteries to be consumed. Theop. If any reall mutation were to be concluded by this place, your holy formes and accidents of bread and wine must be packing, as well as the substance. For when waxe is thrown into the fire, what accidents can you set vs remaining? Do they not perish together with the substance? If you consult the schooles, they will tell you the accidents onely perish, the matter doth not. So that Chrysostoms similitude maketh litle for your conuersiō of substances without accidents, his illation certainly maketh lesse. Thinke, saith he, that the mysteries in like sort be consumed. The substance of bread, which you say is not, can no way be taken with you for the mysteries: but the shewes and formes of bread and wine by your opinion must be counted in this and all other places the sacred mysteries: & therefore if any mysteries be consumed,

[a] a number of proud and stately prelats haue bene of your faction.

[a] *Chrysost. sermo. 1. de Eucharist. in Encæniis.* Chrysostoms words examined.

* That is, thinke not on the elements, but lift vp the eies of thy mind aboue them, as if they were consumed.

Accidents must be consumed as wel as substance, by Chrysostoms similitude.

That which is not is no mysterie: and Chrysostom saith the mysteries are consumed.

your accidents can neuer scape the brunt of these words: howbeit Chrysostomes true meaning was not to turne the bread and wine from their former qualities or substances, but the communicants from all vnworthy and earthly cogitations of the mysticall elements: and to stir them rather to marke in this sacrament the woonderfull power and effects of Gods spirit and grace, than the base condition and naturall digestion of bread and wine.

Phil. Would S. Chrysostom haue vs thinke the mysteries to be consumed, vnlesse in deed they were consumed? Theop. His directing our cogitations for religion and reuerence rather to the inward force, than outward appearance of the mysteries, doth not change the sensible qualities of bread and wine, whereof he spake, much lesse the substance alone, whereof he spake not: but draweth the receiuers frō that which their eies behold, to that, which by faith they beleeue to the secreter and diuiner part of the sacrament, not abolishing the one, but preferring the other, as more worthy to be considered and desired by the communers to the Lords table. And in this sense he willeth the people not to thinke that the priest is a man in the very next words that follow without line or letter betwixt.

The end of Chrysostoms admonition and instruction.

a Wherefore approching (to the Lords table) do not thinke that you receiue the diuine body at the hands of a man, but that you take a fierie coale by the Seraphims toongs, which Esay saw in his vision.

a *Chrysost. in Encæniis serm. 1. de Euchar.*

Chrysostom would haue the communicants think the priest is no man, and the sacramēt is a fiery cole.

Can this be Chrysostoms meaning, that in act and very deed the priest is changed into a Seraphim, his hand into a paire of toongs, the body of Christ into a coale of fire? Except you be past your fiue wits, you will say no: yet Chrysostom in the same place perswadeth the communicants so to thinke as he did before that the mysteries were consumed by the substance or presence of Christes body.

It is wilfulnes to vnderstand one part of this sentence, and to peruert the other.

Then if the later words infer no such change, why should the former? If you be not so foolish as to mistake the second part of this sentence, why be you so wilfull as to peruert the first, vttered at the same time, to the same purpose, with the very same phrase of speech? Chrysostoms intent is no more to transubstantiate the bread, than the priest, or the body of Christ: but with behement amplifications (as his manner is) he perswadeth the people to come

come to the Lords table with no lesse reuerence than if they were to receiue a fierie cole (as Esay did in his vision) from one of the glorious Seraphims. And to this end also doth he kindle them what he can, not to be basely minded and affected toward the mysteries, as if they were only bread and wine, in that sort to passe through the bellie with other meats, but to prepare their harts, and lift them vp to God, as they promised to do when the priest said, lift vp your minds and harts: and they made answer, we lift them vp vnto the Lord. These words therefore force no reall mutation in the things receiued, but lead the receiuers from thinking on the weake creatures, which they see, to the mighty power of Gods grace, which they see not: and this is done with religious consideration, not with any monsterous transubstantiation or annihilation of the sacred mysteries. *Ibidem.* The right construction of Chrysostoms words.

Phil. S. Cyril of Jerusalem saith: [a] Know you for a surety that this bread which is seene of vs, is not bread, though the tast find it to be bread, but the body of Christ. And so Theophilact, [b] It appeareth to be bread, but it is flesh. [a] *Cyril. catech. mystagogica. 4.* [b] *Theophil. in 26. Matth.*

Theop. The first authors of this speech were late writers, as Theophilact, or lately set forth by your fellowes not without great suspition, as Cyrill of Jerusalem: and the speech it selfe doth somewhat vary from the stile both of the scriptures & fathers which acknowledge this mystery to be bread and wine. [c] The bread, which we breake, saith Paul, is it not the communion of Christs bodie? We all are partakers of one bread. [d] As often as you eat of this bread and drinke of this cup, you shew the Lords death til he come. Let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eat of this bread and drinke of this cup. And our sauior in the gospell speaking of the cup: [e] I will not drinke hencefoorth of this fruit of the vine. Tertullian, [f] Christ hath not, euen at this day reiected the water of the creator, by which he doth wash his, nor the bread, by the which he doth represent his very body. Clemens Alexandrinus, [g] This is my blood, euen the bloud of the grape. Cyprian, [h] We find it was wine, which the Lord called his bloud. The Lord called his bodie, bread kneaded together of many cornes, and his bloud, wine pressed out of many clusters of grapes. Origen, ([i] The Lords bread) according to the materiall (parts) thereof goeth into the belly and so That the sacrament is no bread: is a new kind of speech though not much materiall for the Iesuits. [c] 1. Cor. 10. [d] 1. Cor. 11. [e] Matth. 26. [f] *Tertul. lib. 1. contra Marcionem.* [g] *Clemens Alexand. lib. 2. cap. 2. pedagog.* [h] *Cypr. lib. 2. epist. 3.* [i] *Origen. in 15. Matth.*

so foorth by the draught. Augustine, [a] As the men of God before vs did expound this, the Lord commended his body and bloud in those things which are made one of many. For the first is kneaded of many cornes into one (lumpe:) the other is presſed of many clusters into one (liquor.) That then which you saw, is bread; which also your eies can tell you. Cyrill of Alexandria, [b] To the beleeuing disciples Christ gaue peeces of bread, saying; take, eat, this is my body. Hesychius, (He meaneth) [c] that mysterie, which is both bread and flesh. The phrase it selfe therefore (it is not bread) sauoreth of later ages & writers: and crosseth that course of speech which both scriptures and fathers obserued: and yet if you suffer them to declare their owne minds, they may soone be reconciled to the rest.

a *August. tract. in Ioan. 26.* The elder fathers affirme the sacramẽt to be bread.

b *Cyril. in Ioan. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

c *Hesych. in Leuit. cap. 8. lib. 12.*

Theophilact *expressing the same point in other words, saith: [d] *Speciem quidem panis & vini seruat, in virtutem autem carnis & sanguinis transelementat.* (Christ) keepeth the shape (or kind) of bread & wine, but changeth them into the vertue of his body and bloud. Cyrill openeth his owne saying more at large, [e] The bread of the Eucharist after the inuocation of the holy Ghost, is now no more common bread, but the body of Christ. [f] In the new law, the heauenly bread and cup of saluation sanctifie both soule and bodie. As the bread serueth for the bodie, so doth the word for the soule. Thinke not therefore (of the sacrament) as of bare bread and bare wine, it is the bodie and bloud of Christ according to the Lords owne words. And although sense tell thee this (that is bare bread and wine) yet let faith confirme thee, neither iudge them by tast, but rather by faith assure thy selfe without all doubt that the bodie and bloud (of Christ) are giuen vnto thee. This assertion, we grant, is right and good; and this intent had he, when he said, The bread which is seene is no bread, meaning no common, no bare bread.

*What they meane that say it is no bread, *

d *Theophil. in Marc. cap. 14.*

e *Cyril. catech. mystagogica. 3.*

f *Idem Catech. mystagogica. 4.*

No bread: that is, no bare & common bread.

In which assertion other ancient fathers concur with him. Iustinus, [g] We receiue not these things as a common & vsuall bread, or accustomed drinke, but we be taught, that the food blessed by praier of the word receiued from him, is the flesh & bloud of that Iesus which tooke flesh (for our sakes.) Irenæus, [h] The bread hauing the inuocation of God is now no common bread, but an Eucharist (or thankesgiuing) consisting

g *Iust. Apol. 2.*

h *Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.*

consisting of two things, a terrestriall and celestiall. So Ambrose, [a] (The sacrament) is not that which nature hath framed: but that which blessing hath halowed. They do not avouch the sacrament to be simply no bread; they teach it to be no naturall nor vsuall bread, because the vertue, power and force of Christs flesh is vnited to it and receiued with it, though to sight and tast it keepe the shew of nothing else but bread.

[a] *Ambros. de iis qui mysterijs initiantur. cap. 9.*

Phil. What is *Species panis* which the fathers speake of, but the vtter appearance of bread, when the substance is altered? Theop. Doth *Species* signifie a shape without substance? Phil. It signifieth the shape, and not the substance. Theop. Euerie creature hath his substance ioined with his sensible shape and forme: and therefore though the one do not signifie the other: yet the one inferreth the other by the verie necessitie of nature: neither hath God giuen vs any perfecter triall of substance than by sight and sense: which is sure enough, because shewes without substance are no creatures.

Species panis is not taken for the qualities of the bread without the substance. We haue no triall of substance, but by sense.

Phil. But this in the sacrament is miraculous: and that is the reason, why *Species* in the fathers doth signifie a shew without substance; or as our schooles rather like to say for perspicuities sake: accidents without a subiect. Theophil. Your schooles were perspicuous, as the land of Aegypt was lightsome, when it was couered with palpable darkenesse: but where doth any father speaking of the sacrament, take *Species* for a shew without substance? Phil. That is euerie where the meaning of the word, when they applie it to the sacrament. Theoph. How proue you that? Phil. It needeth no proofe: the verie word doth so signifie. Theoph. The word, *Species*, doth no more exclude the substance of bread and wine in the sacrament: than *Species humana*, the shew, shape, and forme of a man, which you haue, doth take from you the substance and truth of mans nature. Which if you thinke it doth, loke what answer you will make to him that shall aske what lieth vnder the shape of a man in you: it must be the substance of a man, or some worse thing. And if you can keepe both the shape and substance of man; why may not the bread and wine do the like for all the word *Species*, which is verified of men

Species doth rather import than exclude the substance of these and all other creatures.

 Species doth not signifie shewes without substance.

and other creatures as well as of the bread and wine in the mysteries?

The comparison is liker than you are ware of.

Phi. The comparison is not like. For the bread is changed and so am not I. Theop. Do you not often change both the inward and outward man, I meane the state of body and soule? Phil. I change as others do. Theop. You can be no Christian; if you be not changed from the state in which you were borne. You were borne the child of Gods wrath, and seruant of sinne: if you be renewed and freed from that, then are you wholy changed. Phil. This is no * substantiall change, such as we affirme to be in the bread. Theop. If you would proue that which you affirme, you might happen to conclude that, which now you can not. Phil. That is soone proued. Theop. I maruell then you stay long, before you do it: and faint so often when you begin it. You auouch that the word *Species* in the fathers signifieth pour shewes without substance, and accidents without subiect: and when the very shew of men, which you beare about you, conuinceth that follie: you presume a substantiall change to be in the bread to help forth the vse of the word, which you imagine against all learning and reason, was their meaning.

* No more is that in the bread any substantiall change.

The word *Species* taken for euident truth.

For the word *Species*, though it be diuersly vsed among the fathers and often iterated in this matter of the sacrament: yet shall you neuer bring vs any one place, where it is taken for a shew without substance: and therefore by that word you can hardly inferre the bread to be changed in substance, and nothing to be left besides the accidents. S. Ambrose saith it importeth as much, as an euident sight and truth. [a] *Speciem pro veritate accipiendam legimus. Speciem inuentus vt homo.* We read this word *Species* to be taken for the verie truth (of a thing.) As Christ was found (not in shew, but) in truth like a man. And of the Lords cup, [b] Perhaps thou wilt say, *Speciem sanguinis non video, sed habet similitudinem.* I see not the truth of bloud, but it hath the resemblance. Which obiection Ambrose repeateth shortly after in these words, [c] *Similitudinem video, non video sanguinis veritatem.* I see the resemblance, I see not the truth of bloud. Where note that *Species* is not onely contrarie to the onely likenesse & appearance of any thing, but equiualent with the truth and nature of euery thing. Then are shewes without

[a] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur mysteriis. cap. 4.*

[b] *Idem de sacramentis. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

[c] *Lib. 6. cap. 1.*

without substance your fansies without iudgement: you neuer receiued anie such doctrine from the Catholike Fathers, your selues haue deuised it of late, since barbarisme preuailed in your schooles, and Antichrist was exalted in your Churches.

Phil. So *species* is now and then vsed: but doth that infer that this is the generall signification of the word wheresoeuer we find it? Theop. This sufficeth to exclude your shewes without substance, vnlesse you can bring some better inforcement than the verie word: which you cannot. And yet S. Ambrose giueth an other vse of the word, (and that treating of the Sacraments) which vterlie subuerteth your accidentall shewes. [a] *Creaturæ non poteſt eſſe veritas, ſed ſpecies, quæ facile ſoluitur atque mutatur.* No creature can be (said to be) a truth, but a shew or appearance, which is soone dissolued and abolished. In this sense *species* is all one with anie creature or substance, which soone decaieth, as euerie mortall thing doth: and the learned Fathers writing of the Sacrament continuallie vse the word to signifie the nature and kind of euerie creature, and not the naked shewes or accidents.

Species is the substance & kind of anie creature.

[a] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur myſteriis. ca. 4.*

S. Ambrose, [b] *Ante benedictionem alia ſpecies nominatur:* before it be blessed, it is called an other (not shew but) kind. [c] *Granior eſt ferri ſpecies, quam aquarum liquor.* The kind (or nature) of iron (not the shew of iron) is weightier than the liquor of water. [d] If the word of Elias were able to set fire from heauen, *non valebit Chriſti ſermo vt ſpecies mutet elementorum:* shall not the word of Christ be of strength to change the kinds (not the shapes) of these elements? So doth Augustine likewise. [e] *Non ſic habendam eſſe ſpeciem benedictione conſecratam quemadmodum habetur in vſu quolibet:* the kind (or element) consecrated with blessing, must not be so reckoned of, as it is in common vse. [f] *Idem cibus illorum qui & noſter, ſed ſignificatione idem, non ſpecie:* the (Fathers of the old Testament) had the same food which we haue: but the same in signification, not in (externall) kind: [g] *Aliud illi, aliud nos, ſed ſpecie viſibili:* they (dranke) one thing, we (drinke) an other thing, but in visible kind: [h] *Ibi Petra Chriſtus: nobis Chriſtus, quod in altari Dei ponitur. Si ſpeciem viſibilem intendas, aliud eſt.* To them the rock was Christ: to vs that is Christ which

[b] *Ambr. de iis qui initiantur myſteriis. ca. 9.*
[c] *Ibidem.*
[d] *Ibidem.*
[e] *Auguſt. de catechizandis rudibus ca. 26.*
[f] *Idem in Pſal. 77.*
[g] *Idem tract. 26. in Iohan.*
[h] *Idē in tract. 45. in Iohan.*

The fourth part. *Species* doth not signifie shewes without substance. which is set on the altar of God. If you looke to the visible kind, it is an other thing (than that they dranke.)

Species is nothing lesse with the ancient Fathers, than a shew without substance.

In these places you can not interpret *species*, a shew without substance, vnlesse you will transubstantiate Manna which the children of Israel did eate, the rocke which they dranke of, the hatchet which Elizeus made swim, the bread that is in common vse without and before consecration: for these things Augustine and Ambrose (comparing them with this Sacrament) do call *visibiles species*, visible kinds, as they do the bread and wine proposed to the faithfull at the Lords table.

And were you so peruerse, that against the meaning of the Fathers, and signification of the word, you would needs haue *species* to be taken for your miraculous and mysticall accidents, I can tell you they are like to shrinke in this change as well as the substance. For Ambrose saith,[a] *Sermo Christi mutat species, elementorum,* the word of Christ changeth (by your interpretation) the shewes of the elements: which is so apparently false, that your selues dare not abide it: And therefore *species* must stand, not for the outward formes and shewes, but for the things themselues. As Saint Augustine speaking of the sacramentall bread, saith:[b] *Vt sit visibilis species panis, multa grana in vnum conspergunntur.* Manie cornes are kneaded together to make (not the shew, but) the visible kind (or creature) of bread. By which it is euident that *species* with ancient writers in their discourses of this Sacrament, is not a shew without a substance, as you vainelie suppose, but a kind or creature, which is far from accidents hanging in the aire, you know not how, by miraculous geometrie.

[a] *Ambro. de iis qui initiantur mysteriis. cap. 9.*

[b] *Aug. sermo. ad infantes. Citatur à Beda 1. Cor. cap. 11.*

Phil. We ground not our selues so much on the bare name of *species*, as on the change of the bread and wine, made by vertue of consecration: as all the * Fathers witnesse. Theop. It is a verie simple foundation to build on a bare word, which hath manie significations besides that, and anie signification, rather than that, which you conceiue: and yet that is one of the best foundations you haue for your new found shewes without substance; and as for the change of the sacred elements made by the words of Christ, and mentioned in the Fathers:

* A change of the elements they confesse, but not yours.

if

if you did not byge your fancies on their phrases, but examine their doctrine, you should soone spie your error: which now you will not, you be so wedded to the prejudice of your owne opinion.

Phil. Do not all the Fathers with one voice confesse a change to be made in the elements by the words of consecration? Theoph. Do not we acknowledge the same? How could vsuall bread taken of the fruites of the earth, and seruing only to feede the bodie, become a Sacrament and instrument of heauenlie grace and life, to quicken and strengthen the soule of man, but by some great and marueilous change? Phil. Such as none could perfourme, but the mightie finger of God himselfe. For so S. Ambrose and others to perswade this chaunge, haue recourse to Christes eternall power and truth. Theoph. Yea verilie. Phil. That confession is sufficient to confute the doctrine which you defend. Theop. I see not how.

The change in the elements is indeed wonderfull.

Phil. If the bread were not changed from his former substance, it could neither be miraculous, nor need the omnipotent power of Christ. For figures and similitudes men may make: but this mutation is wrought by the mightie power of the holie Ghost: and the manner is vnsearchable. Theop. Greater power and truth are required for the finishing of one Sacrament, than for the working of manie miracles. Miracles not onlie the godlie, but also the wicked haue diuers times wrought. The Sorcerers of Egypt did some wonders. Antichrist hath his miracles, and those not a few: But Sacraments, no Saint, no not the chosen and elect Angels of heauen can institute. For who dare promise, who can perfourme the spirituall and celestiall graces of God to be annexed to the visible signes, but only God? How could water regenerate the soule, if the word were not God? How could bread and wine nourish to life euerlasting, vnlesse the same God had likewise spoken the word?

One sacrament in his effect and force is more miraculous than manie corporal and sensible wonders.

We must in all sacraments be fully persuaded of Christs infallible truth, & al-sufficient power, before we can either beleeue, or enioie his promises. If his word might lack truth or want power, then should our faith vanish, and these outward elements perish without profiting vs: but with

Christs eternall power & truth is required for the working of euerie sacrament.

with him is no changing, neither can anie thing defeate his will: and therefore when we be taught to looke not on the weakenes of the creatures which be corruptible, but on the perfection of his heauenlie word, which is puissant and predominant ouer all things, what doth this helpe your reall and corporall conuersion of bread into Christ? What maketh this for Transubstantiation? God is wonderfull in this and all other his sacraments, not by casting awaie substances, and leauing accidents, but by working that in our hearts by the mightie power of his spirit aboue nature, which the visible signes import to our senses: and this is more marueilous in anie wise manner, than your accidentall shewes without a subiect.

God is marueilous in his sacraments without trãsubstantiation.

Phil. God is marueilous in all his works: but in this more than in anie other: because the substance of the bread and wine is changed, where the qualities are not. Theop. That change you dreame of; but who auoucheth it besides your selues? Or what ancient father euer mentioned anie such? Phil. They all confesse the change which we speake of. Theoph. You be so deepe in your emptie shewes, that we take your all to be as much as none. Phil. Thinke you, as you list: we know what we haue. Theop. If your woare be so great, why make you such curtsie to name vs one? Phil. You will quarell with him, when I bring him. Theo. Your selfe mistrust him, before you offer him. Phil. I mistrust your carping, not his writing. Theop. If mine answere be not sound, wherefore serue you but to refute it.

No father auoucheth the substãce of bread and wine to be changed.

Phil. Well then, Eusebius Emissenus hath an euident testimonie for this matter. *Recedat omne infidelitatis ambiguum, quandoquidem qui author est muneris, ipse est etiam testis veritatis. Nam inuisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis & sanguinis sui verbo secreta potestate conuertit, ita dicens, Accipite & comedite; hoc est corpus meum. Et sanctificatione repetita, accipite & bibite, ait. Hic est sanguis meus. Ergo sicut ad nutum præcipientis Domini repente & ex nihilo subsliterunt excelsa cælorum, profunda fluctuum, vasta terrarum: ita pari potestate in spiritualibus Sacramentis, vbi præcipit virtus, seruit effectus.* Let all doubt of infidelitie depart, because he that is the author of the gift, is also the witnes of the truth. For the inuisible priest turned the visible creatures into the substance of his bodie and blood with his word

De consd. dist. 2. ¶ quia corpus.

This sermon is forged in Eusebius Emissenus name.

word (and) secret power, saying, take, eat, this is my body: & repeating the sanctification, he said, take & drinke; this is my blood. Therefore as at the Lords becke commanding, the high heauens, the deepe waters, the wide earth were made on the sudden of nothing: so with like force in the spirituall sacraments, when (his) power commandeth, the effect followeth. These words be plaine enough, if either truth or authoritie can content you. Theop. Either shall content me, if I may be sure of either. Phil. Here you find both.

Theo. Who wrate this sermon which you cite? Phil. Eusebius Emissenus. Theop. When liued he? Phil. Why do you aske? Theop. Reason we know his age before we receiue his testimonie. Phil. His age I can tell you is as ancient as his doctrine. Theop. I thinke both of one antiquitie. For neither the man, nor the matter were knowne in the Church of Christ for 900. yeares and vpward. Phil. How you be deceiued? S. Hierome maketh mention of Eusebius Emissenus, that * wrate short homilies vpon the gospels somewhat before his time. Theop. And that made your fellowes to put his name to certaine Latine homilies, that were none of his: and to beare men in hand he was a Frenchman: but when he liued they can not tell. Phil. Yes, S. Hierom saith he died vnder Constantius, more than twelue hundred yeares ago.

If his age be not knowne, how can his authoritie be esteemed?

**Hier. de scriptoribus eccles. in Euseb. Emisseno.*

Theop. Eusebius Emissenus then wrate and then died: but who wrate these Latine homilies that were extant in his name? Phil. Himselfe. Theop. What countriman was he? Phil. I thinke a Frenchman. Theop. So Canisius both your collegue, and the compiler of your huge chaos or catechisme, saith: marie when he liued, that he could not tell: and therfore of his owne authoritie placeth him 200. yeares after S. Hierom with a perchance, least if we should aske him for his proofe, he might be taken with a lie. His words are, *Eusebius Emissenus Gallus, cuius habentur homiliæ, hoc fortè tempore claruit*, Eusebius Emissenus of Fraunce, whose homilies we haue extant, * perhaps liued at this time: that is, 500. yeares after Christ. Phil. And so it may be. Theop. But this is not he, that S. Hierom speaketh of. For he died vnder Constantius; whose raigne and life ended 343. after Christ.

The Iesuits say he was a Frenchman.

*Canisij Chronologia in 500

*Perhaps, is as much as you can not tell when.

Phil. The elder he was, the better his credit for this question.

Emesenus is bishop of Emesa in Syria

question. Theop. But the worst is, that Eusebius Emissenus was a bishop in Syria, and wrate in Greeke: and therefore to assigne him Latine homilies, and to suppose him to be a Frenchman, was a very grosse corruption, and such as children will deride. Phil. Might there not be an other of that name? Theop. Yes in that place, but in France there could be none. Phil. Why not? Theop. Because Emissenus doth signifie bishop of Emesa in Syria, where this Eusebius liued, and as S. Hierom writeth, was buried at Antioch, the chiefe Metropolis of Syria.

Gratian hath put Emissenus for Emesenus by negligence or wilfulnesse, choose you whether.

Phil. But this is Eusebius Emissenus, which Gratian alleadgeth. Theop. It is not the first word by fiue hundred, that Gratian hath altered. For Eusebius Emesenus, Saint Hieromes certificat is very good: for Eusebius Emissenus the first record that we find is in Gratian: where by the very stile, periods, cæsures, members and agnominations you may perceiue him to be a Latinist, and as Canisius addeth, a Frenchman. Now in what age he liued, & in what place he preached, we require some proofe before we can or will admit these things to be his, which you haue forged in his name. Emissenus must be a derivative from some place: shew any such place in Europe, & then you say somwhat for ꝑ likelihood, thought not enough for the certainty of this writer. Phil. What if we can not? Theo. Then he that hath but halfe an eie, may soone discern this treachery.

No such place in all Europe as whence Emissenus should be deriued. This was a common practise with the friers in the fathers works.

Your monks and friers seeking to colour their fained holines, & late sprong faith with the reuerend titles of ancient fathers, prefixed ꝑ names of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierom, Cyprian, Isidore, & others, before diuers of their owne deuises: thereby prouiding in time to come to strengthen their kingdom of blindnes & error: & finding in S. Herom Eusebius Emesenus to be an old writer, gaue him a new liuerie with ꝑ rest, & ascribed certain latin homilies such as they had vnto him: whom themselues, or Gratian that first lighted on this old new writer corruptlie called Eusebius Emissenus. And because the forgerie did hardly hang together, ꝑ right Eusebius being a Grecian & of great antiquitie, Canisius the generall Atturnie for your religion, hath deuised two more of that name: one a frenchman, that perchance, he saith, flourished in ꝑ fift Centurie, & another that * wrate after Gregory the great, & expounded the Gospels:

* *Canisij Chronologia in an. dom.* 500.

but

Walden giueth the writer of this homilie three names. *The fourth part.* but when either of them liued, or where they taught, neither he nor you can bring vs any proofe besides your bare and vaine suppofals.

Phil. Will you not trust the inscription of the worke it selfe? Theop. That were the way to let euery frier and forger, create newe fathers at his pleasure. It is as easie for them that copie out other mens workes, to make false as true inscriptions, and so haue your monkes plaied with euery father that was ancient, as the most partiall of your owne side do confesse, and in this is too apparent. For how many mens names thinke you, did this homilie beare, which you alleadge, not yet two hundreth yeeres ago? Phil. What can I tell? Theop. Then I can. Looke in Walden, & in one chapter you shall find this very sermon beare three mens names. Phil. Is that possible? Theo. The lesse possible the thing: the more palpable your forging.

Nothing is more easie than to giue a false inscription to anie booke.

In the 67 chapter, his aduersarie alleaged the words, which you bring out of Isidore, in his sermon beginning with *Magnitudo cæleſtium.* That Walden doth not much impugne, but very often so calleth him: and yet at length remembring himselfe, he or some man for him, yeeldeth to the decrees, and calleth that writer Eusebius Emisenus by Gratians authoritie: marie with a ſingle ſ: where now a double is gotten both into the word, and into Gratian: and yet in the 68 chapter, forgetting what he him selfe or others for him had done, he citeth an other part of the same sermon vnder Anselmus name: *Ratificat eandem comparationem in ſermone ſæpe dicto, qui incipit Magnitudo cæleſtium, Anſelmus dicens:* This comparison Anselmus doth ratifie in his sermon often spoken of, which beginneth *Magnitudo cæleſtium:* though afterward in the same chapter he returne againe to his former staggering, and call the writer of your words Isidore or rather Eusebius.

Tomo. 2. de ſacramentis. Walden citeth a peece of this sermon vnder Anselmus name before he was ware.

Walden tomo. 2. de ſacramentis. cap. 68.

Phil. Let him be Isidore, or Eusebius, we *care not whether. Theop. Since the sermon is not his, whose name it beareth, we may not suffer you to choppe names as you list: neither neede we so much as regard the words, before we know the author: lest we reuerence lewd and late friers vnder the names of ancient and learned fathers.

*You must care for the author before you cite him as a witnes in religion.

Phil. Whatsoeuer he was, ancient he was, and taught the same doctrine, without all question, which we do.

Theop.

Theop. His antiquitie you know not, and his doctrine you vnderstand not. For though we like not your shuffling and exchanging of names with the fathers, and broaching your fancies and heresies vnder their titles: yet the whole sermon we can and do admit, as hauing nothing either dissident from true antiquitie or repugnant to that which we teach.

Phil. Will you say that doctrine of his is not repugnant to yours? Theop. Why should I not? Phil. Will you confesse that the visible creatures are* turned into the substance of Christs flesh by the secret power of his word? Theop. His words I say, make nothing for your abolishing the substance of bread and wine, and leauing the accidents. Phil. He saith, the visible creatures are turned into the substance of Christs body and blood. Theo. But he saith not, the substance of the visible creatures is turned into the substance of Christ flesh. Phil. * How can one creature be turned into the substance of an other, but by loosing his former substance? Theop. In natural mutations it is so; but this is nothing lesse than naturall. Phil. It is diuine and supernaturall. Theop. And so is it likewise spirituall and mysticall: not really changing the matter and substance of the elements, but casting grace vnto nature.

*They are, but by no material or corporall change.

*How are we made flesh of Christs flesh and bones of his bones, & yet keep our earthly substance?

Phil. May he saith the substance of the natures is changed. Theop. Where saith he so? Phil. He saith which is all one, that the visible creatures are changed into the substance of Christs body. Theop. But by no material nor corporall chang. Phil. How can the creatures be turned into Christs substance, but by a materiall & corporall change? Theop. That is your error, not your authors addition.

Phil. It is not possible to be otherwise. Theop. What if your owne writer in this very case and place reproue you for a liar? Phil. That *earthly creatures should be turned into Christs substance, without a materiall & substantiall change? Neuer say it: it cannot be. Theop. Will you looke but two lines farther, and you shall see this great impossibilitie anouched by your owne author. *Quomodo tibi nouum & impossibile esse non debeat, quod in Christi substantiam terrena & mortalia conuertuntur, te ipsum, qui in Christo es regeneratus, interroga.* How this to thee should neither be strange nor impossible, that mortall & earthly creatures are turned into

Yea forsooth the next words will tell you so much.

De cons. dist. 2. ¶ quia corpus.

Christs

Christ substance, aske thy selfe which art regenerated in Christ. Sometimes since thou wast far from life, excluded mercie, and banished from the path of saluation as bewardlie dead, and suddenlie initiated by the lawes of ist, and renued by the healthfull mysteries, thou didst e into the bodie of the Church, not by sight but by faith, thou which wert the sonne of perdition, obtainedst to be made the adopted child of God by a secret puritie: remaining in the same visible measure, thou grewest inuisiblie without increase of quantitie: and being thy selfe and the verie same, that thou wast (before) in processe of faith thou becamest another: in the outward (man) nothing was added, and all changed in the inward: Taking this spirituall and immateriall change of euerie Christian in baptisme, to shew in what sort, and how he ment that mortall & earthly creatures by consecration are conuerted into the substãce of Christ: which is far from a corporall and substantiall change, such as you would vrge by pretence of his words in the creatures of bread and wine. Phil. This construction can not stand: that creatures should be turned into an other substance, and yet remaine in their owne and former substance: for then how are they changed? Theop. In your physicall cõceits it cannot: but if you consult those fathers that were the first introducers of this speech, you shal find it may. Gelasius ioineth them both together in one sentence, the one to expound the other. *In diuinam transeunt spiritu sancto perficiente substantiam, permanent tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ.* (The sacraměts of the bodie and blood of Christ) passe into a diuine substance by the working of the holie Ghost: and yet remaine in the proprietie of their owne nature. And lest you should cauill that they kept their former qualities and not their substance, in expresse words he saith, *& tamen non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis & vini:* and yet (for all they passe into a diuine substance) the (former) substance or nature of bread and wine ceaseth not, nor is abolished, no more than the manhood of Christ was changed from his former substance, when after his ascension it was replenished with diuine glorie.

How mortall creatures may be turned into Christs substance.

Such a chãge is in the sacred elemẽts by your authors owne confession.

A thing may be changed, and yet keep his former substance.

Gelasius contra Eutich.

Phil. You frustrate the sayings of the fathers with your comparisons. Theop. They be their owne comparisons and principall intentions in those places where they

A man may soone rack a word to any

purpose, if he respect not the intent and concurrents.

speake these wordes: and therefore if you will rack one to your length, and not respect the other, you may one force some phrases to feed your fancies. But this is not the safest way for you to walk in matters of faith: nor the righteſt course for you to take to come by their meaning. You must looke how far they preſſe their own wordes, and what they would conclude, not what you liſt to conceiue, or imagin of their ſpeeches. Howſoeuer they mention a change of the bread into the diuine eſſence & ſubſtance, no father auoucheth any corporall, materiall, or ſubſtantiall change of the elemēts into the bodie & blood of Chriſt: but a ſpirituall, myſticall and effectuall annexing and uniting the one to the other, either part retaining the truth of his former and proper nature and ſubſtance.

This is apparent by thoſe verie places and ſentences, which you bring to proue a change: the fathers teach not the one without the other, as you ſaw for example in Geläſius and your Euſebius: and ſo in Cyprian: *Panis iſte, quem dominus diſcipulis porrigebat, non effigie ſed natura mutatus omnipotentia verbi factus eſt caro:* This bread which the Lord gaue to his diſciples, changed not in ſhape, but in nature by the omnipotencie of the word is made fleſh: and leſt you ſhould dreame of anie materiall or ſubſtantiall change, as your maner is, the verie next wordes in the ſame ſentence, are: *Et ſicut in perſona Chriſti humanitas videbatur, & latebat diuinitas: ita ſacramento viſibili, ineffabiliter diuina ſe infundit eſſentia:* and as in the perſon of Chriſt, his humanitie was ſeene, his diuinitie was hid & ſecret: ſo in the viſible ſacrament the diuine eſſence doth infuſe it ſelfe, after an vnſpeakeable manner.

Cypr. de cœna Domini.

Cypr. Ibidem.

Two ſubſtances in the ſacrament as there were in Chriſt.

Phil. Did you bring this place for vs or againſt vs? you could not haue lighted on a fitter for our purpoſe, if you ſhould haue ſought theſe ſeuen yeeres. Theo. I know it is one of your beſt authorities, as you make your account: and yet it is no waie preiudiciall to vs, if you ſuffer the father him-ſelfe to tell out his own tale: and be content to heare as well the ending as the entring of it. He ſaith the bread is changed: in nature; into the fleſh of Chriſt; by the almightie power of the word, expreſſing in what, into what, and by what the bread is changed: no parts you cannot make. Phil. We need not. Theop. And yet all theſe notwithſtanding he meaneth no materiall nor corporall

This is one of their ſureſt places.

change

change of the bread or wine, but that, as in the person of Christ there were two distinct and perfect substances vnited and ioined, the one his manhood that was seene, the other his godhead that was hid: euen so to the visible sacrament persisting in his former substance, doth the diuine essence infund it selfe after a secret and vnsearchable manner, * prouuing the presence of an heauenlie vertue to be there by the inuisible efficience.

Virtutis diuinæ inuisibili efficientia probans adesse præsentiam. Cypr. de cæna Domini. Theod. dial. 1.

Phil. If you will haue the bread keepe his proper and perfect both nature and substance, what change is there made in the bread? Theop. This change is not the casting awaie of anie thing, that was in the bread, either nature or substance; but the casting vnto it of an heauenlie and inuisible grace: and so Theodoret expresseth the mutation that is in this sacrament. *Non naturam ipsam transmutans sed naturæ adijciens gratiam.* Not changing (or casting awaie) nature it selfe, but adding grace vnto nature. And that is S. Ambrose his meaning when he saith, *Sunt quæ erant, & in aliud commutantur.* (The bread and wine) are the verie same that they were (*both in nature and substance) and are changed into an other thing.

Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4.

* And so Bertram 700. yeeres ago did expound these words of S. Ambrose

Phil. How can this be that they should be changed, and yet continue the same: but as we expound it, that in substance they be changed, and yet in shew continue as they were before? Theop. This is your fansie we know: but the learned fathers by their change meane no such thing: they teach not anie detraction or diminution of that which was, but an adiection and apposition of that which was not. And therfore they witnes both: as well the permanence of the elements in their former nature, as their change into an other. Chrysostom said as you heard before. The bread (sanctified) is counted worthie to be called the Lords bodie, *etsi natura panis in ipso permansit:* though the nature of bread remaine there still: and Theodoret, *Neque enim signa illa mystica post sanctificationem recedunt à sua natura,* those mysticall signes do not by consecration depart from their nature. And Gelasius: *Non tamen desinit esse substantia vel natura panis & vini:* and yet the substãce or nature of bread and wine doth not cease (or perish.) And to this verie sacrament S. Austen applieth this rule: *Omnis res naturam & veritatem illarum rerum in se continet: ex quibus conficitur.* Euerie

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium.

Theod. dial. 2.

Gelas. contra Eutychen. De conse. dist. 2. ¶ Hoc est.

The bread is changed by adding grace vnto it, thing containeth (or keepeth) the nature and truth of thee things, of which it consisteth.

Phil. You refute Cyprian, you do not expound him. He saith the nature (of the bread) * is changed; you proue i remaineth: be not these contrarie? Theop. By your exposition they are, by ours they are not. For the nature of bread, we saie remaineth, and is in nothing diminished, but encreased with an heauenlie vertue that is added to it. And this, though it be a change to that which it was not, yet is it no change from that which it was. Phi. That is properlie changed which is altered from that it was. Theop. And that is as properlie said to be changed, which is increased with that it was not, though it be not altered in substance from that it was. The soule of man is often changed, but neuer in substance. The bodie from the cradle to the graue hath manie increases and changes, but in substance perisheth the same that it was before it came into the world. Euerie thing that groweth, keepeth that it had, and atchieueth that it had not, and yet is that a change.

* It is changed by adding grace vnto it, not by taking substance from it.

But what need we other examples, since the fathers themselues do both by their words and similitudes shew, what changes they meant? A child is changed by baptisme: not in losing or altering the substance of bodie or soule which he had: but in attaining the grace and blessing of God which he had not. The Lord himselfe is * changed in person by his ascension, not that the truth, shape or circumscription of his flesh are abolished, but endued with immortall glorie. So shall he * alter our vile bodies not by spoiling them of their substance, but by imparting to them of his brightnes, and as S. Paul writeth, We shall not all sleepe, but we shall be changed.

* By these examples the fathers declare what change is in the bread. 1. Cor. 15.

Phil. S. Pauls words are nothing to the sacrament. Theop. They are somewhat to the vse of the word which I proposed: and yet Ireneus doth not sticke to resemble the change in the sacrament to the verie hope and assurãce which our bodies now haue of that glorie before they be changed, or haue cast off their mortall and earthlie corruption. As, saith he, the bread which is of the earth receiuing the inuocatiõ of god, is now no cõmon bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthlie & an heauenly, so our bodies

Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34.

bodies receiuing the eucharist, be now not corruptible (that is not wholy destinated to corruption) [as] hauing hope of resurrection.

Phil. But S. Ambrose repeateth * examples of corporall and substantiall changes, when he would proue that blessing in this sacrament ouerbeareth nature. Theop. S. Ambrose doth not say, that the bread is changed after the same manner, but meaning to shew that prayer and benediction worketh where nature can not, yea many times altereth nature: he bringeth seuen examples, whereof fiue are no substantiall changes: and in the end concludeth, that if the prayers and speech of men could turne and alter things aboue & against nature, much more can the word of Christ bring to passe that the elements shall be that they were, and yet be changed into that they were not, & which by nature they are not.

*De iis qui mysterijs initiantur. cap. 9. S. Ambrose by his seuen examples sheweth the power of the word, not the manner of the change that is in the sacrament.

Phil. He hath no such words in that chapter. Theop. His conclusion there is this, *Sermo ergo Christi, qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt, in id mutare quod non erant?* The word of Christ, who could of nothing make that which was not, can he not change those things which are, into that which before they were not? And in the next booke intitled *De sacramentis*, assuming the same matter, and producing almost all the same examples and arguments: he resolueth in these words, *Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Iesu, vt inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, vt sint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur?* If there be such force in the word of the Lord Iesu, that the things which were not, (at his word) began to be, how much more can it worke this, that they shall be the same they were, and (yet) be changed into an other thing? And to shew vs an example, how a thing may be that it was, and yet be changed: he forthwith addeth, *Tu ipse eras, sed eras vetus creatura, postea quam consecratus es, noua creatura esse cæpisti: Vis scire quam noua creatura? Omnis, inquit, in Christo noua creatura. Accipe ergo, quemadmodum sermo Christi creaturam omnem mutare consueuerit: & mutat quando vult instituta naturæ.* Thou thy selfe wast, but thou wast an old creature: after, when thou wast baptised, thou beganneſt to be a new creature. Wilt thou know how (true it is that thou art) a new creature? Euery one, saith the apostle, (is) in Christ a new creature. Learne then

Ambros. de iis qui initiantur mysterijs, ca. 9.

Ambros. de sacramentis, lib. 4. cap. 4.

Ambros. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 4.

In this chapter his examples are no substantiall changes, though he

purpolely pursue the same point that he did before.

then how the word of Christ is accustomed to change euery creature: and when he will, he altereth the course of nature: keeping the same similitude of baptisme for the explication of himselfe that the rest do: and thereby declaring he meaneth nothing lesse than that the matter and substance of the bread and wine should be changed. For he that is baptised, suffereth no materiall, substantiall, nor corporall change: though he be borne afresh and put on Christ: and euen so the sacred elements are turned into the flesh of our saviour, without abolishing their former nature or substance.

Phil. If these places of S. Cyprian and S. Ambrose conclude not for vs: certainly they conclude nothing against vs: and therefore you can not refell our assertion by them. Theop. I do not. I shew the places which you take most hold of, haue no such sequele as you surmise: & so your transubstantiation is your late and priuate imagination, without all antiquitie. Phil. Call you that late or priuate, which hath bene the generall and constant confession of all Christendom for these * 1500. yeres? Theop.

*Neuer catch a Iesuit without a crake.

It doth you good to crake, though there be neither truth nor sense in that you say. Hath all Christendom for these 1500. yeres confessed the substance of bread and wine at the Lords table to be changed into the reall and naturall body and blood of Christ? Phil. It hath. Theop. How shal we know that? Phil. You may find it in their writings.

Theop. How chanceth then you can not shew one that for 800. yeres made that confession? Phil. We can. Theop. You do not as yet. Phil. Yes we * haue done it. S. Augustine told you plainly, the substance of bread & wine did not remaine, but onely the qualities: and venerable Bede said, there was the shew, but not the substance of bread. Be not these direct and faire proofes? Theop. Fairely forged they be: but otherwise the writers themselues were neuer of that opinion. Phil. I haue proued by S. Chrysostom and S. Cyrill, that it is no bread. Theop. No bare, nor common bread, as our sense doth iudge; but yet the nature of bread still remaineth, though endued with a more diuine and mightie grace. Phil. The bread is changed, as S. Cyprian and S. Ambrose teach. Theop. Not by losing that it had, but by annexing that it had not. Phil.

*Some forgeries you shewed vs, but one place of any ancient writer you neither did nor can shew vs. The summe of all the obiections that they can make, which are woorth the answering.

It

It is conuerted into the substance of Christ. The. But by no materiall nor corporal change of the former substance.

Phil. This is your deluding of fathers. Theop. That is your abusing of them. Phil. You recall their words to your liking. Theop. And you inforce them against their meaning. Phil. Who shall iudge of that? Theop. Not you. Phil. Nor you. Theo. Let their owne mouthes be trusted. Phil. I am well contented. Theop. Then are you condemned. For where their words beare our exposition as well as yours: you vrge a corporall and substantiall change on their speeches in euery place, which they in plaine words protest to be no part of their faith. We proue our exposition by other direct places: they haue nothing but the generall ambiguitie of the words.

Phil. Where finde you that protestation? Theop. Is your memorie so short, that I must now make a new repetition? Phil. You went about to proue that the substance of bread remained. Theop. And that which I professed, I performed: you may turne backe and view the words? The substance of bread doth not cease to be, the signes remaine in their former substance. As touching the substances of the creatures, they are the same after consecration, that they were before. And that was Cyprians meaning, when he said, *Corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem*, retaining their kind of corporall substance: as also this substantiall bread. This is warrant sufficient in any christian mans iudgemēt for vs so to interpret the fathers words, as we do not abolish the substance of bread, which they confesse remaineth. Phil. Had that bene their doctrine, would their after-commers thinke you, haue so sone swarued from their faith? Theop. They did not. That very confession, that the substance of bread remained after consecration, dured almost a thousand yeres in most parts of the west Church, and namely in this realme. See fol. 599. *Cypr. de cœna Domini.* Their after-commers kept the same doctrine for almost a thousand yeeres.

Omit Bertram that liued 830. after Christ, whose booke is extant, purposely and largely treating of this matter. Walafridus an other of that time, giueth flat euidence against your changing of substances in the sacramēt, when he saith, *In cœna, quam ante traditionem suam vltimam cum discipulis (Christus) habuit, post Paschæ veteris solemnia, corporis & sanguinis sui sacramenta in panis & vini substantia eisdem discipulis tradidit.* In the supper which (Christ) had with his disciples last before he was betraied, after the solemnities of the old *Walafrid. abbas de rebus Eccles. cap. 16. Citatur à Gareio.*

passeouer, he deliuered to the same disciples the sacraments of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine.

Christianus Druthmarus in Matth.

And so doth Druthmarus reporting our sauiors act at his last supper, in these words, *Transferens spiritualiter panem in corpus suum, & vinum in sanguinem.* (Christ) changing the bread into his body, and the wine into his blood spiritually.

Paschas. de corpore & sanguine Domini, cap. 28.

And so Paschasius, though you haue here and there enterlaced that booke to helpe your selues, and printed it, vnder the name of Rabanus, as well as of Paschasius. *Panis confirmat cor hominis, & vinum lætificas, &c. propter quod in eadem substantia iure celebratur hoc mysterium salutis.* Bread confirmeth, and wine cheereth the hart, &c. wherefore in that substance is this mysterie of (our) saluation worthily celebrated.

Waleramus bishop of Medburg a thousand yeres after Christ, continued the same doctrine, though some Italians then began to fortifie their new conceits of shewes without substance. His words are, *Materia vel substantia sacrificij non simpla est, sicut nec pontifex solius diuinæ, vel humanæ solius substantiæ est. Est ergo tam in pontifice quàm in sacrificio diuina substantia, est & terrena. Terrena in vtroque est illud quod corporaliter vel localiter videri potest: diuina in vtroque verbum inuisibile, quod in principio erat Deus apud Deum.* The matter or substance of the sacrifice is not single, as also the high priest himselfe, is neither of a diuine substance onely, nor of an humane onely. There is then as well in the high priest as in the sacrifice, an heauenly substance, there is also an earthly substance. The earthly substance in them both is that which may corporally and locally be seene. The heauenly in them both is the inuisible word, which in the beginning was God with God.

Citatur à Thoma Walden. tom. 2. de sacramentis, ca. 65.

Two substances in the sacrifice as wel as in Christ.

The Church of England, euen to the conquest held the same doctrine, and taught it to the people of this land in their publike homilies, which are yet to be seene of good record in the Saxon tong. The sermon then read on Easter day, throughout their Churches, is a manifest declaration of that which I say: where amongest others, these words are occurrent. The holy font water that is called the welspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subiect to corruption: but the holy ghosts might commeth to the corruptible water, through the priests blessing, and it can after wash the body and soule from all sinne through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature.

The doctrine preached in the Saxons Churches of this realme vntill the conquest.

After

After true nature that water is corruptible water, and after ghostly mysterie, hath hallowing might. So also if we behold that holy housell after bodily vnderstanding, then see we that it is a creature corruptible and mutable: if we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then vnderstand we that life is therein, and that it giueth immortalitie to them that eat it with beleefe. Much is betwixt the inuisible might of the holy housell, and the visible shape of his proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and is by might of Gods word truly Christs bodie and his bloud: not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the bodie Christ suffered in, and the bodie that is hallowed to housell. The body truly that Christ suffered in was borne of the flesh of Marie, with bloud, and with bone, with skinne, and with sinewes, in humane limmes, with a reasonable soule liuing: and his ghostly body, which we call the housell, is gathered of many cornes: without bloud and bone, without limme, without soule. And therefore nothing is to be vnderstood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be vnderstood.

The sacrament is a corruptible and mutable creature.

The sacrament is not Christs body corporally. This then is not the reall and naturall body of Christ.

Phil. What care we for your Saxon records? Theoph. Lesse care we for your Romish and monkish records so lately and grossely forged, as we haue proued: yet this to your inward griefe you may now see: and shal an other day to your vtter confusion feele, that your nouelties touching the sacrament were neuer heard of in the church of England, nor in the Church of Christ, till Lanefrangus, Anselmus and other Italians a thousand yeares after Christ, camoin with their antichristian deuises and inuentions: expounding *Species* and *forma panis* for the qualities and accidents of bread without any subiect or substance: which once taking place you fell amaine both to sacrilegious sophismes against truth, & rebellious practises against princes; and ceased not till you brought them to their hight in your late Lateran councell vnder Innocentius the third, 1215. yeares after Christ. This is your catholicisme that you so much vaunt of, which the christian world was vterly ignorant of for almost a thousand yeares, and to the which you would now reduce the simple with a shew of holines, pretending great grauity and admirable antiquity with bold faces and eger speeches, though you be void of both, if you were well examined.

Lanefrancus and Anselme since the cõquest the first authors of transubstantiation within this relme.

Phil.

Phil. Were the doctrine of elder ages in some doubt, which we know to be fully for vs; yet you confesse these last fiue hundreth yeares are cleare on our side. Theo. The miter and scepter were yours: the mysterie of iniquitie working as was foretold; and infecting the west Church with hypocrisie and heresie, as fast as the Turke oppressed the east with rage and tyrannie: yet in euerie of these last and most corrupted ages, God raised a number of innocent and simple men, with the confession of their mouths, and expence of their liues, to witnesse his truth against the pride and fury of their aduersaries, whom your holie father hanged, burned, and otherwise murdered for repining at his proceedings, that whom with honor and ease he could not allure; at least he might quaile with terror and torment.

Worldly kingdoms and honors haue beene subiect to antichrist in these latter ages.

Phil. Should we leaue the fellowship of holy popes, famous prelats, mightie princes, learned and religious monks & friers, yea saints: and ioine our selues to a few condemned and infamous heretiks, as you do?

The Iesuits are euen drunke with the glory and renowne of themselues and their adherents.

Theoph. That which is pretious and admirable before men, may be odious and detestable before God. The dignities of men can not deface the truth of Christ; the higher their states, the greater their fals, if they did oppose themselues against the highest. Phil. You say they did. Theo. I do not: but this I say, that if the respect of their externall and temporall glory, be the ground of your conscience, you haue a wicked affection as well as religion. To follow men against God, is to magnifie them afore God. Phil. You condemne them for castawaies. Theo. I am not their iudge. He that made them, might be mercifull to them amiddest the defects and dangers of those daies, as he hath beene to some in all ages and places: yet that is no safetie for you to defend their open errors and wilfully to continue their wickednes.

God may cal in all times & places whom he please, though we know it not.

Phil. Were not our fathers religious and holy men? Theo. Iustifie not your fathers against God, least their mouths condemne you for a pernicious offspring. God will be glorified, when he iudgeth, say you & your fathers what you can to the cõtrary. Reproue not the sharpnes of his iustice, which he neuer sheweth but for great & vrgent cause: submit your selues rather, and acknowledge it is his

his bndserued, & yet not bnwoonted mercy that you be not consumed as your fathers were before you, but haue yet time and warning to repent.

Phil. And are you such saints that you nede no repentance? Theoph. We desire to liue no longer, than we confesse before heauen and earth, that as God hath bene righteous in reuenging the sinnes & iniquities of our fathers, by taking his truth from them, and leauing them to the power of darkenes, & kingdome of antichrist: so he might most iustly for our bngodlines and bnthankefulnes haue wrapped bs in the same confusion & destruction: saue that of his infinite and bnspeakeable mercy, he would haue his gospell preached a fresh for a witnes to all nations before he come to iudgement: to make all men inexcusable, that haue either not beleeued, or not obeied the truth. And this causeth bs, not onely with all that is within bs, to giue glory to his name for so great a blessing, but to beseech him, that though we be lighted on the ends of the world when charity waxeth cold, and faith is scant found on the face of the earth, we may not be caried away with the error of the wicked to perdition; especially not to follow the way of Cain, that dipped his hands in his brothers bloud; nor take the wages of Balaam, to curse and reuile the people of God; nor perish in the contradiction of Corah, for resisting both God and the magistrate: but rather that we may be sanctified and saued by the might of his word, and store of his mercy laid bp in Christ his sonne for all that beleeue him, and call bpon him.

It is not of our worthines but of his great mercy that we haue his truth which others had not.

Matth. 24.

Matth. 24. Luke. 18. Iud.

Phil. God send bs such part as our fathers had. Theop. You be so displeased with God for punishing the sinnes of your fathers with blindnes and error in these latter ages that now you will none of his light, nor grace, though he offer it freely to saue your soules: but if you will nedes perish, your owne bloud be on your owne heads: yet haue bs excused, if we thinke our sinnes heauy enough, though we adde not thereto the neglect of his word, and contempt of his truth as you do. In the knowledge of God and reuerence of his iudgements there is a path way to repentance, and hope of mercy: in the proud dislike of his seuerity towards others, and stubborne refusal of his goodnes towards our selues, there is nothing but an heaping of

We must neither dislike the iustice of God towards others, nor refuse his mercy offered to our selues.

of extreme vengeance which shal consume the wicked and impenitent resisters of his word and spirit.

The Iesuits are so deepe in loue with themselues and their fathers, that they take skorne to stoope to the grace of God.

Phil. We be not of that number. Theop. Were you not, you would be more carefull to search, and willing to imbrace the truth of Christ once vnderstode with all readines and lowlines of mind, knowing that God resisteth the proud and giueth grace to the humble, & not with an high loking and selfe pleasing perswasion, that all is yours, neglect your dutie to God and man. Phil. We obserue both. Theop. You obserue neither.

What subiection the Iesuits yeeld to their princes that displease the pope.

Subiection to your lawfull prince you haue forsaken, and not onely fled the realme, and incited others to do the like, but the christian allegeance, which the prince requireth of her subiects you impugne with shifts and slanders, in fauor of him, who wickedly and iniuriously taketh vpon him to be the supreme moderator of earthly kingdoms, and chiefe disposer of princes crownes: and so fast are you linked in confederacie with him, that in open view of all men you will allow no prince to beare the sword longer than shall like him, but proclaime rebellions of subiects against their soueraignes to be iust and honorable warres, if he authorize them by his censures.

The Iesuits talke a peace of their catholike schisme, but they prooue it very slowly.

And where, to cloke your wicked & enormous attempts you boldly surmised, that you did, whatsoeuer you did, for that religion which was ancient & catholike: We haue presently taken you so tardy & short of your reckoning that for six of the greatest & cheifest points now in questiō betwixt the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and reformed in this realme by publike authoritie: you can not bring vs so much as one ancient & euident testimony, that your faith and doctrine was euer taught or receiued in the primatiue church of Christ, & yet you please your selues in your owne conceits, & compasse the earth to * get proselites fit for such teachers, whom you may traine vp in error, and vse as instruments to catch vnstable soules, and fier vnquiet heads: that you by them may disturbe realmes & fish for princes thrones and liues in troubled waters.

An old practise of the pharisies.

Phil. All this is as false, as God is true. Theop. God himselfe shall scant be truth if you may be the iudges: except he take your parts. But facing and craking laid aside, you must refer the iudgement of your doings & sayings to

We desire no more of their owne

others

The Iesuits positions be both traiterous & hereticall. *The fourth part.*

others, and not to your selues. Phil. To Catholiks I am content. Theop. They must be then of your instructing: that is, such as will trust neither fathers nor scriptures against your canons: otherwise in that you haue said they shal finde no great cause to like your impugning the princes power, and right to establish lawes within her owne land without the popes leaue: and to hold her crowne against his censures: and as litle shall they find to call you, or count you Catholiks. Phil. When of your owne pitch will soone assent to any thing. Theop. Let them be but indifferent, and weigh what you haue brought. friends but to weigh their proofs in these cases.

Phil. Nore we can bring, when we see our times. Theo. It skilleth not how much, but how sound that is which you can bring. Phil. Of that hereafter: and yet in the meane time there be many other things besides these that you haue handled, that *must be discussed, before we can be pronounced no Catholikes. And as in these you seeme with wresting and wrenching to haue some aduantage: so in those we could forthwith confound you. Theop. Euen as you haue done in these. Phil. A great deale more readily if I had time to stay the triall of them: but this holy tide I must spend in other matters of more importance. Theop. What? In spredding newes, that the king of Spaine doth stay but for the next summer? Phil. We meddle not with forraine affaires. Theop. A *number of you be better seene in politie, than in diuinitie: you were borne belike to be rulers, though it be but of rebels as Sanders was, that thought it a praise to take the field in person against his prince. These God willing shall be handled afore it be long. They study Machiuell more than S. Paul.

Phil. My trauell is not to that end. Theop. You leaue that for others: and trauell to sound the harts of your adherents, whether they be in number, wealth and zeale likely & readie to giue assistance, if anie should inuade. Phil. What vnchristian coniectures you haue of vs? Theoph. None but such as your owne deeds and words occasion. Phil. What cause haue we giuen you to speake this of vs? Theo. What greater cause can you giue, than openly to auouch as you haue done in your Defence of Catholiks (as you call them) ỹ rebellions against such princes as ỹ pope deposeth are godly, iust & honorable wars? Phil. If he may depose them they are. Theop. You haue in print affirmed both, If they defend rebellions in open sight, what do they in secret corners?

 The Iesuits positions be both traiterous & hereticall.

both, and sought to proue them with all your might: and therfore what shall we thinke your secret whispering and reconciling to the Church of Rome is, but a craftie baite of malcontents to make rebels?

Phil. The parties themselues can witnesse we neuer mention any such thing in our absolution. To them we appeale for record. Theop. For my part, I thinke you do not: it were too grosse conspiracie & treason to take bowes and oths of subiects against their prince by name: and therefore if you should take that open course, you were worthy to ride to Tiburne, not onely for traitors, but also for dizards. But when you reconcile them, you take assurance of them by bow, oth, or other adiuration, that they shall imbrace the catholike faith and hold communion and vnity with the Church of Rome for euer after. Phil. Why should we not? Theoph. Then when it pleaseth my lord the pope to depriue the prince and to excommunicate all that assist or agnise her for a lawfull magistrat, what must your reconciled sort do? Is it not against their oth and faith giuen to you at their restitution to the bosome of the catholike Church (as you terme it) to obey their prince against the censures of your Church?

Persons reconciled must in the end be traitors whether they meant it at first or no: the Iesuits haue so tempered religion and treason to flatter the pope.

Phil. I haue haste in my way Theophilus: and I haue said as much as I will at this time. Theoph. I can hold you Philander, no longer than you list: but yet remember this as you ride by the way, which I reiterate, because both your Seminaries shall thinke the better of it: that as many as you reconcile, so long as you teach this for a point of faith, *that the pope may depose princes, and must be obeied in those his censures of all that will be Catholikes, so manie both hereticks against God, and traitors against the prince, you hatch vnder the hood of religion: and also that the things now reformed in the Church of England, are both Catholike and Christian, notwithstanding your fierce brags, and fierie words, latelie sent vs in your RHEMISH testament.

*Vnlesse they recall this position, the conclusion is ineuitable.

To the KING euerlasting, immortall, inuisible, vnto GOD which is only wise, be honor and praise for euer and euer. *Amen.*

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